Yavneh II: The 'Temple Hill' Repository Pit

Edited by: Kletter, Raz ; Ziffer, Irit ; Zwickel, Wolfgang

Abstract: Yavneh II is the second and last excavation report on the dramatic favissa/genizah pit full of Philistine votive objects, discovered by Raz Kletter in the city of Yavneh, Israel, near the Mediterranean coast (south of Tel Aviv). The first volume, Yavneh I (OBO.SA 30, 2010) included studies on the history and archaeological exploration of Yavneh, the excavation, the stratigraphy and the interpretation of the pit as a favissae of votive objects that originate from a public temple; but especially on the mysterious cult stands, which number more than a hundred and include many stands with zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures. In the present volume we publish many additional cultic finds, including fire pans or shovels that could be used for moving hot coals and for burning incense (comparable to the biblical maḥtāh); a rectangular shrine-model (naos) with detached pillars; zoomorphic vessels; a larger sample of pottery with statistical analysis; imported Cypriot pottery; dog bones (probably related to ritual); an inscription on a bowl; fragments of worked stones (perhaps from altars); and chemical residues from juglets and chalices, which seem to indicate presence of hallucinatory and incense materials. In addition, we offer an update on the iconography of the Yavneh cult stands and a study of the larger world of cult stands in the southern Levant; criteria for identifying favissae and their appearance from the Late Bronze Age to the Persian Period in Palestine; and a concluding discussion on Yavneh, incense, and Philistine ethnicity.

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by
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Raz Kletter (*1960) completed his PhD in 1995 at Tel Aviv University on material culture and borders of Iron Age Judah. Following a post-doctoral year at Oxford, UK, he worked in the Israel Antiquities Authority as Deputy of Finds Department, Senior Archaeologist; and in 2002-2007 as Head of the Scientific Processing Unit. Dr. Kletter directed and published excavations from varied periods and sites in Israel and is currently Docent for Near-Eastern Archaeology, University of Helsinki. His main fields of study are Near Eastern Archaeology (Bronze and Iron Ages); religion and cult; ancient economy; archaeological theory; and history of archaeology in Israel/Palestine.

Selected Publications
1996 *The Judean Pillar Figurines and the Archaeology of Asherah.* Oxford: Tempus Reparatum.
1998 *Economic Keystones. The Weight System of the Kingdom of Judah.* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
2006 *Just Past? The Making of Israeli Archaeology.* London: Equinox.
2013 "Archaeology in Israel 1948-1973: Selected Documents." In: E. Pfoh & K. Whitelam (eds.), *The Politics of Israel's Past. The Bible, Archaeology and Nation-Building*. Sheffield: Phoenix Press, pp. 136-151.

Irit Ziffer is curator of the Ceramics and Metal pavilions at the Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv. She trained in archaeology and ancient Near Eastern cultures at Tel Aviv University and received her PhD in ancient Near Eastern art. In 1976-79, 1981-82 she was member of the Aphek-Antipatris excavations team. In 1993-95, 2000-5 she taught at the Department of Archaeology, Tel-Aviv University. Dr. Ziffer curated many exhibitions, including: "At that Time the Canaanites Were in the Land" (1990); "Islamic metalwork" (1996); "O my dove that art in the clefts of the rock: the dove allegory in antiquity" (1998); "The corn spirit" (2002); "In the field of the Philistines: cult furnishings from the favissa of a Yavneh temple" (2006-7); and "The Last Supper at Apollonia: The Final Days of the Crusader Castle in Herzliya" (2011). During 2007-8 she was Andrew W. Mellon Fellow in Art History at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and in 2012-13 a guest scholar with Scholion Interdisciplinary Research Center in the Humanities and Jewish Studies, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

Selected Publications
1990 *At that Time the Canaanites Were in the Land, Daily Life in Middle Bronze Age Canaan, 2000-1550 BCE* (Exhibition Catalogue). Tel Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum.
1998 *O My Dove that Art in the Clefts of the Rock. The Dove Allegory in Antiquity* (Exhibition Catalogue). Tel Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum.
2007 with Raz Kletter) *In the Field of the Philistines. Cult Furnishings from the* Favissa *of a Yavneh Temple* (Exhibition Catalogue). Tel Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum.

Wolfgang Zwickel studied Protestant Theology, Prehistory, Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Archaeology in Munich, Tübingen, Heidelberg and Kiel. He completed his PhD in 1989 at Kiel on incense cult and incense vessels in archaeological and biblical sources, and his habilitation in 1993 on temple cult in Canaan and Israel from the Middle Bronze Age to the fall of the Kingdom of Judah. Since 1998 he is Professor for Old Testament Studies and Biblical Archaeology at the Johannes Gutenberg-University, Mainz.

Selected Publications
1990 *Räucherkult und Räuchergeräte. Exegetische und archäologische Studien zum Räucheropfer im Alten Testament* (OBO 97). Freiburg (Schweiz): Universitätsverlag, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
1994 *Der Tempelkult in Kanaan und Israel. Ein Beitrag zur Kultgeschichte Palästinas von der Mittelbronzezeit bis zum Untergang Judas* (FAT 10). Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
1999 *Der salomonische Tempel von seiner Gründung bis zur Zerstörung durch die Babylonier* (Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 83). Mainz: Philipp von Zabern (^{2}2011, Kamen: Spenner).
2002 *Einführung in die biblische Landes- und Altertumskunde*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
2009 *Das Heilige Land. Geschichte und Archäologie*. München: C.H. Beck
2011 (with Michael Tilly) *Religionsgeschichte Israels. Von der Vorzeit bis zu den Anfängen des Christentums*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

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Series Archaeologica

Raz Kletter, Irit Ziffer, Wolfgang Zwickel

Yavneh II

The 'Temple Hill' Repository Pit

Fire Pans, Kernos, Naos, Painted Stands,
'Plain' Pottery, Cypriot Pottery, Inscribed Bowl,
Dog Bones, Stone Fragments, and Other Studies

With Contributions by Alon Amrani,
David Ben-Shlomo, Liora K. Horwitz,
Reinhard G. Lehmann, Dvory Namdar,
Kristiane Novotny, Nava Panitz-Cohen,
Joanna S. Smith, and Nicole Straßburger

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CONTENTS

ATLANTIS

They were or they weren't
On an island or not.
An ocean or not an ocean
Swallowed them up or it didn't.

Was there anyone to love anyone?
Did anybody have someone to fight?
Everything happened or it didn't
There or someplace else.

Seven cities stood there.
So we think.
They were meant to stand forever.
We suppose.

They weren't up to much, no.
They were up to something, yes.

Hypothetical. Dubious.
Uncommemorated.
Never extracted from air,
Fire, water, or earth.

Not counted within a stone
Or drop of rain.
Not suitable for straight-faced use
As a story's moral.

A meteor fell.
Not a meteor.
A volcano exploded.
Not a volcano.
Someone summoned something.
Nothing was called.

On this more-or-less Atlantis.

INTRODUCTION

The small town of Yavneh is situated about 25 km south of Tel-Aviv and 8 km from the coastline of the Mediterranean Sea (see Fig. 1 below). Immediately north of the large tell of Yavneh, surrounded at present by the modern city, lies a small hill. The first neighborhood of the modern city was established on the slopes of this hill. After chance finds of cultic nature were discovered on this hill during the 1950s-1960s, it acquired among local archaeologists the name 'Temple Hill'. Yet, the finds were few and the site remained little known. The modern town grew slowly around it, nibbling parts for enlargements of private buildings and for the construction of a public bomb shelter.

In the early 2000s, development hit the hill again in the form of bulldozers working to create a public garden on top of the hill and on its southern slope. It so happened that I was working at that time as senior excavating archaeologist at the IAA Tel Aviv office, the office responsible over the area of Yavneh. I had excavated earlier at Yavneh, and the remains that have been damaged on the 'Temple Hill' fitted my expertise in terms of periods. I was interested in this site and had not accumulated major 'debts' of publication from former excavations. Therefore, after some technical procedures were resolved, I put on my worn excavation boots and braced myself for yet another romantic period of waking up at 5:30 AM sharp.

It was in late 2002, but I could not anticipate the discovery of a repository pit (*favissa* or *genizah*) full with thousands of cultic finds. Here were more than a hundred cult stands, mostly whole or restorable. Cult stands are a very rare find. A few dozen are known from all over Israel/Palestine, but they come from 120 years of scientific excavations and include unprovenanced items as well. All the formerly known figurative cult stands from Philistia could be easily counted on the fingers of one hand. In addition, the repository pit held dozens of fire pans, several limestone altars, one horned clay altar, one 'shrine model' (*naos*), thousands of bowls and chalices and other finds. Many objects from the pit show remains of burning inside them, in patterns that suggest burning of incense. The finds originated from a Philistine temple, which was located either on the 'Temple Hill' itself or in the nearby town. The finds date roughly to the period between 850-750 BCE.

This discovery was not a dream come true. No sane archaeologist would have ever dreamt about finding a hundred cult stands. Finding even one or two complete cult stands is a major discovery. The late Professor Moshe Kochavi, who visited the excavation, said that such a discovery is made once every fifty years.

Holding the finished volumes, one tends to forget the difficulties and frustrations gathered on the way. These occur for any excavation, but the Yavneh repository pit took more than the usual share. The circumstances of excavations were extremely pressured; for years we had no budget and no time, not to mention peace of mind, to work on these wonderful finds. Salvage excavations are not different from the so-called 'academic' excavations, neither in methods and training of personnel, nor in scientific aims. Both strive for maximal documentation in the field and the best scientific publication of the finds (the varied, even noble other scientific goals in our research plans are not worth mentioning – show me one archaeologist who has stumbled upon a major find by chance, but declined to work on it on the pretext that it does not fit the previously made, stated aims of her/his project). The only difference is that salvage archaeologists are not free in the choice of excavation areas. In practice, a ruthless economic atmosphere, coupled with self-interests of those in power positions, have degraded salvage archaeology to a second rate profession. It faces many compromises and concessions that threaten its foundation as part of the scientific discipline of archaeology. I hope that the importance of the Yavneh finds and the many efforts made in their study and publication will contribute to a positive change of attitude towards salvage excavations within the archaeological community.

In the second and final volume we present additional finds to those published in *Yavneh I*. They include clay fire-pans or shovels; a *kernos*; a shrine-model (*naos*); zoomorphic vessels; a large sample of 'plain' pottery with statistical study; additional petrographic analyses; Cypriot pottery; dog bones; an inscription on a bowl; fragments of stones that probably originate from cultic objects; and organic residues from juglets and chalices. In addition, this volume holds studies on the identification of the animal species represented in the Yavneh cult stands; cult stands in general in the Southern Levant; *favissae* from the Late Bronze Age – Persian periods in Palestine/Israel; an update on the iconography of the Yavneh cult stands; and a concluding discussion on Yavneh, incense, and Philistine ethnicity

Since the chapters in this volume were written by different authors, views naturally differ at times; authors were free to express different views. I edited the chapters mainly to ensure unity of style for the entire volume. We preferred the neutral term 'repository pit', though sometimes shorter terms are employed (including *favissa*; see *Yavneh I*: Chapter 12.1.3 for the terms). Line drawings and computerized drawings appear in the text of each chapter, while photographs are placed in plates. Dates are always BCE, unless when stated otherwise.

Abbreviations are listed on pages XII-XIII (below). Since exact measures of the various finds are given in the text, we have not placed scales on each and every figure.

It is customary for archaeologists to praise the achievements and to forget the errors; but excavations always hold a share of both. The Yavneh volumes show many achievements; so I see no reason to avoid mentioning errors. Looking back, there are several things that I would have done otherwise. First, I should have insisted on professional drawing and not just photographing the section inside the pit. Second, the pottery mending of the cult stands should have been done at a slower tempo, allowing us to register better the fragments before lifting the borders between the baskets and the Loci. Third, more caution should have been given to taking samples, including the burnt residues at the top of the horned clay altar before cleaning.[1] Finally, we did not register in the best way some of the small fragments of juglets and of stones in the pit, being too pressured with the work, especially on the many cult stands.

Many institutions and individuals helped in the preparation of this volume. I thank here again the dedicated group of excavation workers from Ashkelon, Gregory Gurevich, Irena Nechaeva, Marina Levi, Ya'akov Lisker and Polina Feldman. I am also grateful to the assistance provided by my two dear colleagues and partners to this volume, Wolfgang Zwickel and Irit Ziffer. We are grateful to the IAA for the photographs of some of the small finds, and for the room given for the second stage of the pottery restoration.

We are deeply grateful to all those who took part in the restoration and treatment of the finds discussed in this volume and in their publication, namely: the late Gabi Gilboa (pottery restoration); Yulia Rodman (drawings); Leonid Padrul, Tsila Sagiv, Clara Amit and Medad Socholovsky (photos); Avshalom Karasik, Hebrew University, Jerusalem (computerized drawings); Yosef Bukenholz (fimo cast); Dafna Zukerman (replicas of chalices and fire pans); Dr. Nava Panitz-Cohen, Hebrew University, Jerusalem (pottery statistics and study); Dr. David Ben-Shlomo, Hebrew University, Jerusalem (petrography); Prof. Alon Amrani and Dr. Dvory Namdar, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Dr. Liora Kolska Horwitz, Hebrew University, Jerusalem (archaeozoology); Professor Joanne S. Smith (Cypriot pottery); Dr. Reinhard G. Lehmann and Dr. Krisiane Novotny, University of Mainz (linguistic study); and Nicole Strassburger, University of Mainz (study of *favissae*).

We are deeply grateful to the editors of the OBO.SA series, and especially to Christoph Uehlinger and Marcia Bodenmann. Finally, special thanks go to the Shelby White – Leon Levy Program for Archaeological Publications for their generous 2008-2010 grant for the publication of the Yavneh finds.

Raz Kletter, Tallinn, July 2014

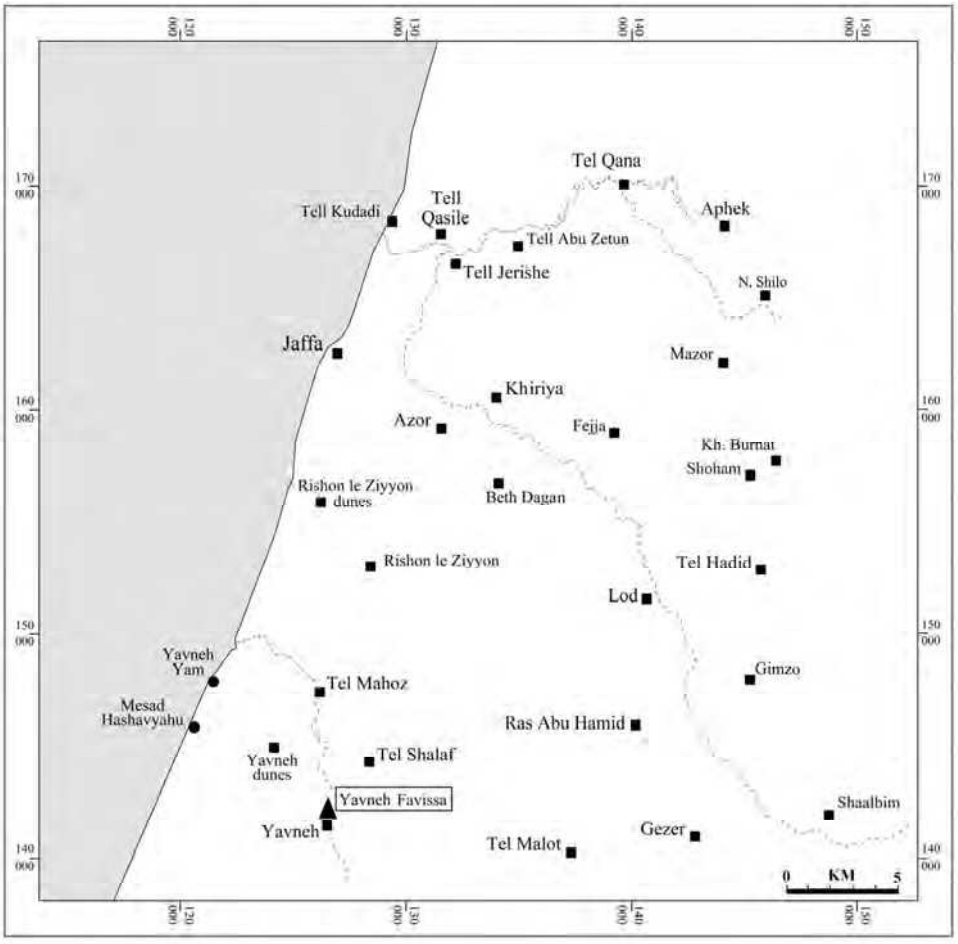

Figure 1: Map of Yavneh and Northern Philistia in the Iron Age

[1] We did take many (more than 50) samples of soil, ashes, earth from juglets, burnt residues from pottery vessels, etc. They did not produce botanic remains; however, we were unable to test these samples further.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJBA	Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology
AJSLL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature
AO	Antiguo Oriente
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ArMitt	Archäologische Mitteilungen
ÄUAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review
BAS	Biblical Archaeology Society
BARIS	British Archaeological Reports, International Series
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute for Classical Studies
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBR	Currents in Biblical Research
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CDLJ	Cuneiform Digital Library Journal
CNRS	Centre national de la recherche scientifique
EAEHL	Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land
EI	Eretz Israel
ERC	Éditions Recherches sur les Civilisations
ESI	Excavations and Surveys in Israel (HA, English version)
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FOTL	Forms of Old Testament Literature
HA	Hadashot Arkheologiyot (ESI, Hebrew version)
IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority
ICAANE	International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IES	Israel Exploration Society
INSTAP	Institute for Aegean Prehistory
JAMT	Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory
JAR	Journal of Archaeological Research
JAS	Journal of Archaeological Science
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JFA	Journal of Field Archaeology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
MAA	Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry
MDAI	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft
NEA	Near Eastern Archaeology (formerly: Biblical Archaeologist)
NIDB	The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible
OA	Opuscula Atheniensia
OArch	Opuscula Archaeologica
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBO.SA	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologia

OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OTL	Old Testament Library
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
QDAP	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine
RB	Revue Biblique
RDAC	Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus
RSF	Rivista di Studi Fenici
SA	Studia Antiqua
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SHAJ	Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan
SMEA	Studi Miceni ed Egeo-Anatolici
SVT	Supplement Vetus Testamentum
TA	Tel Aviv
THAT	Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament
ThWAT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament
TS	Theological Studies
UCLA	University of California, Los Angeles
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WA	World Archaeology
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins

CHAPTER 1

THE YAVNEH FIRE PANS AND THE BIBLICAL *MAḤTĀH*

Raz Kletter and Irit Ziffer

Fire pans or shovels at Yavneh comprise a lamp shaped bowl with a handle attached where the rim is pinched. The bowl is either solid or perforated at the base. When perforated, the holes are located at the center. The perforations are sometimes arranged in a pattern.[1]

In the repository pit, two complete fire pans were found upside down cracked into two parts (B7290, Pl. 2:1) and several parts (B7318, Pls. 1:1; 9:1). Another (B7333, Pl. 9:2) was found on its bottom missing its handle. All the other fire pans were broken into small parts (some noticed at the edge of the pit during the excavation, B7311, Pl. 10:2). Therefore, we could not visualize at first what the entire vessel looks like. The only parts of a fire pan that are indicative are the handle and the curving rim near the handle. Other parts look very similar to bowls. Even though we tried during the excavation to separate the fire pans from the other vessels, it was not always possible. Since only part of the pottery was restored, we have few complete fire pans (Pls. 10:2-14).

Each fire pan has only one handle, and it is an indicative part. Counting the handles would offer an estimation of a minimal number of fire pans in the pit. When counting fragments of handles, we estimated their relative size and computed them in terms of complete handles. We counted thirty-two handles from L15 (including 25 whole ones); 12.5 handles from L13 (including 6 whole ones) and three whole handles from L14. To this we add handles of complete and fairly complete fire pans, which include three from L13 (one whole); three from L15; two from L12 (one whole) and one from L14 (B7290). Finally, two more complete handles and fragments that represent c. 3 handles come from unknown loci. These were placed in baskets of stand fragments during the excavation, because they looked similar to tying beams. When taken out from the baskets for pottery restoration, being rather small, they were not registered, or lost their registration data during the pottery mending.

Altogether, we estimate that these handles represent 60 different fire pans. It is likely that some more handle fragments exist in un-mended pottery baskets; but their number is probably small. Most of the handles and handle fragments were found in the lower loci of the pit (L15, L13); but others came from L12 and L14, that is, upper loci in the pit.

When discovered in lower Loci (L13, L15), the fire pan fragments were covered by gray ash from the fill of the pit (Pl. 1:2). We left some fire pan fragments untouched, in order to enable analysis in the future. After washing, some but not all the fire pans showed traces of burning. For example, fire pan B7318 (Pls. 10:2; 11:1) has no traces of burning, while the lamp-like fire pan L13 7333 is almost completely blackened by fire on all the surfaces, except a small area near the rim that extends both inside and outside (Pl. 14). The pattern of blackening on fire pan B7290 is the most interesting (Pls. 2:1; 12): the fire affected most of the inside reaching the shallow open edge, but leaving the pinching clean. On the outside (base), the burnt area is located at the center and front side (the shallow or open side). This pattern might indicate that the vessel was used to hold burning coals inside, as well as to scrape or shovel coals using the shallow edge and the base.

There is no doubt that the blackened areas are not related to the layer of ash in the pit, as this ash is gray and other vessels (for example cultic stands) that were found in the ash layer show no similar discoloration of their surfaces. Also, it cannot be a result of post-depositional process, since the fire pans were found both in upper and lower Loci, and other vessels have not been affected. Nor is it likely to be a result of lack of oxygen during firing, for then one would expect a different pattern of discoloration. The fire pans that lack the blackened areas hint that the firing process is not the reason for the changes of color. Furthermore, this is not only a superficial discoloration of the surfaces. Looking carefully at the section of fire pan B7290 (before the two parts were mended), we see that the bottom is also blackened inside the section. The area near the rim, which remained brown on the surface, is brown also in the section. The same appears to be also the case for fire pan L13 B7333. This indicates a thermal shock as a result of burning, not surface discoloration as a result of lack of oxygen during firing.

On other fire pan fragments too, the discoloration is mainly apparent inside the bowl and outside near the rim. Since not all the pottery from the pit was mended, the fire pans could not be fully restored.

[1] This chapter is an updated and expanded version of Kletter and Ziffer 2010.

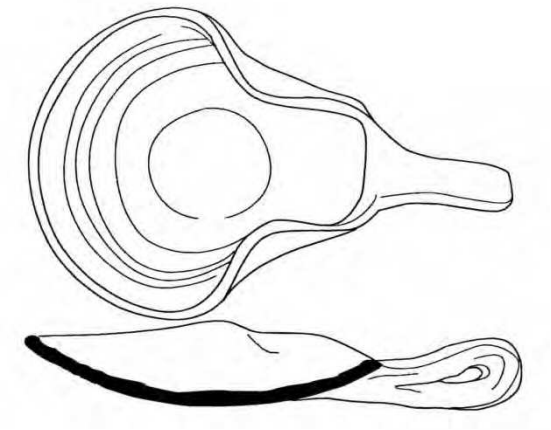

Fig. 1.1: Yavneh Fire Pan B7290

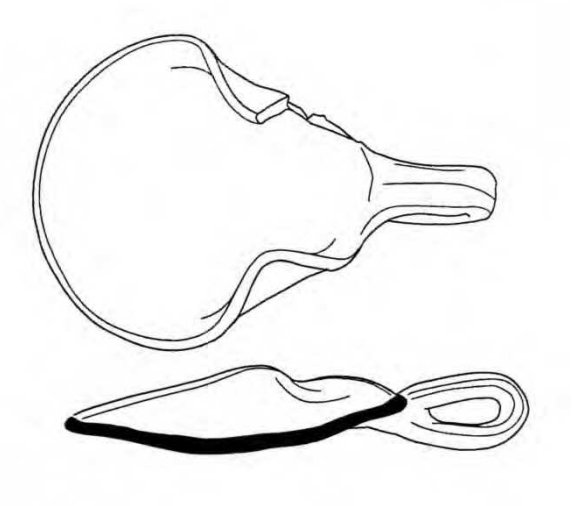

Fig. 1.2: Yavneh Fire Pan B7318

1.2. TYPOLOGY OF THE YAVNEH FIRE PANS

Based on the available data, there are two types of fire pans. Both types were made from a round, wheel-thrown lamp-like vessel with an attached handle. The difference between the two types is mainly the extent of pinching, which in regular lamps creates the spout for the wick. In the first fire pan type, the pinching is moderate, creating elongated, relatively wide 'spouts' (Fig. 1.1-2; Pls. 10:2-13:2). Fire pans of this type have an opened, shallow front opposite the side with the handle. In the second type, the pinching is more emphatic, creating a narrow 'spout' that is similar to lamp spouts. This type stems directly from Iron Age lamps, which have the same flanged rims (Fig. 1.3; Pl. 14). At present, it seems that most of the fire pans were of the first type and only one belongs to the second type.

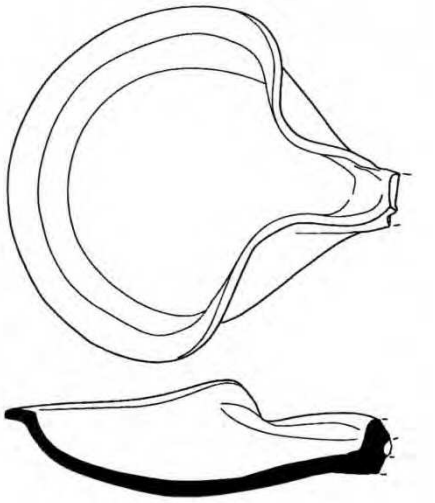

Fig. 1.3: Yavneh Fire Pan B7333

The fire pans have various types of handles. The handles extend more or less horizontally from the side of the vessel outside, but most are shaped as vertical, squat loop-handles without any decoration. Some handles are not loop handles, but solid, horizontal and slightly curved handles, terminating in a cut or pointed end. These solid handles were sometimes mistaken as parts of tying beams, because the cut end was not always identified in the haste of excavating. Three of these handles have decorated finials of schematic faces (Pl. 15:1-3; L7 B7027 nearly complete handle; L15 B7336 small fragment; and a half handle from unknown basket). The faces were made by hand and in one case the eyes were added as pellets (B7027, Pl. 15:1). One cannot determine if these are human or animal faces, but in view of many comparable handles (see Buchholz 1994: Pl. 35-36; Kopcke 1968:302, No. 165) animal faces are a more likely interpretation. The most striking handle has a plastic animal head finial, probably a ram or goat (Fig. 1.4; Pl. 15:3; L15, B7373; length 11.4 cm; for a Persian period metal pan from Khirbet Ibsan with duck finial see Amiran 1972; Dayagi-Mendels 1986:187; for the identification of the animal see also Chapter 11 below). It is hand modeled, with applied pellet eyes, open mouth and punctured nostrils. The ears are flattened pellets and the top of the head is rounded. Perhaps to our eyes it looks a bit like a monkey's head, but monkeys were not native in Israel/Palestine and had no religious significance there (Kletter 2002). The last type of handle is straight and hol-

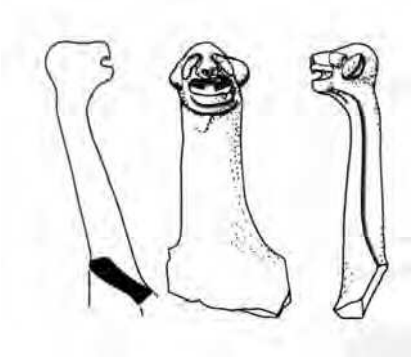

Fig. 1.4: Handle, Fire Pan B7373

low. Only three examples exist, all wheel made. The first is from L14 found on 13.11.02[2] (Pl. 16:1; length 7.8 cm; diameter at the end 2.6 cm, traces of burning on the outside). It was placed in a general basket of juglets, because it looks similar to a juglet's neck. The second hollow handle comes from L12 (B7211, Pl. 14:2; length 11.5 cm, diameter at end 2.8 cm). The third hollow handle comes from L14 (B7306, Pl. 16:3; length 13.5 cm, diameter at end 4.0 cm; traces of burning outside at the beginning of the bowl). These three handles are longer and larger than the solid ones, perhaps indicating slightly larger fire pans. Two of the hollow handles (Pl. 16:2-3) have ridges near the end.

Some of the fire pan bowls are solid, but many have perforated holes located at the center of the bowl (never at the edge). The holes were pierced by a stick or some similar instrument, creating sharpened edges on the outside (at the base). This is another indication that the inside of the bowls was the part intended for use. It sometimes seems that the holes are arranged in circular or linear patterns, but because none of the fire pans with holes is complete, we cannot determine this in each and every case. The holes were probably intended to enhance air supply for the glowing coals; hence, these vessels are not just 'scuttles' for removal of cold coals or ashes.

1.3. COMPARISONS FROM ISRAEL/PALESTINE

Until now, similar fire pans were unknown in Israel/Palestine. During the pottery mending of the finds, Sam Wolff saw the Yavneh fire pans and noticed an identical vertical loop handle from the excavations at Tel Hamid, a site located also in Philistia. It was found in Level 7 dated by the excavators to the ninth century BC (Reg. No. 1259/7; S. Wolff and A. Shavit, in press). At Ashdod, three broken objects terminating with heads of animals could perhaps be handles of fire pans, but unfortunately, they are all surface finds (Dothan and Ben-Shlomoh 2005:244, Fig. 3.116:4).

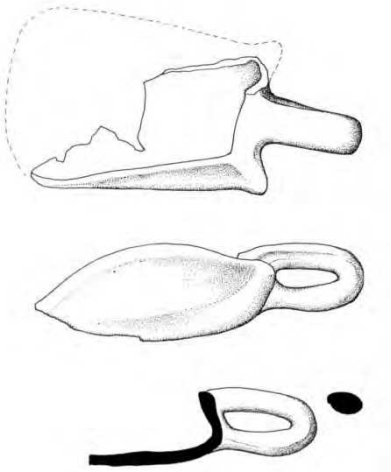

Fig. 1.5: Moza, Scoop/Fire Pan; after Greenhut and De-Groot 2009: Fig. 3.16:11

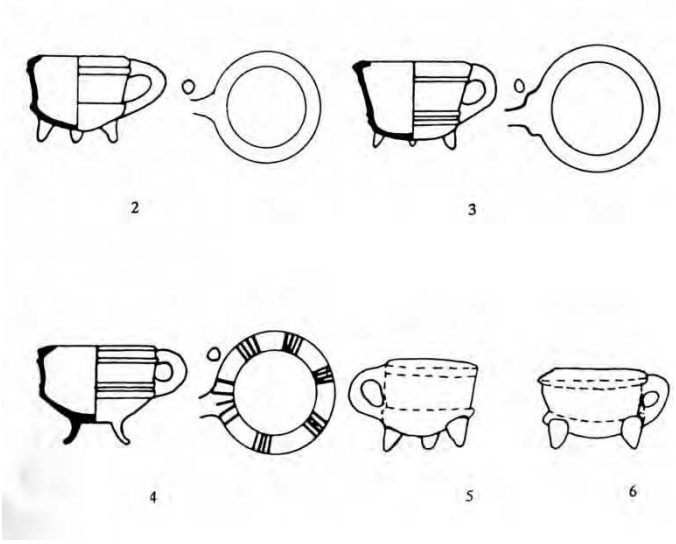

Fig. 1.6: Tripod Cups from Amman
After Zwickel 1990:41

Two related but not identical vessels were found in the Edomite assemblage at 'En Ḥaṣevah (Pl. 16:4-5). They are composed of wheel made bowls (not lamp shaped) with attached vertical loop handles. These vessels have flat bases, unlike the Yavneh fire pans. Ben-Arieh cautiously defined these vessels as "bowls with a single handles". Their date is c. 7th century BC and they originate from a *favissa* (Ben-Arieh 2011: 155-6, Nos. 56-57; IAA Nos. 1995-93, 1995-94). Ben-Arieh noted their resemblance to the Yavneh fire pans.

At Moṣa, seventeen vessels were defined as scoops, some in silos used for storage of grain. One of these vessels (Fig. 1.5) is different and looks like Cypriot fire pans discussed below (Greenhut and De-Groot 2009:104-105, Fig. 3.16:1; the excavators already noticed the similarity to Cypriot vessels, but at the time the Yavneh fire pans were not yet published).

[2] We lack an exact basket for this piece; the reason is that some small pieces, mainly of juglets, were collected together on that day from the entire Locus, in order to separate them from the coarser 'regular' pottery baskets. Due to the pressures during the excavation, we forgot to give a specific basket number to these pieces.

The Yavneh fire pans show some affinities with the handled tripod cups that begin to appear in the southern Levant in the tenth century BC and last through the seventh century BC (Fig. 1.6). These cups are especially common in Transjordan. Most of the tripod cups come from domestic dwellings and tombs. Some are perforated, colander-like; others are not perforated. The exact function/s of these cups is not clear. Traces of burning (from incense or some other scented substances?) are seen inside some of the tripod cups, but not in all of them. The location of the holes at the sides, not at the lower base, fits the interpretation as vessels for fumigation or incense burning (for discussion see Woolley 1955: Pls. 116:77; 124:165a-b; Zwickel 1990:3-61; 2005:10*-13*; Daviau 2001: 205-208; Ben-Arieh 201:155).

Nava Panitz-Cohen drew our attention to a fragment of a vessel from Iron Age IIa Dor. It is shallow, pan like with perhaps beginning of a handle. It could be a fire pan, but this is not certain (Gilboa 2001: Pl. 5.72:11).

1.4. FIRE PANS THROUGHOUT THE PERIODS

1.4.1. EARLY CLAY AND METAL FIRE PANS

The use of incense was widespread in the ancient world, both for cultic and other uses. The materials were not always the famous, expensive myrrh and frankincense, as a wide variety of local plants could be used. Different vessels were designed for incense: for its distillation, for its use and for treating the fuel for burning (Georgiou 1983; Rehm 2010). Not every vessel with traces of burning is related to incense, for example, braziers were used to heat rooms. Even in the cult, there were fire pans for cleansing altars from ashes and remains of animal sacrifices that did not involve incense. It is difficult to assess the exact purpose/s of vessels found in archaeology or (in some cases) depicted in art; as well as to understand the terms for such vessels that exist in ancient sources.

Scholars use a variety of modern terms. The objects that we call here fire pans were defined in English as incense burners, shovels, censers, braziers, lamps, scoops, chafing pans and scuttles. In German they are called Schaufel or Kohlenpfanne; while the French terms are pelle à braise, charbon, feu, boite a feu, etc. (Georgiou 1983:28; Buchholz 1994; Yon 1981:183-184).

Fire pans were manufactured from various materials. One finds fire pans made of clay, stone and metal, at the same period and even place. Metal vessels influenced clay ones, but the last are much more numerous and can give better evidence about the functions of these vessels.

Round pans or dishes with an omphalos base and a handle were produced in bronze, silver and even electrum in Anatolia since the later part of the third millennium BC. They appear in the Troad area (Treasures A and G, bronze, Fig. 1.7) as well as in Eskiyapar (Treasures A and B, buried under the floor of a room). Slightly later, in the early second Millennium BC, handled-pans appear in Syria (Ebla, from a domestic context, Fig. 1.8) and in Mesopotamia (Abu Habba/Sippar). Similar vessels were found in graves at Kültepe and at Assur (Fig. 1.9). Pottery versions of these pans were found in a funerary context at Ebla and at Tell Ahmar (Calmeyer 1977; Mazzoni 2000: Fig. 22-23). The pottery fire pan from Tell Ahmar (Fig. 1.10) has a long hollow handle and a flaring rim. A flat bronze pan with a long handle that has a duck's head finial comes from Late Bronze Age Kāmid el-Lōz (Hachmann 1983:147).

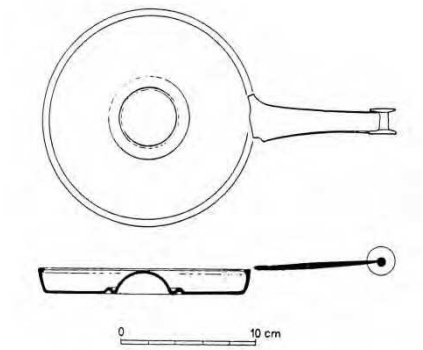

Fig. 1.8: Metal Pan, Ebla
After Mazzoni 2000: Fig. 5

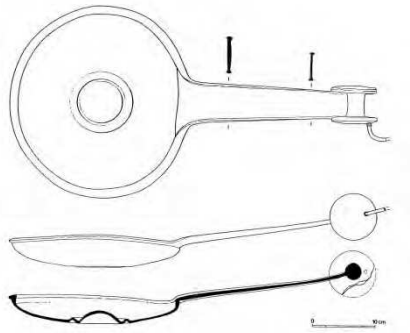

Fig. 1.7: Metal Pan, Troy Treasure A
After Mazzoni 2000: Fig. 14

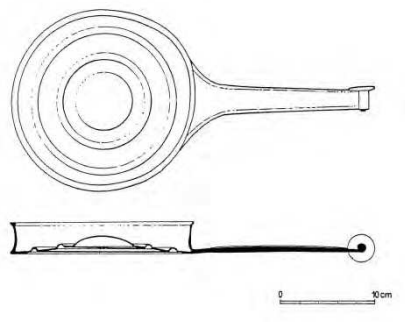

Fig. 1.9: Metal Pan, Ashur
After Mazzoni 2000: Fig. 19

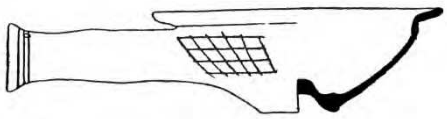

Fig. 1.10: Clay Pan, Tell Ahmar
After Mazzoni 2000: Fig. 22

Rectangular metal fire pans with long (at times twisted) handles are known also in the Late Bronze Age. Examples from Late Bronze Age Cyprus and Sardinia have been found in contexts that suggest use for shoveling coals. Catling assumed an Aegean origin for these vessels; others think that they originated in Cyprus (Catling 1964:100-101, Pl. 10 c-f; Åström 1982:178, Pl. 18:3; Buchholz 1994:150; Vagnetti 2002:313, Fig. 16.8:1). They appear in Israel/Palestine as well, at Megiddo level VIIA (Late Bronze Age, Loud 1948: Pl. 283:2) and at Beth Shemesh (Grant 1929:137 top left; unclear context, perhaps Late Bronze Age).

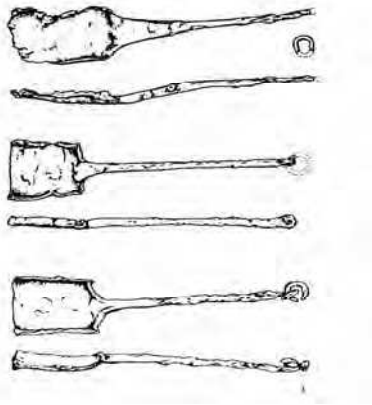

Fig. 1.11: Metal Pans, Dan
After Zwickel 1990:165

Rectangular fire pans continued into the Iron Age. In Cyprus one appears in a Cypro-Geometric III tomb at Amathos and a later one at Vouni (Catling 1964:101). Three iron fire pans were found near the altar at Tel Dan (c. 8th century BC), where ashes and animal bones have been found too (Fig. 1.11; Biran 1992:178-180; Zwickel 1990:161-166). Recently two of them, which have rectangular shoulders, were explained as shovels (*ya'im*), while the rounded third was explained as a *maḥtāh* (Greer 2010:38-40).

1.4.2. AEGEAN FIRE PANS – SECOND MILLENNIUM BC

The closest parallels for the Yavneh fire pans are found in the Aegean world. The earliest examples from this region of clay fire pans are from Lesbos and from Myrtos (in Crete). The Lesbos pan is dated to the Early Bronze Age, that is, roughly contemporaneous with the rounded metal fire pans from Anatolia (Fig. 1.12). It is composed of a bowl with a solid handle; at the join with the handle, the rim is slightly raised and folded inwards (Buchholz 1994:129, Fig. 1c). The fire pans from Myrtos Period II (Early Bronze IIB), which Warren defined as lamps, have a vertical loop handle (Warren 1972:137-138, P523-525; Raymond 2005:186). They also exhibit the peculiar raised rim folded inward at the join with the handle. A fragment of a 'strainer' with a vertical loop handle from Myrtos Period I should perhaps also be considered also as a fire pan, although the rim is not raised and folded where the handle is joined (Warren 1972:108, P71). If so, the Myrtos material shows the same pattern discernible at Yavneh: both solid and perforated fire pans.

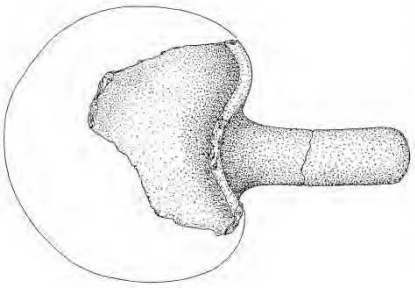

Fig. 1.12: Early Bronze Age Pan, Lesbos
After Buchholtz 1994: Fig. 1c

In the second millennium hundreds of clay 'hand lamps' were manufactured. They were studied in depth by Georgiou under the term scuttles: "a scuttle is a shallow wheel made cup with a handle that is attached to the lip and indents it" (Georgiou 1983:28; Fig. 1.13). These scuttles are rounded and they have rather small flat bases and solid, straight or slightly curved handles that rise slightly upward (Georgiou 1983: Pls. 6; 17:118-122). Such vessels appear at Crete, the Greek islands, Kythera and mainland Greece. Recently, fire pans were published from a Middle Bronze Age context at Miletus in southwestern Turkey (Raymond 2005). They are a feature indicating Minoan presence in Miletus (Niemeier 2000:130). There are other types of 'censers' which need not be discussed here (e.g., Georgiou 1979). Fire pans are also known from Late Bronze age Cyprus (Myrtou-Pigadhes, Buchholz 1994:134, n.13).

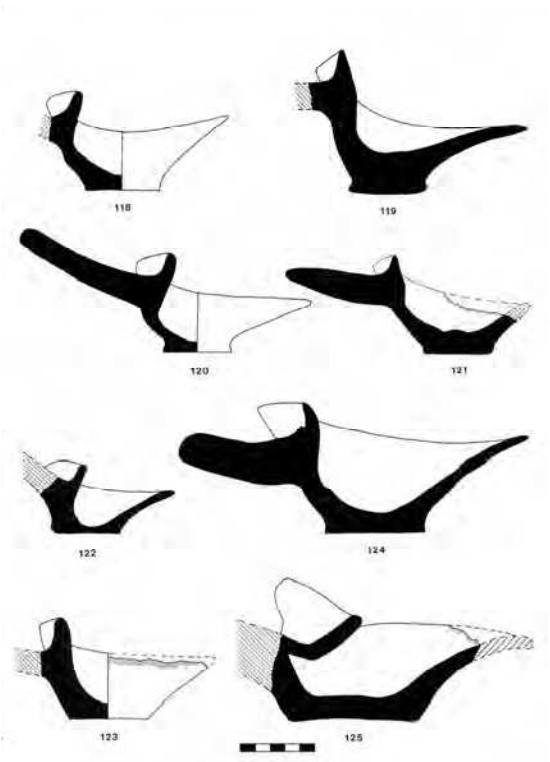

Fig. 1.13: Scuttles from Aya Irini
After Georgiou 1983: Pl. 6.

Georgiou counted 74 fire pans from 28 sites in Crete. Some have vertical loop handles, others are decorated with "impermanent paints". About a third originated from cemeteries and four were noted as having coals inside them (Georgiou 1983:28); compare vessels from Mallia (van Effenterre 1980: Fig. 232) and Katsamba (Alexiou 1967: Pls. 7-8, 14-15). An example dating to the Old Palace period (Middle Minoan IIB) was found at Pera Galenoi (Banou and Tsivilika 2006: Fig. 17; cf. a Late Minoan example, ibid Fig. 38; some Minoan fire pans were three-legged, Xanthoudides 1922: Fig. 20). A bronze fire pan was found at Zakros (Platon 1971:217). At Thera/Akrotiri such hand lamps were found in a domestic context (Marinatos 1999:33-35, Pl. 76, bronze).

It seems that we even have pictorial evidence for such a vessel and its use for incense burning. The fresco from the West House at Thera/Akrotiri shows a woman holding a fire pan, which seems to hold glowing coals (Pl. 17:1-2). The woman is apparently sprinkling some substance upon the coals, probably crocus stamens (Georgiou 1983:29; Doumas 1992: Pls. 24-25). Her robe and the fact that the West House frescos present religious symbolism and are of overly festive character support the interpretation that this woman is a priestess (Boulotis 2005: 53, 65).

Eight fire pans were found at Aya Irini on Keos. Their interiors show traces of burning; the ware is always coarse, with reddish-brown surface lacking decoration. They have a horizontal handle, often curving down (Georgiou 1983:28).

From Late Bronze mainland Greece, 51 apparently still unused fire pans were found in room 62 at Pylos. Others are known from Mycenae and Zygouries (Pl. 17.3); at Vapheio a bronze example was found (Georgiou 1983:28-29; Blegen 1955:33, Pl. 25:6; Yon 1981:183, Fig. 183). Their handles are solid, flattened, with a hole for suspension near the end (Demakopoulou, Divari-Valakou and Schallin 2003:14). Handles of "lamps" or "braziers" were found on a bench of a temple dated to the 12th century (Building E) at Kephala (Crete), along with other cultic objects, such as two figurines, a snake tube, a rectangular fenestrated stand and a circular stand (Eliopoulos 2004:87). At Kommos, "braziers" (similar to the Yavneh fire pans) were used in every phase of the Late Minoan shrine. Shaw (2004:144, cf. Fig. 10.6) wonders "whether braziers doubled as containers for charcoal and also as *thymiateria* or incense burners".

Fire pans are apparently documented in the texts from Pylos (Catling 1964:101; 1961:151). The fire pan appears as a pictogram of a bowl with a horizontal handle (Fig. 1.14). It appears in the middle top row of tablet 709+712 (Bennett and Blegen 1955:82, 187, 250), listed among "cooking utensils", as can be gathered from the pictograms (Palmer 1963: 29-30). The tablet consists of three fragments, and the center part was the last to have been found. Hence, translation was first offered for the two side pieces. Ventris and Chadwick interpreted the form as possibly a lamp, syllabically reading *pa-ke-te-ri-ja* (Ventris and Chadwick 1973:337, no. 237). Gugliermino (1982:173) interpreted this term as *sphaktērion,* "bowl for catching blood". After the central fragment was retrieved, the reading for the bowl with horizontal handle was mended to *po-ro-ke-te-ri-ja/proelkteria*, "ladle" (Palmer 1963:29, 342; DMic. I: po-ro-e-ke-te-ri-ja). In the revised edition of Ventris and Chadwick, Chadwick (1973:449) follows Palmer, translating this term as "an instrument for drawing forth, perhaps a kind of fork or rake". The entire tablet holds a list of items, which according to Palmer (1963:3) reads: boiling pans (*phiélai*) decorated with spirals; 2 jars (*phákto*) with double filters; 1 "ladle" (*proelktēriā*); 6 shovels (*khō*[*s*]*stēria*[*i*]); 1 brush, 2 fire tongs (*pyraútro*); 1 fire rake; and two types of portable hearths (*eskharā*). The list ends with two tripods of Cretan workmanship (Palmer 1963: 342-343; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:499, no. 237; Vandenabeele and Olivier 1979:187). Palaima suggests the following sequence for these items: pouring vases, flat receiving vessels, fire implements and portable hearths, and tripods. However, it is difficult to determine whether he matches the "ladle" with the following fire implements or with the earlier "flat receiving vessels" (Palaima 2000:237, #6; 2004:113). If *proelktēriā* is "wedded" to the boiling pans and storage jars mentioned before it, it should be interpreted as a ladle; but if counted as part of the following set (shovels, brush, fire tongs and fire rake), it should be interpreted as a fire-handling item, possibly a fire pan. It should be noted that Linear B pictograms have both a bowl with a horizontal handle (*proelkēriā*), similar to the archaeological examples that we call here fire pans (Vandenabeele and Olivier 1979:187-188, no. 228, "sorte de louche", "bol hémisphérique avec un long manche horizontal"); and a bowl with a vertical handle that has a hooked end (Vandenabeele and Olivier 1979:188, no. 229, "cuilleron" hémisphérique pourvu d'un long manche vertical recourbé dans la parties supérieure"). The fact that the *proelktēriā* appears in the list after vases with filters is important: filters are often built in a vessel at the bottom of the neck. It would be impossible to insert a ladle into a vessel with built-in filter. Therefore, *proelktēriā*, the bowl with the horizontal handle, may be interpreted as a fire pan; whereas the bowl with the vertical handle is a ladle.

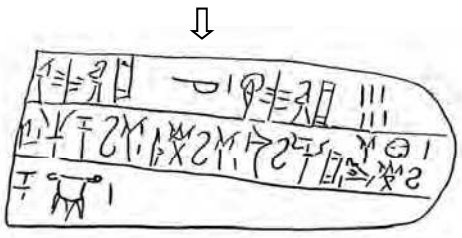

Fig. 1.14: Pylos Text Ta712
After Bennett and Blegen 1955:82

Vandenabeele and Olivier (1979:188) comment that the form with the vertical, hooked handle appears along with the pictograms for one-handled cup (no. 221) and ostrich shaped bottle (no. 217). The first item in the list of Tablet 709, the boiling pan (*phiélai*), has a pictogram of a "large shallow vessel, designed to expose a large area to the fire, and provided with high swung handles for suspension" (Ventris and Chadwick 1973:324-325, no. 200). Vandenabeele and Olivier (1979:222-223) suggest that this shape finds no satisfying parallels in the archaeological record, and that the boiling pan in Homer and the Mycenaean period was a large vessel destined for the fire. However, in the Classical period the Phiále 'shrunk' to become a drinking cup. The *phiélai* of Pylos Tablet 709 seems to correspond to the *phiālai* – Hebrew *yā'îm* (scrapers) of Num. 4:14.

As Georgiou (1983:29) notes, the LB vessels which we call here fire pans cannot be braziers, since their capacity would not enable them to heat even a small room. They are too small to serve as portable cooking ovens and they are not found in kitchens. They are also not lamps, since the form differs and the pattern of discoloration on the interior does not fit an interpretation as lamps. In lamps, the discoloration appears at the lip where the wick is burning. Georgiou suggested that they were coal scuttles.

1.4.3. AEGEAN FIRE PANS IN THE FIRST MILLENNIUM BC

A metal fire pan was found in Enkomi Tomb 66 dated to the twelfth century BC (Fig. 1:15). It is a combination of a spouted lamp and a rectangular fire pan, and the handle is placed opposite the spout. Matthäus (1985:268, No. 598) assumes that it served as a lamp. A slightly larger, roughly rectangular clay "shovel for charcoal or ashes" with a slightly convex base and large vertical loop handle was found in the Temple at Aya Irini. Its inside was blackened by contact with live coals. Its handle was found near the altar or hearth and Georgiou notes that it is similar in function to the "scuttles" (1983:45-46, Pl. 22: No. 182).

According to Buchholz (1994:154), fire pans are lacking from Cyprus in the early archaic period, but they reappear and become widely distributed in the Cypro-Archaic II to Cypro-Classic periods (6^{th}-4^{th} centuries BC). At Tamassos alone there are about 50 of them; others are known from Aya Irini, Limassol, Idalion, Salamis, Vouni, Kourion and Marion (Buchholz 1994:135). Fire pans in Cyprus till the 6^{th} century BC have a rounded base, but sometimes in the 6^{th} century BC the form changes and later examples have a flat base (Buchholz 1994:133). The front part is round and open; the rear part is pinched twice on both sides of the handle, forming sort of corners. These Cypriot vessels are built on the same principle as the Yavneh fire pans – a body shaped like the saucer of a lamp with an attached handle.

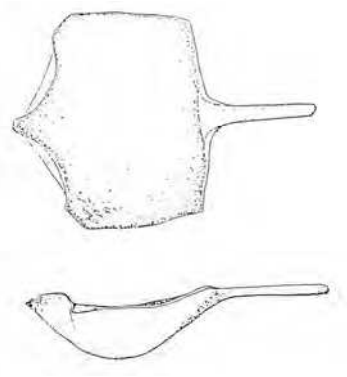

Fig. 1.15: Enkomi Tomb 66
After Matthäus 1985: no. 598

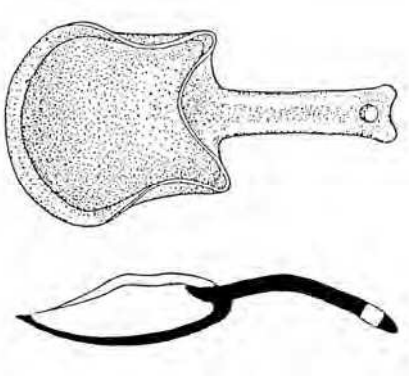

Fig. 1.16: Cypriot Pan, Handle A
After Buchholz 1994: Fig. 2f

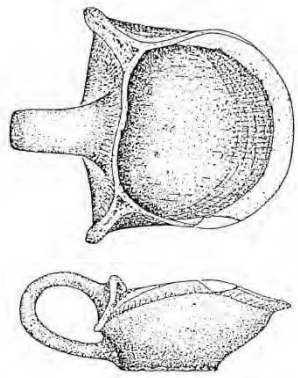

Fig. 1.17: Cypriot Pan, Handle B
After Buchholz 1994: Fig. 8f

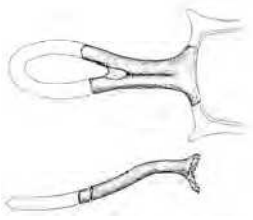

Fig. 1.18: Cypriot Pan, Handle C
After Buchholz 1994: Fig. 7b

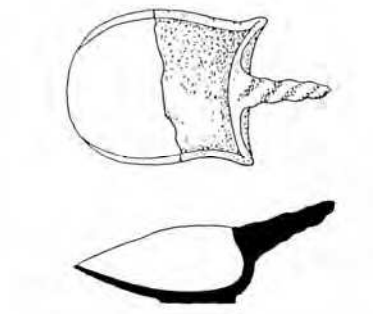

Fig. 1.19: Cypriot Pan, Handle D
After Buchholz 1994: Fig. 2e

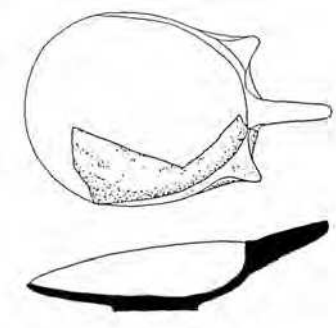

Fig. 1.20: Cypriot Pan, Handle E
After Buchholz 1994: Fig. 2c

Buchholz (1994:133, Fig. 2) creates a typology of Cypriot fire pans according to handles, with five types. Type A is the most common, with thin curving handles, sometimes with a hole (for suspension?) near its end (Fig. 1.16). Type B has vertical loop handles and is rare (Fig. 1.17). Type C has horizontal loop handles (Fig. 1.18). Type D, with short solid and twisted 'tangs', is also rare (Fig. 1.19). Type E has similar short, solid handles, but not twisted (Fig. 1.20). Most of the fire pans are comparable in size to the Yavneh ones, while some are somewhat larger – c. 30 cm long (Buchholz 1994:134).

Few of these fire pans come from graves. However, almost all the fire pans from Tamassos (and some from other sites) originate in sacred precincts, especially near altars, where they seem to have been deposited in Bothroi after use. Some are charred, but Buchholz notes that they cannot be used as lamps, because they are too shallow to hold oil. Furthermore, it would be unreasonable to place burning wicks in spouts that are located near the handles – the part used for grasping the vessels. In most fire pans the pinching is not functional for a lamp – it creates closed corners that cannot be used as spouts (Buchholz 1994:135, 141, 153; Figs. 2b; 4-6; 7a, c; 8f). A few fire pans are round and have no pinching, but in order to maintain the form two short pointed 'lugs' of clay were applied on both sides of the handle (Buchholz 1994: Figs. 7e, 7g). The deposits (*bothroi*) include wood coals, remains of food (animal bones, fish-bones, shells, olives) and eating vessels. Buchholz suggested that during the ritual scented wood, aromatic herbs and resins must have been burnt. At Tamassos (and in all the sacred precincts on the island) numerous chalices (*thymiateria*) were found as well, pointing to the offering of incense. The fire pans may have been used to burn incense during religious processions. They seem to have been used once and deposited after being broken (Buchholz 1994: 141, 153). Fire pans appear also in limestone and metal in Cyprus, but they are much less common and are all fragmented. Their handles often have finials of animal heads – especially rams (Buchholz 1994:147-150).

Finally, one should mention a Persian-period 'censer' found in a tomb at Shechem (Stern 1980: 104; fig. 10:4; Pl. 15B; length: 22.5 cm.). It is composed of a completely flat bronze plate with a handle made of thick bronze wire. No signs of burning were found, and Stern thought that it could also have been used as part of a *thymiaterion*. He also noted possible Persian-period parallels from Neirab and Kh. Ibsan.

1.5. FIRE PANS AND LAMPS

It seems that fire pans are related to lamps in that their manufacturing technique was similar: fire pans were often made as lamps, but with added handles and an open 'side'. Thus, we must review the development of lamps in order to understand fire pans better.

Middle to Late Bronze age lamps in the southern Levant have rounded bases, one spout, and – a new feature of the Late Bronze period – everted or flanged rims (Fig. 1.21; Sussman 2007:47). It is commonly accepted that "it was the oil lamp of the East that 'conquered' the Western world" (Sussman 2007:42). In other words, spouted lamps were introduced to Cyprus from the Levant during the Late Bronze Age II (Gjerstad 1946:19; cf. Karageorghis 2000:176, No. 290). At roughly the same period or slightly later, this 'Levantine type of lamp' appeared in the Greek mainland (Maran 2004:25, Fig. 15). Lamps in Middle/Late Bronze Age Cyprus are pinched like Levantine lamps, or are made as rectangular lamps with four slight pinched spouts (like Levantine Intermediate Bronze Age lamps). They are either hand-made or wheel made and are not similar to Aegean Bronze age fire pans (Oziol 1977:17; Åström 1966:111-112, Fig. 107).

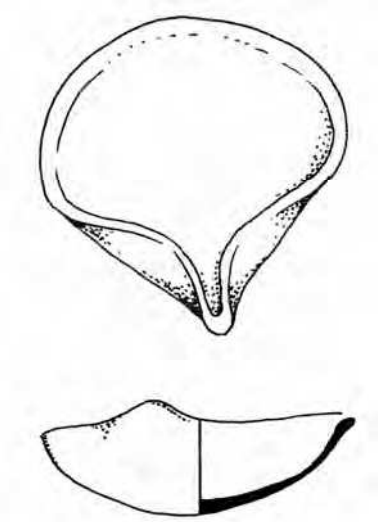

Fig. 1.21: LB Lamp, Gezer
After Sussman 2007: Fig. 5.29

The Aegean Bronze age fire pans seem to relate to Minoan and Mycenaean lamps (Jantzen and Tölle 1968:88-92). Minoan lamps ("hand lamps") have a flanged rim and a solid, horizontal handle, and a flat base (Banou and Tsivilika 2006: Figs. 17, 38). Mycenaean lamps are characterized by a shallow round bowl with a long horizontal, solid handle. At the end of the bowl opposite the handle there is a cutting for the wick. Such lamps are known in clay, stone and metal and the clay ones often show traces of burning on the wick-cutting (Demakopoulou 1998: Catalogue Nos. 221, 246-247).

Pinched lamps have not been found in Cyprus in the Late Cypriot III - Cypro-Geometric I periods (Gjerstad 1946:19). Oziol (1977:18) writes that pinched, one spouted lamps with flanged rims appeared in the Cypro Geometric III period. Joanna Smith (pers. com.) suggests that there is no such gap. This would solve the difficulty of two 'arrivals' in Cyprus of the same 'Levantine' lamp type.

In the southern Levant, Sussman (2007:61-71) recognizes three types of Iron Age II lamps. Type A (Fig. 1.22, from Tell en-Nasbeh) with rounded to flattened bases is the common form, known from all over the southern Levant and from Cyprus. Type C (Fig. 1.23, from Tell Abu-Hawwam) is a later Iron Age lamp with a disk (flat) base, typical to the 8th-7th centuries BC. This type of lamp is not relevant to our discussion. Sussman (2007:64) defines a third type – B – called "Cypro Phoenician" (Fig. 1.24, from Megiddo): "oil lamps… with short, U-shaped spouts and flat, wide, flanged rims have very small thumb-pressed triangular folds ending in short, rimless crescent. This is a relatively new technique … the same technique is employed in the manufacture of two-spout Punic lamps in use throughout the Western Mediterranean." According to Sussman type B is influenced by pottery workshops in Cyprus and in Phoenicia, but similar features are also found in later (type C) lamps. It seems that most of the examples of type B lamps in Sussman's catalogue are later Iron Age ones; the distribution does not fit the suggested nomenclature. From drawings and plates it is very difficult to see clear differences between types A and B. We consulted with several colleagues working on pottery of the period (A. De-Groot, N. Panitz-Cohen and Ayelet Gilboa), and they recognize only two types – Sussman's A and C.

Type A lamps were widely common all over the Levant, including Israel/Palestine, Phoenicia, and Cyprus. Some minor nuances are observed (e.g. Yannai 1995), but as a whole the lamps are fairly similar over this wide area.

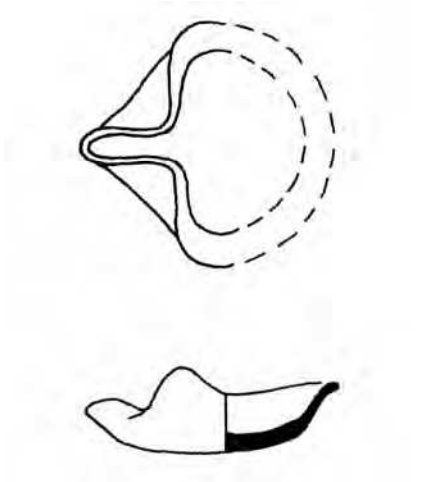

Fig. 1.22: Iron Age Lamp 'Type A'
After Sussman 2007: Fig. 7.35:2.

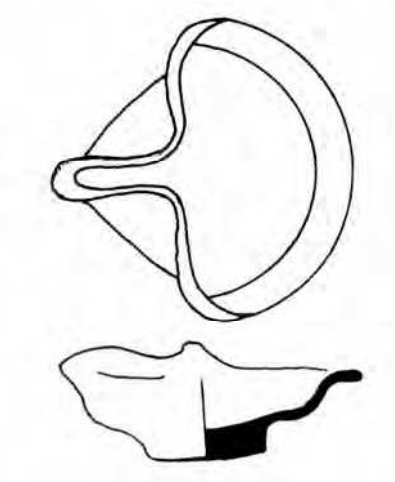

Fig. 1.23: Iron Age Lamp 'Type C'
After Sussman 2007: Fig. 7.37:1

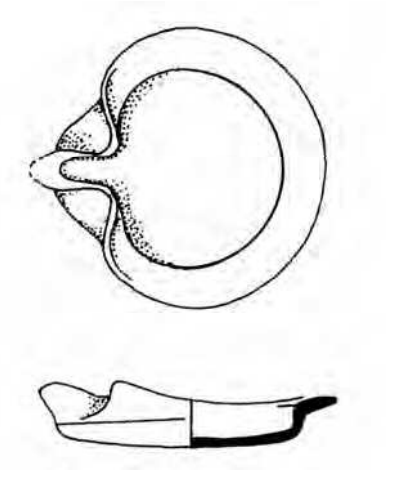

Fig. 1.24: Iron Age Lamp 'Type B'
After Sussman 2007: Fig. 7.36:1-2

The one-spouted lamp (with flat or disk base) appears in the Levant until the end of the Iron Age. Persian period open lamps (Fig. 1.25) continue the same general shape, with nuances (Stern 1982:127-129; Singer-Avitz 1989:119, Pl. 9.1:8; 9.7.6-7; Tal 1999:105, Fig. 4.13:32; Kapitaikin 2006:40, Fig.11; Sussman 2007:84, 88). They are gradually replaced by closed types, adapted from 'Western' lamps, starting with the fifth century BC (Singer-Avitz 1989:130, Fig.9.9:6-7, 9.10:11-12; Kapitaikin 1999: Fig. 11:8-11). The same is true for Cyprus: one-spouted lamps appear through the Archaic Period (Karageorghis 1977:62, Nos. 129-142; cf. Oziol 1977:17-18).

Lamps with two nozzles, often called "Punic lamps", are sometimes seen as a type which was "introduced to Cyprus from the Levant" (Karageorghis 2000:176). However, these lamps appear in the Western Mediterranean (Carthage, Spain) since the 7th century BC (Oziol 1977:18, n.4, 'Cypro-Phoenicienne'). This type is rare in Israel/Palestine (Fig. 1.26), where it appears for the first time in the Persian period (Sussman 2007:80; in her view it presumably originated in 8th-7th centuries BC Phoenicia). Regardless of the question of the origin of the two-nozzle lamp, Archaic-Classical fire pans in Cyprus evolved directly out of this type of lamp. Only, in the fire pans the side opposite the handle is shallower and lacks the flanged rim (for example, compare Oziol 1977, lamps Pl. 53:36-37 and fire pan Pl. 53:38) (Fig. 1.27).

Unlike lamps which have a rim all around, most fire pans have an open, shallow part opposite the handle. This indicates their function – to pick up something by a sliding movement, as was noticed already by Oziol (1977:26, No. 38): "L'absence de rebord, sur le côté opposé aux becs et au manche, invite à imaginer que l'on pouvait facilement faire glisser quelque chose dans la coupelle". Thus, we believe that the Yavneh fire pans were intended to take up glowing coals from a fire. One grasps the vessel by the handle, sliding it forward to 'collect' coals. The fire pans could then be used to move coals to another location (not as braziers or lamps, see above). Fire

pans could also be used as incense burners, by sprinkling incense on the coals (as depicted at Thera and as some biblical sources indicate, see below).

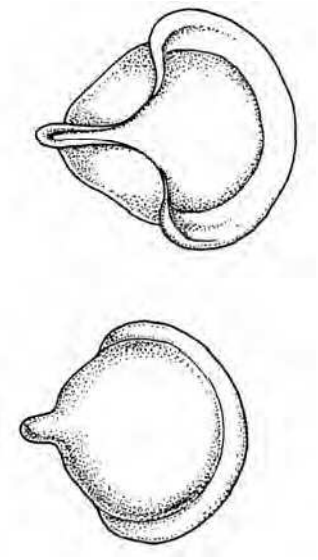

Fig. 1.25: Persian Period Lamp
After Sussman 2007: Fig. 10.55.

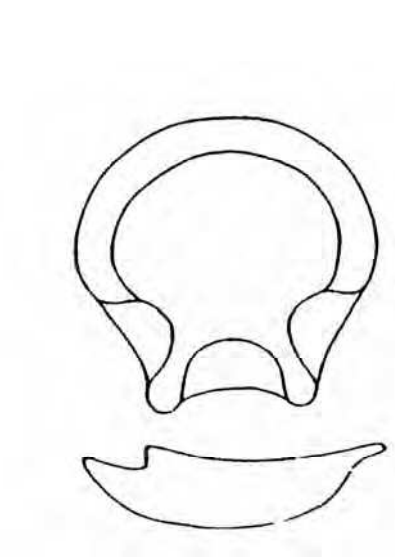

Fig. 1.26: Lamp with Two Nozzles
After Sussman 2007: Fig. 9.52

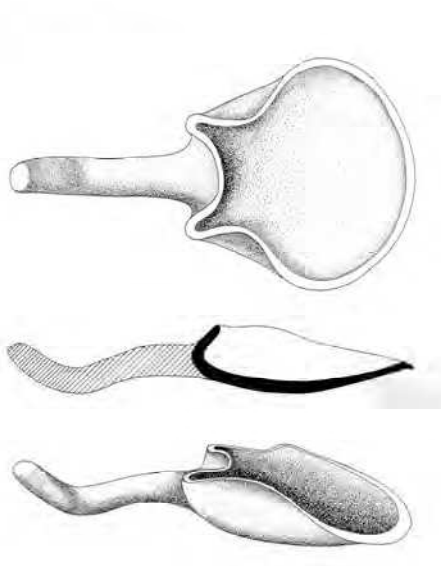

Fig. 1.27: Fire Pan from Salamis
After Oziol 1977: Pl. 54:38

1.6. FIRE PANS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

1.6.1. THE OLD TESTAMENT FIRE PAN

The subject of incense in the Old Testament is a complex issue, involving many theories starting with Wellhausen, but not resolved (Haran 1978; Zwickel 1990; Heger 1997, with references). Here we will discuss only the biblical sources pertaining to fire pans.

The OT recognizes fire pans under the term *maḥtāh* (מחתה), from the verb חתה. The verb is directly related to fire and means taking or heaping of burning coals (Isaiah 30:14; Proverbs 6:27; 25:22; Psalms 52:7). As Isaiah (30:14) clarifies, for picking burning coals one needs more than just a small sherd, though probably even a simple, larger sherd would do.

The OT knows more than one type of fire pan. Gold fire pans are mentioned in the Tabernacle as part of the tools of the lamp (*mĕnôrâh*, מנורה) (Exodus 25:37; 37:23; Numbers 4:9). Sometimes they are translated as "snuff-dishes" or "snuff shovels". They have no relation to incense and their exact use is unknown. Some thought that they are receptacles for the oil, or saucers for putting the lamps away. It is more likely they were pans for cleaning the ashes of the wicks, or receptacles for the burnt wicks. The Vulgate translated the term here as "trays for snuffing out the burnt wicks" and the LXX as "fire-pans" [πυρείον] (Houtman 2000:402-403, nn.203-205; for the *maḥtôt* of the lamp in later periods see Brand 1953:293). Houtman (2000:403) concludes that "considering the function of the מחתות they obviously had a handle".

According to I Kings 7:50, the Jerusalem temple tools included gold fire pans. This verse is related the 'gold altar' – according to many, a post-exilic addition (Zwickel 1990:281 n. 70; Heger 1997:176 n. 6; Mulder 2002:371-2; another view Hurowitz 1995). Unfortunately, the fire pans are listed in a long list and theoretically they could even relate to the gold lamps. Fire pans were taken by the Babylonians amongst other spoils (II Kings 25:15; Jeremiah 52:19; Becking 2007:154-155).

Apparently these fire pans are the same gold fire pans, which relate to the gold altar, but the verses do not specify this explicitly. Hurowitz (1995:158) suggested that the gold fire pans of I Kings 7 were related to the incense altar – because they served for incense and because no fire pans are mentioned for the copper altar of I Kings 7:40, 45. However, he was ready to relate them also to the gold altar, based on late sources.

According to Exodus (27:1-3; cf. 38:1-3), the horned altar of the tabernacle was made of wood and overlaid with copper (for this altar see Houtman 2000:441-451; Jacob 1992:800-805; Heger 1999:171-281). It had a set of five accompanying utensils – an essential part of the altar – including copper fire pans (Jacob 1992:800-801). The LXX lists only four utensils and translates the *maḥtâh* as πυρείον (Houtman 2000:450; cf. Heger 1999:182-185).

The copper altar was used for various offerings including animals (Ex. 29). The exact role of the altar's fire pans – whether to transfer coals or/and to burn incense – is not specified here.

Numbers 4 has Levites attending the sacred objects and is a late, exilic or post-exilic, source (cf. Levine 1993:173; Noth 1968:41-42). Numbers 4:14 lists the *maḥtôt* among the set of tools that belong to the large animal offering altar of the tabernacle. The tools include also forks or flesh-hooks (מזלגת), scrapers (יעים) and basins or tossing bowls (מזרקת) for throwing blood on the altar (Levine 1993:168; Noth 1968:41-43; Davies 1995:41). For moving, the altar is cleaned and covered and then the tools are placed on it and covered as well. Numbers 4:11 mentions the gold altar (for incense), but without an accompanying set of tools. The following verse, 4:12, describes only general utensils – כלי השרת – that is, "additional tools" not necessarily of the gold altar (Levine 1993:168). Milgrom (1990:27) explains that the gold altar's top was too small to carry the altar's tools; hence, they were included with the general tools and therefore not mentioned explicitly. This is possible, but considering the importance given to the gold altar, it is unlikely. Utensils for the gold altar are also absent from the description of its making in Exodus 30:27. This in itself does not prove that the gold altar is a later addition. It is possible that the utensils of the large animal offering altar were serving both altars, thus explaining the lack of utensils for the gold altar.

Leviticus 16:12 (a later source than Lev. 10, which is mentioned in Lev. 16:1) gives 'precise' specifications for a Tabernacle ritual with incense. This ritual is performed once a year on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:29ff; Rooke 2005**;** Zwickel 1990:298-9; Jacob 1992:898ff). According to this priestly source, the high priest takes a fire pan full of glowing coals "from the altar before the Lord" (מעל המזבח לפני יהוה). It seems that the coals are taken right from the large altar that is "before YHWH", apparently outside the Holy of Holies (cf. verse 18), that is, the altar of animal sacrifices. If so, the gold or incense altar is not mentioned in this source. The high priest takes the fire pan and a handful of special incense (קטרת סמים דקה) and brings them inside the Holy of Holies (מבית לפרכת). He then places the incense on the fire "before YHWH", and the cloud of incense covers the *kaporet*, "lest he will die". Obviously, the incense is seen here as a desired ritual, which is performed directly before God, but the source comes to stress that nobody should enter the Holy of Holies except the high priest on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:1).

1.6.2. THE STORY OF NADAB AND ABIHU (LEVITICUS 10)

Two stories of rebellion (attributed to Priestly redactions) portray the use of fire pans for incense offering. The first of these stories is the enigmatic narrative of the death of Nadab and Abihu (Leviticus 10). It is a 'late' story – according to Nihan (2007:150), it belongs to the final – latest – reduction of Leviticus. According to this story, Nadab and Abihu, sons of Aaron, each took his fire pan and placed fire in it. They placed incense on the fire and offered (ויקריבו) to God "alien fire" (אש זרה), which he did not command. Fire came out from God and killed the two brothers. Verse 10:1 relates to two *maḥtôt*, but the putting of incense is given in singular, "on it". Various explanations were suggested (Heger 1997:66 n. 44), but there is no problem here, since the singular relates to "fire", which is always singular in Hebrew. Thus, the verse is accurate in describing sprinkling of incense on a fire, which was burning in two fire pans.

Many scholars discussed this story and the question whether the 'alien' element – the sin – relates to the fire, the fire pans, the ingredients of the incense or its preparation, or the persons making the offer. Scholars were much troubled by the brothers' cruel death, coming so it seems without prior warning (Haran 1978:231-232; Hartley 1992:130-133; Heger 1997:57-71; Grabbe 2003:209, n.7; Achenbach 2004; Nihan 2007:148-150; 579-607). As Nihan (2007:582) saw, the author explicitly explained the sin by saying that God "did not command" to give this offering. Nihan reads from it that the performance of this ritual was reserved to the high priest (based also on Numbers 17:6-15, for which see below). As many scholars agree (but details vary greatly), this story relates to post-exilic priestly debates concerning who has the right to perform certain rituals (Heger 1997:68, 71; Jacob 1992:901; Hartley 1992:130-132; Achenbach 2004).

We are not told from where exactly the brothers took the fire for the fire-pans. Schwartz (2004:227), in another attempt to explain the sin of Nadab and Abihu, suggests that fire in the OT may mean unlit kindling materials, hence, the brothers placed unlit coals or wood on the fire pans, wishing to attract the divine fire (mentioned earlier in Lev. 9:24). This allegedly explains the sin of the two brothers; but it has no basis in the story. In addition, the references cited by Schwartz do not show that fire may mean unlit materials. In our view, Nadab and Abihu took the burning coals from the large altar (cf. Lev. 16:12), thus the "alien fire" was not in itself offensive; only not commanded by God (Heger 1997:57-63; Nihan 2007:580-582).

Why did the author use here the verb QRB (קרב) instead of the expected verb for incense offering, *qṭr* (קטר)? This is not a mistake or gloss, since what the story depicts with this verb is the movement of offering. Nadab and Abihu brought near (ויקריבו) the fire pans with smoking incense "in front of Yahweh". The bringing near probably means, in this case, lifting up the fire pans (on lifting up cultic offerings in the OT see Milgrom 1983:133-138;

raised incense offering is depicted in Egypt, e.g. Keel 1997:331 Fig. 442).[3] The verb QRB was used here not only because of the movement performed during the ritual, but also because it connects directly with the punishment. The brothers lifted up their fire towards God, God poured down his fire upon them. It is not difficult now to visualize the ritual performed by Nadab and Abihu, once we understand that they held a fire pan of the type found at Yavneh. Interestingly, Nadab and Abihu used their own 'private' fire pans, not the Tabernacle's ones. However, the story does not say that this was a transgression and it is not related to their punishment.

1.6.3. KORAH AND HIS SECT (NUMBERS 16–17)

The second story is found in Numbers 16–17. These chapters were composed from various stories which almost certainly reflect debates and ideologies of post-exilic 'priestly' authors; we follow the textual analysis of Noth (1968; for the complex composition of Numbers see Budd 1984:181-189; Knierim and Coats 2005:6-25; Nihan 2007; Römer 2007).[4] The earlier story on Dathan and Abiram (Num. 16:1b, 2a, 12-15, 25, 27b-31, 33abα, 34) is not of our concern here. The story of the rebellion of Korah comes from Priestly circles and includes an earlier narrative about Korah and 250 followers, who dispute the priestly prerogatives of the Levites (Num. 16:1a, 2b-7a, 18, 23f, 27a, 35). This story is followed by an 'appendix' (Num. 17:6-15). A later strand – not a full story– has Korah as spokesman for a group of Levites who dare to ask for the rights of the priestly office (Num. 16: 7b-11, 16f, 19-22). This strand seems to have its appendix as well (Num. 17:1-5) (Noth 1968:118-130; Davies 1995:162-165).

The earlier Korah narrative shows exactly the use of fire pans of the type found at Yavneh. It assumes that Korah and his 250 followers had their own private fire pans, which were not related to the Tabernacle's equipment. By ordering the rebels to offer incense, Moses devised a "test" to verify who has the right "to come near" God – a right reserved for priests (Num. 16:5, see Davies 1995:170). The brothers were to take fire pans, put fire (=burning coals) inside them and place incense above the fire "before the Lord" (Num. 16:5, 17). The verb QRB is used consistently for this incense offering. The ritual is performed at the entrance to the Tabernacle. There is no specification about the fire for the fire pans and no mention of "alien fire" (Heger 1997:72, 76). From the place of the test it is possible to deduce that the rebels took the fire from the large offering altar (but see Milgrom 1990:134, 139). The story accepts the offering of incense as a legitimate act, Moses even commanded the rebels to perform it. Therefore, the fire pans, the incense and the offering act were all authorized (Heger 1997:72-73, n. 55). Only those who offered were not. The rebels' end (Num. 16:35) resembled that of Nadab and Abihu: fire came forth from Yahweh and consumed them (cf. Noth 1968:129).

In the appendix to the first story (Num. 17:6-15), Moses commands Aaron to make a similar incense offering as an emergency act, in order to stop a plague. In this section, Aaron takes the fire specifically from the altar of the tabernacle, using 'the fire pan' – that is, a tabernacle's fire pan, apparently related to the copper altar (Milgrom 1990:141). The incense offering is made as atonement. Since Aaron returns to the entrance of the tabernacle (17:15) and does not enter inside, he took the fire from the animal offering (copper) altar; not from an "incense altar" which was (or was not) inside the Tabernacle.

The details about the incense test are similar in the later strand, but here Aaron too is directed to hold a fire pan with incense, so that the test would separate him from the rebels – but this strand lacks an ending. In the appendix to the later strand (Num. 17:1-5) God directs El'azar the priest (son of Aaron, therefore authorized to handle sacred objects) to lift the copper fire pans, and recycle them into hammered sheet plating for the altar. Since the gold altar cannot have bronze plating, the altar here can only be the animal offering altar – the copper altar of the Tabernacle (Noth 1968:129). According to this appendix, similarly to the earlier Korah narrative, the incense, the fire and the fire pans are all acceptable. The sin is that God does not allow outsiders (איש זר), not from the seed of Aaron, to offer incense before him (Num. 17:5). In other words, the rebel's fire was not "alien fire" (אש זרה) by itself, but the people were "alien people" (איש זר). Verse 17:2b is difficult: the fire does not fit the ending "for they were holy" (כי קדשו). There are several amendments; we follow the understanding that the command to scatter the fire was given because the fire was holy (since the fire burning now was the one poured down from God). Therefore, profane use of it was to be avoided by scattering away (Noth 1968:130; Davies 1995:178; Heger 1997:76, 85).

Tawil (pers. com.) suggests that the 'alien fire' in the story of Nadab and Abihu comes from the root *ZRH*, "to sprinkle" and not from *ZWR*, "alien". In Akkadian, the verb *zaru* (*izru-izarru*) appears with the sense of "to sprinkle, to sow". Hence, one should not read here "alien fire", but rather "scattered incense" – offering of incense scattered around and not placed on the altar. Exodus 30:9 prohibits offerings on the Gold altar except regular in-

[3] Perhaps *ša telilti (ša telissi)* "censer", the abbreviated form of *šehtu ša telilti* incense vessel, which is attested as being swung over a table, was a fire pan; *CAD* T: 329 *tēliltu* c; *CAD* Š2: 264-265 *šehtu*.
[4] For a view accepting early dates and reliability see Tayor 2010.

cense offering. Aaron's sons transgressed against this prohibition, hence they were punished. This is a new and linguistically brilliant interpretation. However, the fire becomes the focus instead of the incense – we would have to assume that "scattered fire" means "scattered incense". A more serious difficulty is posed by the mention of איש זר in Num. 17:5 as an explanation to the sin. One cannot read "sprinkled man", only "alien man" here. If the sinner was alien (= unauthorized, uninitiated), it seems likely that the sin too was alien in the sense of "alien fire", that is, fire used by alien persons, who had no right to perform the ritual.

All the versions of the Korah story recognize only one tabernacle altar – the copper one; and the fire pans are therefore related to this altar (they are made of copper and are made into copper plating of this copper altar). As Noth (1968:124) wrote, "P knows of no particular incense altar in the sanctuary".

Haran (1960:121-123; 1978:238-245; 1999:237) understands the stories of Nadab, Abihu and Korah as evidence for a special incense ritual, performed with 'regular' incense in the Tabernacle court, not on an altar, using *maḥtôt* (which he translates as long-handled censers held in the hand). He separates this ritual from the golden altar incense ritual, which was performed inside the temple, using special incense (קטרת סמים). By this, Haran harmonizes the discrepancies between the various Biblical sources about incense in the cult. However, the sources do not specify any "censer incense ritual" (for criticism and more references, see Heger 1997:48-96). We believe that *maḥtôt* could be used independently, but also in relation to altars; the OT shows that *maḥtôt* were part of the set of altar utensils. The same can be seen from Rabbinical sources, for example the saying of Aha Bar Yakov in reference to the story of Korah (Babylonian Talmud, *Menaḥoth* 99a, cf. Heger 1997:76, n. 64): "Before they [the *maḥtôt*] were auxiliaries to the altar, now [they are] the core of the altar."

Since the term *maḥtāh* appears in late sources in the OT, Zwickel (1990:281-282, 295) identified it with the small cuboid incense altars made of stone, which appear in Palestine since the 7th century BC, but mainly in the Persian period. In his view, handles were added later, forming the shape of the *maḥtôt* of the Roman period. However, these small cuboid altars have legs and cannot function for picking up coals – they are not *maḥtôt* but small altars; while Yavneh shows that fire pans had handles already in a much earlier period.

Heger (1997) translated *maḥtāh* as "censer" and opposed to Haran's theory about special incense for censers. He does agree with Haran that there was a separate "censer incense" ritual, but unlike Haran, he thinks that it was a legitimate ritual, which also lay people could perform in the pre-exilic period. Already in 1948, Kelso (1948:23) identified the Biblical *maḥtāh* as a metal "censer or a pan, in which coals were carried from the altar of burnt offering to the incense altar… The Israelite censer probably had a handle … since copper is an excellent conductor of heat."

The OT mentions another altar utensil, *yā'îm* (always in plural), which may have been similar in shape to the *maḥtôt*, but are not related to incense. They were used "to sweep away" coals and ashes (Isa. 28:17; also I Kings 7:45; Jeremiah 52:18). The LXX translates it as *phiālai,* "cup". The Vulgate translates it as *forcipes*, "tongs". Heger (1999:181) suggests that the יעה and the סיר were "originally pots for cooking, not utensils for removing the ashes"; but since later *maḥtôt* had covers (see below), the יעים could have had covers too without being cooking utensils. Jacob (1992:801) interprets *yā'îm* in Ex. 27:3 as shovels for lifting the ashes into the pails (סירת). Medieval manuscripts identified the *yā'îm* with sort of broom-like objects.

To sum up, the Biblical *maḥtôt* were similar to the fire pans found at Yavneh: pans with handles. They were held by their handles with one hand and used to pick-up burning coals from an altar. With the other hand, one would sprinkle incense on the coals. The *maḥtôt* were made of copper and were part of the copper altar set. In order to bring the incense near God, and also make the ceremony perceptible to those present, one would have lifted up the smoking fire pan and hold it high.[5] While the Yavneh fire pans were round and made of clay, the biblical fire pans were made of metal and the sources do not specify their exact shape (they could be round or rectangular – both types of fire pans existed since the second Millennium BC).

1.7. THE *MAḤTĀH* IN LATER PERIODS

The *maḥtāh* of the Rabbinical sources seems equal to the Biblical *maḥtāh*, and was used for burning incense as well as for the candelabrum. According to the Mishna, the temple fire pans were made of metal, but clay fire pans were also used by laymen (Mishna *Kelim* 2:3; Brand 1953:285-293). The shape of the *maḥtāh* is not described in detail. It was used to collect the coals on the incense altar and spread them with the *šûlayîm* (= basis? Brand 1953:286). The *maḥtāh* had a cover (*meṭuṭelet* מטוטלת) that could be suspended by chain or cord, designed to keep the scent. It

[5] In Psalm 141:1-2, the lifting up of hands when making offerings became part of prayer. Incense offering is mentioned too, but perhaps not directly related to the lifting up of hands; Crogan 2008:219, with references.

was carried by hand using a handle. The one used on the Day of Atonement was different: it had a rim and a longer handle, and was smaller and lighter. The sources mention also complete and open (שלמה, פרוצה) *maḥtôt*. Brand thought that the complete one was bowl-like and the open one was flat or rimless (Brand 1953:286-287; Rutgers 1999:189-190). One wonders whether a complete *maḥtāh* was with its lid and an open one without it.

According to the Rabbinical sources, the *maḥtāh* was used to collect coals and transfer them from the court altar to the inner incense altar. On the Day of Atonement it served to burn incense, using coals taken from the altar: "the one [priest] who had been chosen for the fire pan (המחתה) made a heap of the cinders on the top of the altar and then spread them about with the end of the fire pan…" (Mishna *Tamid* 6:2). "The one [priest] who had been assigned the shoveling took the silver fire pan (המחתה) and ascended to the top of the altar and cleared away the live coals to this side" (Mishna *Tamid* 5, 5) (Brand 1953:291-292; Freund 1999:436-437). According to Mishna *Tamid* (6:2) the priest heaped the coals directly upon the altar, but other sources describe placing the fire pan with the coals on the altar (Numbers *Rabba Parshah* 4:16; Heger 1997:169, n. 63).

In the Roman and Byzantine periods, *maḥtôt* were also used by Jews in 'secular' occasions to burn incense (מגמר, "spices" from *gwmrt,* "hot coal") after meals and at the conclusion of a business deal (Levene and Bhayro 2005/2006:246). Greeks burned incense also before and during meals. *Maḥtôt* were also used to burn incense in funerary contexts. The *maḥtāh* is listed in the Mishna with clay vessels, but presumably wealthy households could use metal *maḥtôt* (Mishna *Berakhot* 6, 6; *Tosephta*, *Shabbat* 1, 23; Brand 1953:292-293; Zevulun and Olenik 1978:22*-23*).

Brand separates the *maḥtāh* from the *magrepa* (מגרפה), which he identifies as a long handled, rectangular metal pan, such as those from Iron Age Dan (Brand 1953:291-292).

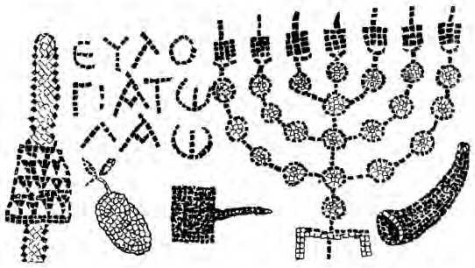

Fig. 1.28: Synagogue Mosaic, Huldah
After Freund 1999: Fig. 6.

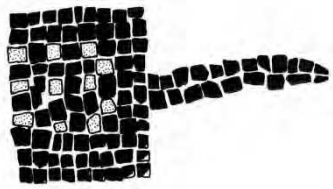

Fig. 1.29: Fire Pan, Huldah
After Freund 1999: Fig. 5

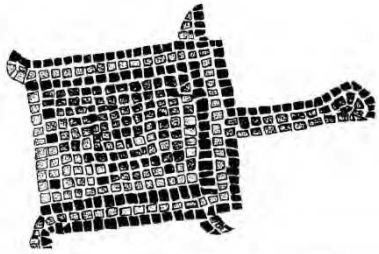

Fig. 1.30: Fire Pan, Hamat Tiberias
After Freund 1999: Fig. 7

Rectangular *maḥtôt* are common in Synagogue art (3rd–6th centuries AD; cf. Hachlili 1988:172, 355), which was intended to recall the Jerusalem Temple to the worshippers (Figs. 1.28-30, from the Synagogues of Huldah and Hammat Tiberias). They look exactly like the metal pans found in Palestine (below). Narkiss (1935) thought that these vessels represent the Temple's lampstand fire pans ("snuff-shovels"), but this is likely (since the incense fire pans were much more important; Rutgers 1999:180-181). Some *maḥtôt* appear with dark round markings, perhaps indicating heaps of coals, incense, or ventilation holes (Freund 1999:415, 421-422). Rutgers (1999:182) suggests that these are holes in the covers of fire pans. At Sepphoris, the *maḥtāh* is depicted in greater detail: its handle and body are gray (indicating a metal vessel); it has a reddish-pink interior with dark red spots, apparently denoting burning coals (Weiss and Netzer 1996:18; Weiss 2005:68, 73).

Rectangular metal fire pans are known from Palestine in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. One fire pan was found in a pit dated to the first century AD at Bethsaida, apparently related to Roman cult (Fig. 1.31; Freund 1999:414-415). Four pans of varying size were found in the Cave of Letters (first century AD) by Yadin (1975:18-22, 44-45), who assumed that they were booty taken from the Romans. Other similar pans were found at Beitar and in the Hauran region (Freund 1999:418). These vessels were used by pagans as well as by Jews (Rutgers 1999:186-187, with an updated list). Similar rectangular pans were used by the Romans in the imperial cult in the first centuries BC and AD (Freund 1999:415). The vessels sometimes have cups in the corners (which perhaps served as receptacles for the incense) and decoration of circles; both features seem to appear

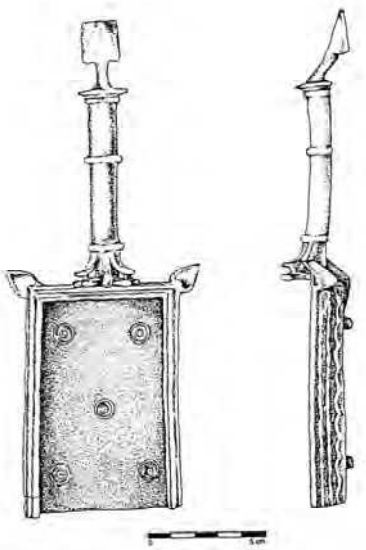

Fig. 1.31: Metal Fire Pan, Beitsaida
After Freund 1999: Fig. 22

also in the synagogue art (Yadin 1975:51, 54; Freund 1999:418; Weiss 2005:68, 73). Freund assumed that short-handled fire pans could not be held in the hand, because of the heat; therefore, they were not the biblical or the second Temple *maḥtôt* (used as incense burning tools), but just transporters for incense (Freund 1999:419-420, 428). He suggested that the short-handled, free-standing pans should be identified with the Rabbinical term *bâzîk* (בזיך) (Freund 1999:433-440). However, rabbinical sources imply that there were covers for handles of (metal) fire pans, which did enable the use of short-handled fire pans for incense burning. To protect the hand, an isolating sheath (*nasticium*, נשתיק/ניאשתיק) was attached to the handle (Brand 1953:286-287). Yadin (1975) also mentioned traces of burning on the Cave of Letter shovels. On the other hand, the *bâzîk* seems to denote a cup-like vessel, similar perhaps to the earlier Biblical *kap* (cf. Weiss and Netzer 1996:24; Weiss 2005:237 Fig. 4). Furthermore, Rutgers (1999:190) observes that the *maḥtāh* was probably related only to the *keṭoret* of religious rituals. Freund (1999:442ff) also suggested that there was an ongoing Synagogue ritual involving incense burning, but the sources he cites refer to private houses (cf. Rutgers 1999:180 n. 19), except a very late Karaite polemic (that the synagogue art is symbolic seems to be proven by the depiction of the altar at Sepphoris). The use of incense in synagogues might have been for perfuming, without religious significance.

At Sepphoris, both round and rectangular clay fire pans were found in secondary contexts (mainly pits with material dating to the Roman period). Perhaps they originate from the early Roman period. The rectangular pans have one flat, open side opposite the handle, indicating its possible use for shoveling (Fig. 1.32).

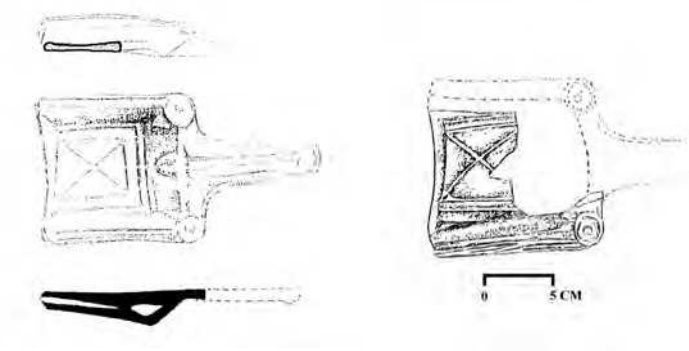

Fig. 1.32: Rectangular Fire Pans, Sepphoris
After Meyers 2006:873, Nos. 1-3

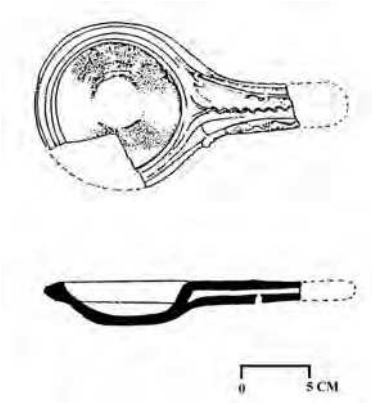

Fig. 1.33: Round Fire Pan, Sepphoris
After Meyers 2006: 873, Nos. 14-15

The rims often have round "disc" decoration. The round fire pans have a rim all around, but coals could be placed inside with tongs (Fig. 1.33). Both types were made of the same type of clay, reserved uniquely for these vessels. Both types also had perforated lids, but only fragments of lids survived (Rutgers 1999:177-180, 191-192). The fire pans could be related to priests, as Sepphoris was a Jewish town and priests resided there in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD. In a first publication, Balouka (1996:206) wrote: "all of the examples from Sepphoris are covered with brownish-red slip and have burn marks on the interior … all of the lids had molded holes and burn marks on the interior". However, according to Rutgers none of the Sepphoris pans shows evidence of burning. Rutgers suggested that they were not functional objects, but a sort of an intermediate stage between three dimensional functioning *maḥtôt* in the Temple, to two-dimensional symbolic representations in the synagogues (Rutgers 1999:192-196).

Meyers' response does not clarify much. He writes that "no burn marks have been found" (Meyers 2006:865); "there is no trace of burning or residue" (ibid: 870) and (citing Eric Lapp) that they appear "brand-spanking new" (ibid: 874) – contrary to Balouka (1996:206). Meyers' solution is that "some of the black marks could be the result of the reduced oxygen flow in the firing process … and that some of the discoloration may also have occurred during the period in which the fragments were discarded. The perforated lids … reveal slight discoloration but no traces of burn marks" (ibid: 876). Post-use discoloration would appear both on interiors and exteriors of vessels; while burning marks (such as those at Yavneh) would penetrate a thin slip and show a pattern that fitted areas which were in direct contact with fire/hot coals.

Meyers dates the vessels to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD (2006:866, 869). He suggests that they were a kind of potpourri for holding "sweet smelling dried plants" or "a mixture of resins, spices and herbs", which do not leave traces of burning (Meyers 2006:870). This is possible, but is difficult, for Meyers accepts the connection to priests and to the same type of vessels in synagogue art. Would the Sepphoris priests use *maḥtôt* for potpourri? If so, we would expect them to be used not just by priests, and not just at Sepphoris. Furthermore, Rabbinical sources do mention the burning of incense in households (מגמר) – using *maḥtôt* (Brand 1953, above).

In the Roman and Byzantine periods we find closed, cup-like clay censers (Fig. 1.34: top from Gerasa, 3rd century AD; bottom from 'Ara, 6th century AD; Zevulun and Olenik 1978:23*, Figs. 90-91). Often these censers have lids and apertures to allow ventilation and escape of smoke (Zevulun and Olenik 1978:23*, Figs. 87-94; Taxel and Iserlis 2014). There is written and pictorial evidence from the Byzantine period for the use of incense in churches and donors are portrayed holding lidded, perforated closed incense censers, for example in mosaic floors from Gerasa and Umm ar-Rasas in Jordan (Habas 2009:84). Such vessels are perhaps descended from the earlier tripods cups. Also other types of vessels were used for burning incense (Elgvin 2002). Similar close, lidded and perforated vessels were very popular also in later, Islamic Periods in metal all over the Near East (Ağa Uğlu 1945; Baer 1983:45-60, etc.).

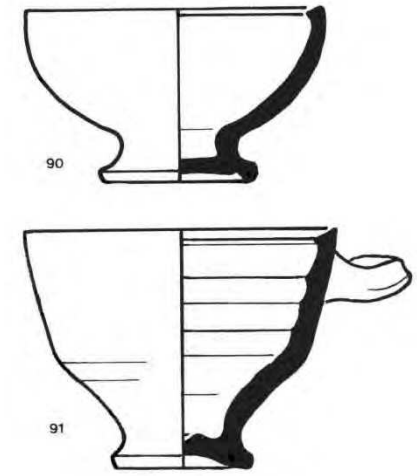

Fig. 1.34: Clay Censers
Zevulun and Olenik 1978: Figs. 90-91

Some portable stone and steatite incense burners from the Arabian Peninsula during the Islamic periods are circular and have long handles (Fig. 1.35) (Le Maguer 2011: Fig. 7:4). However, these four-legged vessels derive not from Iron Age fire-pans but from the four-legged cuboid stone incense altars of the Persian period.

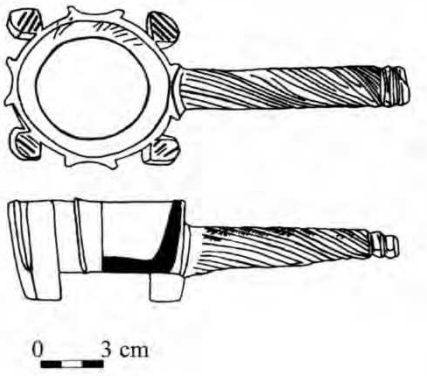

Fig. 1.35: Islamic Incense Burner
After Le-Maguer 2011: Fig. 7:4

In the 10th-15th centuries AD, frontispieces of Jewish manuscripts show objects of the Tabernacle/Jerusalem Temple, accompanied by short labels (Fig. 1.35-36). *Maḥtôt* appear regularly in these frontispieces and usually they have similar shapes to the fire pans depicted in the synagogue mosaics. Sometimes, the *maḥtôt* were identified as closed vessels carried by chains, based on the Byzantine and later incense burners which are still used today in churches (Fig. 1.37). Some frontispieces depict the *maḥtôt* of the lamp, others the altar's *maḥtôt* (Revel-Neher 2000:57-61; Rutgers (1999:182).

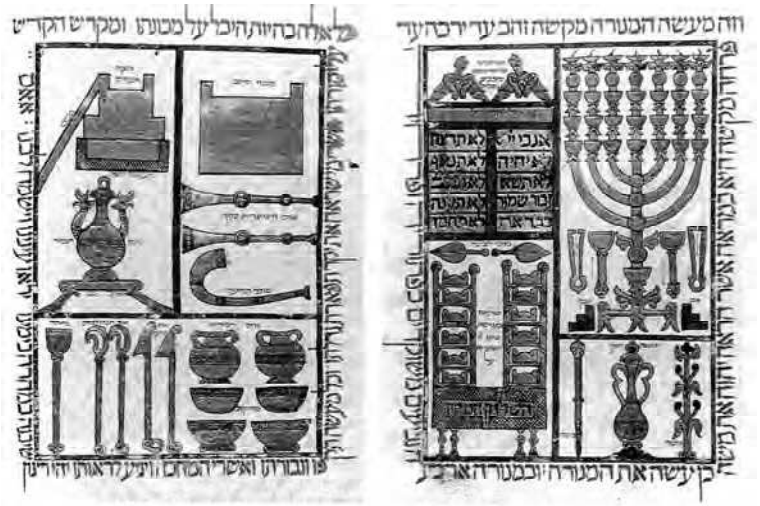

Fig. 1.36: Medieval Jewish Manuscript from Paris
After Revel-Neher 2005: Fig. 32

Fig.1.37: Detail (Fire Pan left)
After Revel-Neher 2005: Fig. 32

Nargila smokers also use a kind of closed "fire pan" for keeping burning coals, which are picked by tongs to be placed on the Nargila bowl (Pl. 18:1 from Egypt). Both the vessel and the bowl have holes to enable supply of oxygen.

In conclusion, we suggest that the Yavneh fire pans were vessels used for the scraping of hot coals from a fire, similar to the biblical *maḥtôt*; incense would have been burned by sprinkling it on the coals inside the fire pan. Therefore, a fire pan could be used both as part of the set of tools that accompanies an altar, and as a tool for incense burning (with or without relation to the altar). The Yavneh fire pans find close parallels in the Aegean World and in Cyprus, not just in clay but also in written (Pylos) and pictorial (Thera) sources.

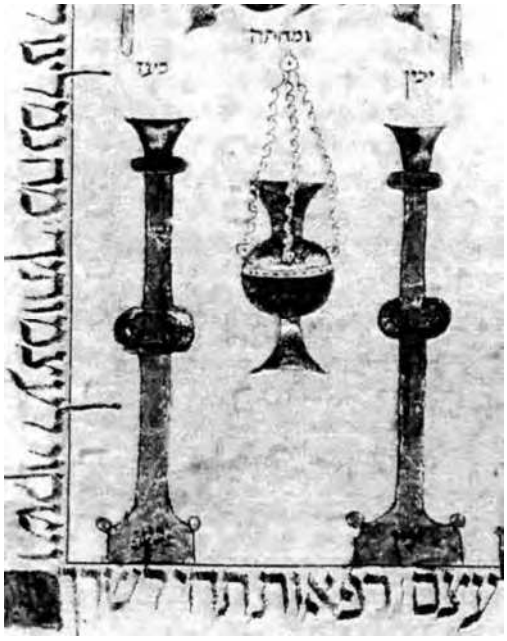

Fig. 1.38 (top): Closed Incense Censer
After Revel-Neher 2005: Fig. 34

Fig. 1.39 (Right): The Death of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, by Gustave Doré

Presumably, temples used more expensive versions of fire pans, mainly rectangular ones made of metal (such as the three fire pans found at Tel Dan). The shape of the Yavneh fire pans helps us understand the biblical stories about offering of incense by Korah and his sect and by Nadab and Abihu. These biblical stories are hundreds of years later than the period of the Yavneh repository pit, but they reflect similar customs of incense offerings, since fire pans kept their characteristics for a very long period. Artists in later times, who have portrayed these biblical stories in pictures and decorated manuscripts, no longer knew the shape of the ancient fire pan and have portrayed closed incense censers of the type found in the Byzantine and Islamic periods (Fig. 1.38).

ADDENDA

A report on the Sepphoris pottery (Meyers and Meyers 2013) appeared after the completion of this chapter. Meyers and Meyers (2013:54-57) are unaware of the Yavneh fire pans (cf. Kletter and Ziffer 2010). They separate rectangular fire pans ("shovels") from round ones ("*pateras*") and do not accept Balouka's opinion concerning cultic use and burning marks. It seems that the location of the marks and the holes in the lids, as well as the comparisons (e.g. to synagogue art) indicate use as incense shovels. Contrary to Meyers and Meyers (2013: 56 n. 28), there are clear archaeological, pictorial and written sources for the cultic use of incense in the Bronze and Iron Ages; though we do not know if the Sepphoris fire pans were used in domestic or religious contexts (or both).

A lamp-like fragment with a loop handle was found in Late Iron II/Persian Period context at Tell el-'Umayri, Jordan (London 1999:91-92, Fig. 3.6:3 right). It could be a fire-pan, but it is not certain.

For documents specifying ingredients of incense used with incense stands in religious contexts in First Millennium BC Mesopotamia see Jursa 2009.

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CHAPTER 2

EXPERIMENT WITH REPLICAS OF FIRE PANS

Raz Kletter

The Yavneh fire pans or shovels (see Chapter 1 above) and their relation to incense burning/offering are fascinating subjects. For quite a long time since we have realized the nature of these vessels, we wanted to try to understand better their function. Some fire pans show a pattern of burning that suggests use for scraping of burning coals and parallels indicate use for burning of incense. Two fire pans have been examined for traces of plant materials, but none have been found. This is not surprising, since the incense was presumably burnt on top of hot coals placed in the pan, not coming in direct contact with the vessel itself.

2.1. LATE MINOAN BURNERS

To the best of our knowledge, only one experiment was made concerning Ancient Mediterranean clay incense burners. It was conducted on three types of Late Minoan incense burners found in Crete (Travis and Travis 2007). The aim of this experiment was to check the function of the objects with burning of resins.

The first burner checked was an open, quite deep bowl-like vessel with a perforated spherical part in its center. Putting coals in the central part failed to release enough heat; but heaping the coals up to the rim of the bowl enabled burning of incense placed on the coals for about two hours. The burner became too hot for holding by hand, but could be held inside a small basket of willow. Tarvis and Tarvis (2007:15, Fig. 2) suggested that a similar basket was shown in the Thera/Akrotiri "priestess fresco" (however, we do not see a clear depiction of such basket there; see Pl. 17:1-2). A second type of burner checked in the experiment has a lid. It proved to work well, the lid slowing down the airflow so the resin kept burning for c. six hours. The base of this type of burner became very hot, but it could still be carried by its loop handle (Tarvis and Tarvis 2007: Figs. 6-7). A third type of burner has a shallow bowl above a lower, perforated spherical cavity, and a loop handle for holding. It proved a failure when the coal was placed below the bowl; but when placed on top of the bowl, enough heat radiated downwards to release aroma from incense placed in the lower cavity (Tarvis and Tarvis 2007:16, Figs. 8-9).

Tarvis and Tarvis (2007:16) have used several types of resin incense, including labdanum (*Cistus* species, identified in some Late Minoan vessels) and mastic (*Pistacia lenticus* – similar or identical to the "terebinth" found at Uluburun and at Tell el-Amarna). Both types vaporize at relatively low temperatures.

The experiment of Tarvis and Tarvis was important in showing possible uses of incense burners and documenting several problems with their functions.

2.2. EXPERIMENT WITH THE YAVNEH FIRE PANS

In order to test the Yavneh fire-pans, we have made five replicas in summer 2012 (Pl. 18:2-5). The replicas were made in Jerusalem by Daphna Zuckerman. Since we did not intend to study the physical characteristics of the vessels, we have not tried to imitate the ancient clay and firing. The Yavneh fire pans did not come in direct contact with incense, and we did not try to burn incense in the modern replicas – the experiment by Travis and Travis (2007) has already shown that a variety of vessels may fit burning of incense, both open and close ones. The Yavneh vessels are simple and open; any organic material placed on the coals would burn. We also note that the duration of the burning of incense is not mentioned in the biblical sources.

We have used common commercial coals. Some of the glowing coals were placed inside the shallow bowls of two replicas (one solid, one perforated, Pl. 19:1-2); a third fire pan was similarly tested with coals inside, but the pan was placed on a small grill with burning coals underneath the base of the pan (Pl. 19:3). One fire pan cracked soon after the start of the experiment (Pl. 19:2, right).

Needless to say, the experiment was not meant to serve as proof that the function of the Yavneh fire pans was for burning incense. This we suggested not on the basis of the experiment, but on both archaeological and textual comparisons (Buchholz 1994; Dion and Daviau 2000; Doumas 1992; Georgiou 1979; 1983; Freund 1999; Keel 1975; Levene and Bhayro 2006-2006; Rutgers 1999; etc.).

The experiment shows that coals burn perfectly in the fire pans of the Yavneh type – both with and without perforated bases. All the fire pans used in the experiment, despite their very short handles, could be easily held by hand and transferred from place to place with the red-hot coals inside (Pl. 19:4-5). Doubts have been expressed in the past whether ancient shovels with short handles could be incense burners, since scholars assumed that the short handles would become too hot to hold (Freud 1999). At least for the Yavneh type clay fire pans, this is not the case.

We have noticed that the modern replicas were not strong enough and they cracked under the intense heat (Pls. 19:2; 20:1). Thus, a certain composition of clay is required for fire pans if this is to be prevented. We cannot risk the ancient fire pans by exposing them to a similar experiment. However, ancient pottery vessels could withstand fire; for example, cooking pots. Hence potters could presumably produce strong enough vessels.

The burning of the coal created thermal shock, seen in change of color on the surface (Pl. 20). Naturally this could be seen inside the fire pans, in the area that came in direct contact with the burning coals. The degree varied though, with the perforated pan showing only slight marks of burning relative to the other two. There were no marks of burning at the outer edge (the side opposite the handle). However, we heaped the coals inside and did not use the pans for scrapping coals. Presumably, scrapping would have left burning marks in this area too. The fire pan that was placed above a grill showed thermal shock mainly at the edges of the base, but not at the central, flattened area, which was placed directly on the metal grill (Pl. 20:2, right). This discoloration is a result of heat and flames coming up from the grill, probably also transmitted through the metal; but without physical contact of the clay with coals. This pattern is different from the one seen in the ancient fire pans. It suggests that the ancient fire pans were not left standing directly above a burning fire.

In conclusion, the experiment conducted with replicas of the Yavneh fire pans shows that they are suitable for burning of coals/incense; and that their handles can be easily held with burning coals inside. It fits our suggested interpretation of the Yavneh fire pans as vessels for scrapping coals and for burning incense (Chapter 1, in this volume).

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CHAPTER 3

A KERNOS

Raz Kletter

3.1. THE KERNOS

One fragmented *kernos* was found in the Yavneh repository pit (B7303+7443, head B7443; IAA Number: 2006-1725; Fig. 3.1; Pl. 21:1-2).

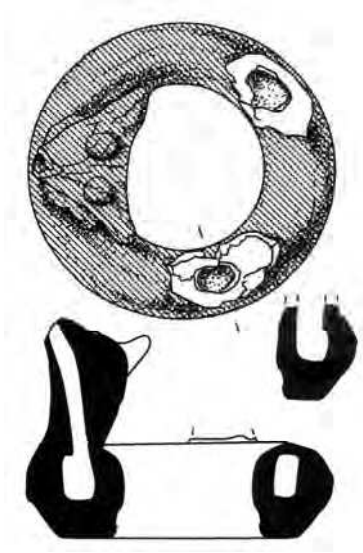

Fig. 3.1: The *Kernos*

Size: maximal diameter 11.1 cm, height 8.3 cm, diameter of ring 2.5; inner hollow diameter 6.1 cm; spout opening c. 0.5 cm.

Location: six fragments of this *kernos* were found. Most of them were registered during the excavation. The largest ring fragment (L14 B7303) was found at the western edge of the pit. Three fragments, comprising most of the other half of the ring, were found during cleaning of the section of the pit in the east (L15 B7443); they appear in a picture taken during the excavation (not published). The animal spout is B7402, found near fragment B7443. Another small ring fragment lacks registration.

Description: this is a quite small *kernos* made of well-fired brown clay, covered by red slip with horizontal burnish on the ring and vertical burnish on the existing spout. The burnish was carelessly applied and in several places it dribbled down and during firing formed sort of small button-like accretions on the edges of the base. The ring is wheel-made, with three openings at the top, but only one animal spout was retrieved. The openings vary in size (1x1.2, 1.7x1 cm). This spout is shaped as a bull's head with horns, applied disc eyes and a slightly worn muzzle. The horns are short and extended to the sides. There is no depiction of ears. The neck is slightly tilted to the inside of the ring. The upper part of this spout is gray, unlike the rest of the *kernos*. The reason for this is not clear.

3.2. DISCUSSION

The term *kernos* is used for a variety of composite vessels, usually of clay but also of other materials, such as stone, from the second Millennium till the Roman period (Karetsou 2012; Zosi 2009). We will not discuss various other multiple vessels which appear already from the Neolithic period (Waltz 1999). The *kernos* and its use are described in a late antiquity source:

> "Polemon in his treatise … says: "After this he (a priest) performs the rite and takes the contents from the chamber and distributes (them to those) who have gone around carrying the kernos aloft. This is a clay vessel having many little cups stuck on to it. In them are sage, white poppy, wheat, barley, peas, pulse, okra, lentils, beans, rice-wheat, oats, a cake of compressed fruit, honey, oil, wine, milk, and unwashed sheep's wool. He who carries it around tastes of those contents"… (Athenaeus XI.478, quoted in Waltz 1999:224).

Polemon probably described here the Eleusinian mysteries; but *kernoi* are also mentioned in relation to other mystery cults and perhaps also in relation with Cybele (Waltz 1999:223-227).

Kernoi appear first in the Levant in the Chalcolithic period, but are much more common in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. They are especially popular in Cyprus in the Late Cypriot III – Cypro-Geometric I periods (Yon 1986:279-280; Laffineur 1997; Zosi 2009) and in Iron Age Philistia. At the beginning of the Iron Age one find in Philistia examples of *kernoi* produced in Mycenaean IIIC style, which were perhaps manufactured in Cyprus (Mazar 1980:108-112; Mazar 2000:225; Bignasca 2000:250). *Kernoi* are also found in Israel, Judah (Gal 1993; Gal and Alexandre 2000:81-82; Dever 2001:119), and Transjordan (Amr 1980:198-200), though less commonly than in Philistia; they are rare in Egypt (Rzeuska 2007). They are not found in the Levant after the 6th century BC (Bignasca 2001:250).

Amihai Mazar (1980:134 n. 43; cf. Yon 1986:278-282; Gal 1993; Ben-Shlomo 1999:9, 42) differentiated between ring vessels and *kernos*-bowls. Ring vessels (Fig. 3.2), or *kernoi*, are hollow rings with attached spouts – the Yavneh item belongs to this category. *Kernos*-bowls (Fig. 3.3) are bowls that have a hollow lip with attached spouts; in fact, they are a ring-vase or a *kernos* with a base. At Ekron, most *kernoi* and *kernos*-bowls were made from a folded, wheel-made sheet of clay. The joint can be seen in the section of the hollow ring, which is pear-shaped. Before firing, holes for spouts were made by insertion (Ben-Shlomo 1999:37).

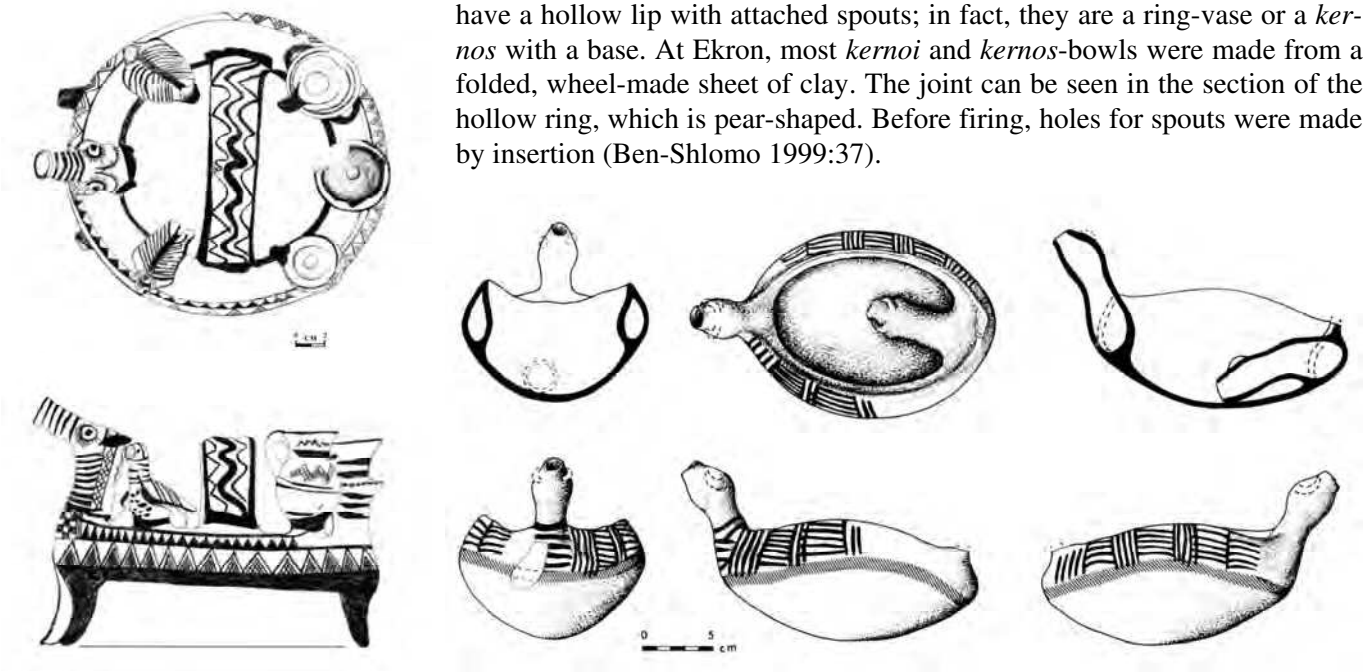

Fig. 3.2 (top): Protogeometric *Kernos*, Crete (?); after Zosi 2009: Fig. 3
Fig. 3.3 (right): *Kernos*-bowl from Tel Qasile; after Mazar 1980: Fig. 39a

Kernos-bowls appear in Philistia and in Judah from the Late Bronze roughly till the 9th century BC. They have one lower spout inside the bowl and a second higher spout outside the bowl, usually opposite the first spout. These spouts are always zoomorphic (Ben-Shlomo 1999:41-42). *Kernoi* (ring vessels) have various forms of spouts located above the ring: animal heads, pomegranates, birds, or pottery vessels (bowls, kraters, cups) (Fig. 3.4) (Macalister 1912: Fig. 390). They always point upwards (Ben-Shlomo 1999:40; Dever 2001: No.3). A large group of *kernoi* appears in Ashdod in the 8th-7th centuries BC (Dothan 1971: Figs. 66-71; Ben-Shlomo 1999:82-83), proving the continuity of this type of vessel in Iron Age II Philistia. Unfortunately, they are fragmented and the spouted heads were broken off the rings (Fig. 3.4). *Kernoi* are usually small, 12-16 cm in diameter, but sometimes up to 30-32 cm in diameter. The diameter of the inner ring varies from 0.3 to 1.6 cm (Ben Shlomo 1999:39-40, 83).

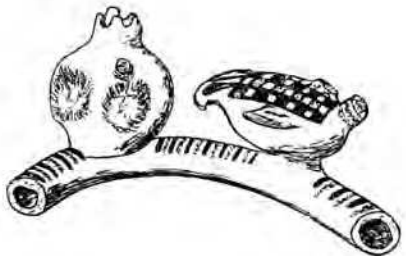

Figure 3.4: *Kernos* from Gezer
After Macalister 1912: Fig. 390

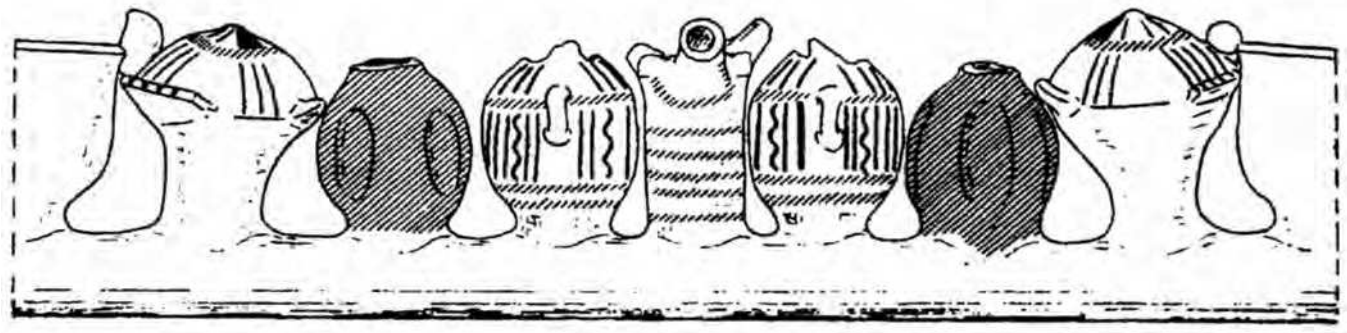

Fig. 3.5: Section of a *Kernos* from Megiddo Level VI, after Harrison 2004: Fig. 124.

Close comparisons for the Yavneh *kernos* (red burnished, small, with few spouts including bull-shaped ones) include *kernoi* from Kh. Rosh Zayit (Gal 1993: Fig. 2); Megiddo Level VI (Fig. 3.5) (May 1935: Pl. 16, P2282;

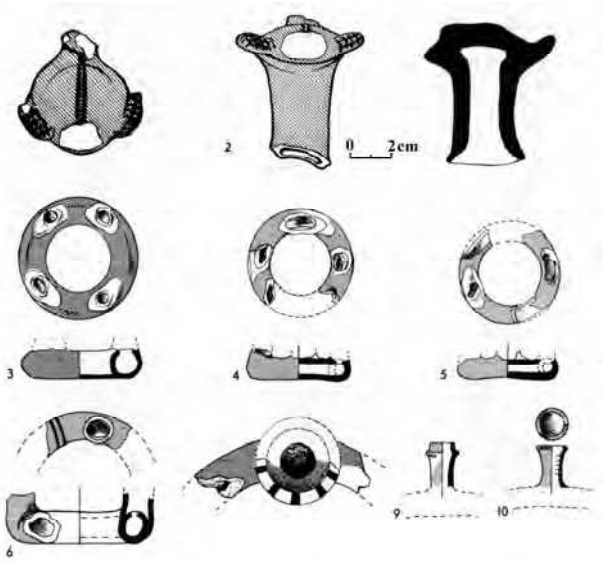

Figure 3.6: *Kernoi* from Ashdod
After Dothan 1971: Fig. 71

Bignasca 2000: Catalogue O64; Harrison 2004:65, Pl. 23:3, Fig. 124); and especially Ashdod (Ben Shlomo 1999: Fig. 43:2, 4; Bignasca 2000: Catalogue O87-O90; O112, O123, O126, O145). See also a preliminary published *kernos* dated to the 9th century BC (Stratum A3), attributed to a "cultic corner", from Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath (Maeir 2012:376, Fig. 20; http://gath.wordpress.com/2011/09/13/annular-rhytonsring-kernoi-at-safi-and-the-heraion-samos/). In Cyprus, compare *kernoi* from Parigi of roughly the same date (Bignasca 2000: Catalogue C37).

The *kernoi* of Iron Age Philistia perhaps originated from Cyprus and were probably brought by the Philistines to Philistia (Ben-Shlomo 1999:40, 43; Dever 2001:123-125; but cf. Waltz 1999:182-184). They are likely libation vessels and are often interpreted as cultic vessels (for the history of research and for the cultic interpretation of *kernoi* and other composite vessels see Waltz 1999:12-19; 240).[1] *Kernoi* appear in cultic, funerary and domestic contexts (Waltz 1999:161; Bignasca 2000:250; Zosi 2009:7-8). According to Dever, *kernos*-bowls were also used for cultic libation by tilting the vessels, so liquid from the bowl passed through the inner spout to the outer spout (Dever 2001:121, 127-129). Yet, the tilting would possibly spill the liquid, and Ben-Shlomo (1999:41) notes that the only practical way of use is to suck the fluid from the outer spouts. Others think that *kernoi* and *kernos*-rings were filled with thick, gelatinous fluids such as honey; or with water; or with perfumed fluids. *Kernos* bowls were maybe used for drinking, while *kernoi* for libation (Zosi 2007: 13-14; Bignasca 2007; Bignasca 2010:252-253; see also Myres 1939; Whincop 2001-2:33-34; Ben-Shlomo 2010: 107-109, 144-5, 156-7; Nissinen and Münger 2009:134).

Borowski (2006:153-7) suggested that *kernoi* and *kernos*-bowls can be identified with the biblical term *mizrāq,* which is mentioned 32 times in the Bible, mainly in relation to the tabernacle and to the Jerusalem Temple (e.g., Exodus 27:1-8; I Kings 7:40). Greer (2010) identifies the biblical *mizrāq* with carinated metal bowls. At present there is no secure identification for this biblical term.

Since some *kernoi* have very narrow inner passages, or even lack passage completely, they could not emit fluids. A *kernos* of this kind was found at Iron II Tel Malhata in the Negev (Kletter in press: no. 22, Reg. No. 3719/1). Thus, it is possible that the use of some *kernoi* was symbolic, rather than practical.

The cultic function of the *kernos* from Yavneh is based on its context (a repository pit), rather than on the form of the vessel or on the suggested parallels. Since only one such vessel was found in the repository pit, perhaps libation rituals performed with such a *kernos* were not a common component of the Yavneh cult.

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[1] On libation in the LB Aegean see Konsolaki-Yannapoulou 2001.

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CHAPTER 4

A CLAY SHRINE MODEL

Raz Kletter

4.1. THE YAVNEH SHRINE MODEL

CS No. 47 (Pls. 3:1-3; 22:1-4).
IAA Final Number: 2006-1031.

Size: height 23.4; length at base 14; length at roof 16.2*; depth 22; thickness of side slabs 1.1-1.4 cm. Size of frontal opening 17.6x6.6 cm.

Composed of baskets nos.: 7215 L13 (side near opening); 7274 L14 (roof part); 7282 L14 (part of floor + side); 7308 L15 (back fragment); 7324 L15 (small fragment with roof decoration at the front + another fragment); 7391 L15 (back fragment); 7403 L15 (large roof part); 7474 L16 (floor part + side); 7479 L16 (part of pillar + part of back wall at bottom).

Form: a long room with a slightly tilted roof and two pillars at the front.

Loci and circumstances of finding: the shrine model was fragmented and none of its parts was drawn or photographed during the excavation, since they were very similar to fragments of the Yavneh cult-stands (the *naos* has no figures – nearly all the figures from cult stands were photographed or drawn on a 1:1 scale during the excavation). Most of the fragments were found in L15, with a few in L16, L13 and L14.

Ware and finish: handmade, brown clay, gray encrustation, not painted.

Description: The object defined here as a shrine model is a rectangular structure with a descending, curving roof. The front part is the only area that has an opening and also decorations; thus the object was meant to be seen mainly from the front. At the center of the front there is a large rectangular opening with slightly rounded corners at the top. It extends along the entire height of the object, from the floor up to the roof; hence, it represents a door and not a window. This door is flanked by two square, freestanding pillars. The pillars seem plain, but the top of the left pillar is missing. There may have been remains of some part or decoration (?) attached in origin to the top of the right pillar; this is not certain. The pillars are detached from the sides by thin openings that also extend from the floor to the roof, with slightly curving sides. The floor of the object extends out in front of the pillars, forming a porch. The roof extends too above the pillars, curving upward sharply. The edge of the roof is decorated by diagonal incisions (a 'rope'-like pattern). A row of rounded knobs extend below the edge of the roof (partially restored).

The floor of the inside room is smooth, showing no traces of any missing parts. If there was a figure inside, it was removable and not permanently attached to the shrine model.

The petrography of the shrine model was analyzed by Ben-Shlomo and Gorzalczany and defined as clay type 4 (2010:152; Table 9.3). Surprisingly, this type of clay is not local to Yavneh or even to Southern Philistia. There is no definite identification but the origin is probably the Northern Coast, north of Akko, or in other words, Phoenicia. Only one more item, cult stand CAT62 (out of 75 cult stands examined) was made of this type of clay. Cult Stand CAT62 is indeed exceptional also in the type of molded female figurines it presents, which are different from other female figures at Yavneh (Ziffer 2010:66). Yet in many aspects of shape and construction this cult stand is similar to others at Yavneh. This is a double mystery, because, as we shall see, known Phoenician Iron Age shrine models are few and different in form and are also later in time.

4.2. TYPOLOGY OF LEVANTINE SHRINE MODELS

Scholars who dealt with architectural models in general have usually discussed the typology of shrine models as well. The objects were called by various names (*naoi*/*naïskoi*, tabernacles, *édicules*, cubicular shrines or *cubiculae*, jar models, pot models, etc.).

Some definitions for parts of shrine models as used in this study are given in Fig. 4.1.

The term *naos* (pl. *naoi*) was used commonly to denote Cypriot shrine models and by extension other shrine models too. This Greek term denotes the central, most holy space of a Greek temple, where the cult statue of the deity is placed. In Iron Age temples in the Levant the holy of holies is usually a much smaller, innermost room, with the deity's statue (in a Greek temple the inner room is *adyton* or *opisthodomos*; Dinsmoor 1950:49; Hollinshead 1999; Winter 2006:14, 30). The term *naos* is used in Egyptology in a similar meaning, for a temple or a central part of a temple surrounding the cult statue/s (Spencer 2006; 2010). *Naos* is also used to denote a variety of other objects: grave steles in classical periods; portable stone models and other objects with niches or façades of temples, sometimes with a divine figure in the niche, appearing in Egypt since the Middle Kingdom period (Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004:80; Katz 2006:62; Mazar 1985); and steles /installations with niches with or without figures, for example from various cultures: the Phoenician (Sader 1992:58, TT91.S8, Figs 10-12; Sader 2005:136-137, Fig. 117; Stockton 1975:14-19, Fig. 2; Kamlah 2008:138-140, Fig. 12a-b); the Nabataean (Wenning 2001); and the Aegean (Kotsonas 2006), etc. We prefer to use the more general term "shrine model" for the objects discussed in this chapter, though it is not a 'neutral' term.

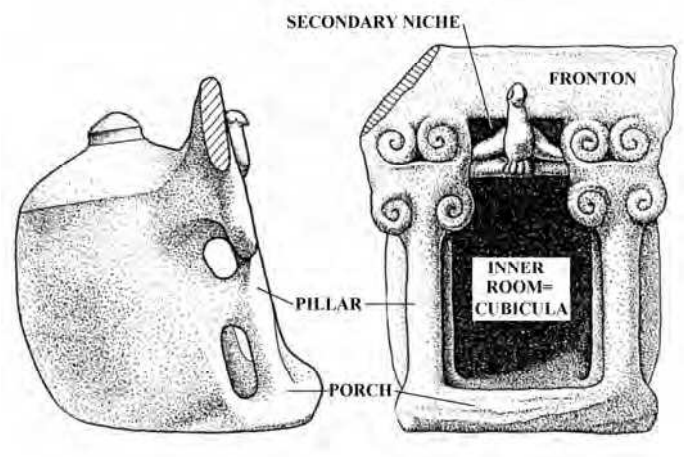


Figure 4.1: Terms used for shrine models (Model D9)
After De Miroschedji 2001: Fig. 21b

Zioni Zevit (2001:328-334) discussed shrine models with original observations, which will be mentioned further below. However, he did not discuss explicitly their typology.

Béatrice Muller excluded most round objects from her extensive work, which is focused on architecture. The 'volume' and the number of stores are the main criteria in Muller's typology, hence she places the objects we call here shrine models as a subtype in the series of one-store architectural models, a series that includes objects with inner divisions and box-like objects (Muller 2002:83-85, Types BI.b, B.II). Muller calls shrine models *édicules* and defines them as architectural models (*maquettes*) with a simple or complex volume, with one large door, and with a stress on one face (the front or "face 1" in her terminology; Muller 2002:85, Type BIII).

Muller (2002:85-88) distinguishes two main types of *édicules* – with and without pillars. Those with pillars show several variations. Some models have detached or freestanding pillars and frontons (Muller 2002: Cat. nos. 78-82; lacking provenance). Other models have a porch-roof (Cat. Nos. 95, 144, 183, none of them certain, dated to LB/Early Iron Age). A few models have applied pillars (Cat. nos. 142[?]; 143; Iron II Palestine and Jordan); while others have a porch-roof and a simulation of pillars (Cat. nos. 96-97; LB period, Kamid el-Lōz). The second type of *édicules* lacks pillars. Here one finds items with a porch, but without evidence of closing (Muller 2002:86, Type B.III2a); as well as items without a porch, but with entrance closure (Muller 2002: Type B.III.2b).

In *Yavneh I* we discussed Muller's typology of cult stands and, following other scholars, noted that trying to include objects from the entire Near East over several millennia according to formal architectural principles creates arbitrary series, which place together objects from wide temporal and geographical spans (Kletter 2010a:26-28). For example, *édicule* sub-type B.III.2a combines items from early second Millennium BC southern Mesopotamia (Muller 2002: Cat. nos. 21, 23, 32); Late Bronze Middle Euphrates (Cat. no. 70); and Iron Age Palestine (Cat. no. 130). If we follow Muller's typology, the Yavneh shrine model belongs to *édicules* with detached pillars and no signs of closure (that is, lids, holes, handles, or sockets at the sides of the opening). This type includes in Muller's typology also round *édicules*, such as the one found at MBII Ashkelon.

Pierre de Miroschedji (2001:66-78)[1] called shrine models "tabernacles", reserving the term *naoi* to clay plaques with standing female figures of the type found at Tell Qasile (Mazar 1985). He offered a simple, useful typology, in which the plan served as the main criterion distinguishing three main types. The first type, rectangular tabernacles, includes two EB examples from Arad and Tel Yarmuth (Figs. 4.2-3); one MB-LB fragment from

[1] When de Miroschedji (2001) wrote, he already knew Muller's as yet unpublished catalogue. Hence we present his work after that of Muller (2002).

Gezer; and two Iron Age items from Tel Rekhesh and "Karak" (origin not secure). The second type is round tabernacles with examples from MB Ashkelon and LB Tell Deir 'Alla. The third type is rectangular (or somewhat curvilinear) tabernacles with a large fronton. De Miroschedji defined three sub-types of rectangular tabernacles with frontons, based on Muller's typology (though somewhat differently):

1. Tabernacles with frontons and attached pillars, known only from Tel el-Far'ah North (de Miroschedji 2001:72, Figs. 20a-b).
2. Tabernacles with frontons and freestanding (detached) pillars, known from antiquity markets, probably dating to the Iron II and originating from Jordan (de Miroschedji 2001:74-77, Figs. 21-22).
3. Tabernacles with frontons and a figure inside, but without pillars (de Miroschedji 2001:77, Fig.23). Only one example is known from Palestine, from Achzib. De Miroschedji saw that it relates to a separate tradition found in Cyprus and Crete.

This typology is the best for shrine models of the Southern Levant, because it does not involve objects from far away regions in time and place. The difference between round and rectangular (or rectangular with rounded corners) models seems fundamental; as also the definition of the Achzib model as part of the Cypriot/Phoenician series. Our typology has been reached independently, but is quite similar to that of de Miroschedji.

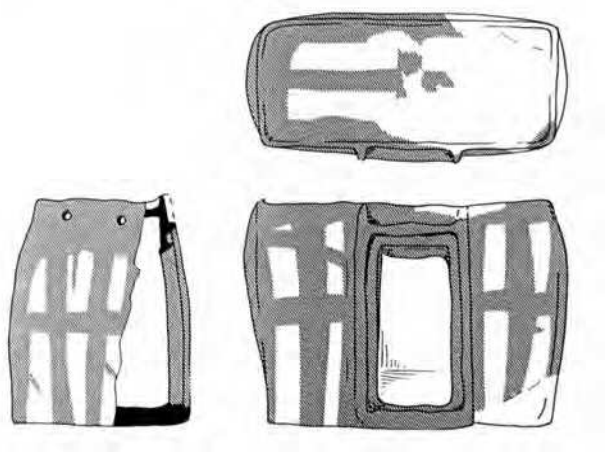


Fig. 4.2: Early Bronze Age, Arad
De Miroschedji 2001: Fig.13

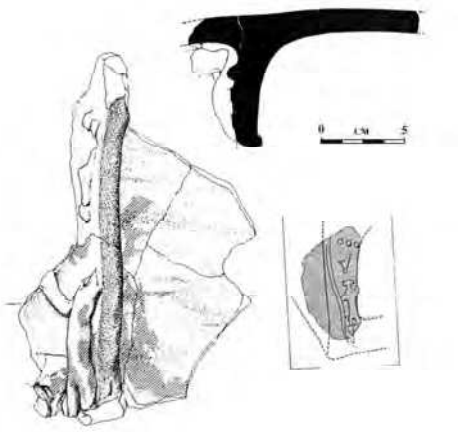


Fig. 4.3: Early Bronze Age, Tell Yarmouth
De Miroschedji 2001: Fig.16

Hava Katz (2006) listed two types of architectural models relevant to the present chapter. The first type is closed round models (in the English abstract "jar like house models"). They are all round and include two sub-types. The first subtype is four "miniature" round models from Ashkelon, Tell Jerishe (two), and the Hauran region, all dated to the MBII period. The second subtype includes 16 round models, defined as "similar to daily vessels", that is, not miniatures, from LB-Iron II contexts at Hazor, Tel Erani, Tell Deir 'Alla, Tel Dan, Tel Hadar, Kinneret/Tel Kinrot, Tel Rehov (the only Iron II example), and the Hecht Museum, Haifa.

The second type is models with stressed façades or *naoi* with 30 examples. They are defined as a niche closed on three sides with a wide open front and a dominating façade. Katz (2006: 62, 72, 76) divided these *naoi* into three subtypes:

1. With "deep and flat" (*amukot u-shtukhot*) niches – a confusing terminology, probably meaning large, deep rooms inside the models, but a flat front side. These models come with or without figures, inside or at the front (23 examples, from Tell Munbāqa, Gezer, Lachish, Tell el-Far'ah North, Tell el-'Umayri; all LB to Iron II, except the Tel Yarmuth Early Bronze Age object, whose classification is uncertain).
2. With a secondary niche at the top, the front is "worked and open"; the cornice is large and the "niche" (meaning inside room) is empty (six examples, all from unknown origins).[2]
3. Plaques (only one, from Tell Qasile – Mazar 1985:5, Fig. 1).

Essentially, Katz separated round models from rectangular ones, a typology by plan; but she did not explicitly stated it, calling her second main type "models with a stressed façade". The use of (at times) vague terminology and especially unsuccessful subdivisions prevents achieving more meaningful groups. One example is the inclusion of one plaque from Tell Qasile – essentially a two-dimensional object – as part of three-

[2] This group forms part of our Type C (below).

dimensional shrine models. Another example is the separation between miniatures and "daily vessels". The definition as "daily vessels" is misleading, because though round shrine models were made on the same principles as jars, they did not serve as daily vessels. Katz includes the Ashkelon model in the miniature group, yet it is 46 cm high and larger than some round shrine models which are not defined as "miniatures" by her. All the models, especially if one grasps them as architectural models (as many scholars do), are miniatures, not real-size buildings. A third example is the use of the word "niche" to express both the "secondary niche" above the entrance (in models with large frontons), and the inner 'room' of the model. In relation to "jar-like models and the shrine models with elaborate façade", Katz states that "not a single example" has been found with contents or any remains of any stored material" (2006: English abstract). This means Iron Age Palestine, but at MB Ashkelon and in Cypriot and Phoenician models there are figures. Nevertheless, Katz' work forms a very useful catalogue, which also includes many formerly unpublished examples.

Michèle Daviau's study (2008) is a significant contribution, though she discussed only 21 "architectural models" from Jordan. Daviau sees four major types. The first two types are fenestrated multi-storied models and tower models (categories that we define as cult stands, Kletter 2010a). The third type is one room *naïskoi* or cubicula (fitting our "shrine models"). According to Daviau (2008:297-8) one room *naïskoi* consist of one roofed room with a façade that protrudes upwards (fronton). The façade is often decorated with paint and molded female figures or protomes. The *naïskoi* are rectangular (11 examples). Only one is semi-rectangular at the back and rectangular (flat) at the front, listed separately as a "pot shrine" (Rockefeller Museum, Reg. No. 40.286; Daviau 2008:298). The fourth and last type discussed by Daviau (2008:299) is "small cultic niches", which include only two exceptional, fragmented items from site WT13 in Moab.

We have discussed in *Yavneh I* the typology of the cult stands (Kletter 2010a). They are not "models" reflecting contemporary buildings; in essence most of the stands from Yavneh represent the façade of a temple, using only a few architectural motifs (columns with capitals, doors, knobs that may represent edges of roof beams or a decorative element). The cult stands were not meant to serve as architectural models of temples, but as expressions of a religious scene happening at the temple. In our opinion, shrine models are a separate category of objects, *different* from the Yavneh (and other) cult stands.

Shrine models are one-room constructions, lacking internal divisions and stores; they always have a solid roof and one large, rectangular opening at the front representing a door.[3] Round or rectangular, large or small, they fit better the term "models" than cult stands, in that they portray a three-dimensional, roofed space. Most shrine models stress the front side, like cult stands; both objects often share features that come from using the same (or a similar) religious vocabulary: rope patterns, knobs, painted decorations, columns with capitals, and animal and female figures. However, unlike the Yavneh (and other) cult stands, most shrine models have an actual room behind the façade. Regardless of how elaborate and 'large' the façade is, the focal point of shrine models is the inside room, that is, an inner part of a temple.

Therefore, there is little point in placing together shrine models and cult stands, especially with objects that come from far apart regions and periods. We will treat here shrine models from Palestine/Israel and surrounding regions, from the MB-Iron Ages. Some items (especially fragments) whose nature is not secure are not included in the series (but are often mentioned in notes). This is because when the type of a certain object is unclear, adding it would hinder, not help to clarify the typology. When possible, we give original excavation numbers – to avoid confusion for sites where several models have been found. For some objects IAA or museum numbers are given. We usually refer to first publications, final excavation reports, and the catalogue of Katz (2006), but did not compile exhaustive lists of references for each item. In discussing shrine models we use the term "porch" to designate a protruding part in front of the model's front wall (often carrying pillars and/or figures); and "fronton" to designate the protrusion upward of part of the front, rising above the level of the roof (Fig. 4.1).

The opening at the front is termed "door" (also for shrine models that did not have a functioning door, that is, a lid, and models whose entire front is open). Though scholars often assume that shrine models held cult figures, they hardly discuss door size and often do not even mention the measures of the door (at times giving other measures such as inside/outside measures of the *cubicula* or inner room; the door is almost always smaller than the *cubicula*). The door size roughly indicates the maximum size of the objects that could be stored inside the model. Sometimes door measures must be estimated based on photos and drawings, and are not completely accurate.

Based on the plan, manufacturing technique, and stylistic features, we define five types of shrine models:

[3] Some cult stands have solid roofs, but other features (a 'tower' form or many openings) distinguish them from shrine models. A few uncertain items, mainly fragments, may belong to either group.

A. Round jar-like shrine models (MB-Iron I; one early Iron II).
B. Rectangular Phoenician-Cypriot shrine models (Late Iron/Cypro-Archaic).
C. Rectangular "Jordanian" shrine models (Iron II).
D. Rectangular early shrine models (LB-early Iron II).
E. Box-like models without figures.

We do not include in our typology two Early Bronze Age objects (Figs. 4.2-3). The Arad 'house model' (IAA 1964-236; Amiran 1982:52-53; Pls. 66; 115; Muller 2002: No. 131; Katz 2006: Vol. II:5, Pl. 1:1, height 21.5 cm) is a one-room rectangular structure, not similar to later shrine models. A fragment from Tel Yarmuth with figurative art may belong to a cult stand or a shrine model, its typology is unclear (IAA 1988-163, de Miroschedji 1982; 2011; Katz 2006:63, Vol. II: Pl. 241:1; de Miroschedji 2011, Fig. 1; height of fragment 18 cm). These two items are detached in time; their meaning is not clear; they are not "forerunners" since we lack mediating objects from the periods in between. Adding these early objects to later series will not be productive.

In the following pages we present a catalogue followed by a more general discussion

4.3. CATALOGUE OF SHRINE MODELS

4.3.1. TYPE A: ROUND JAR-LIKE MODELS (Figs. 4.4-22)

The most recent discussion of jar-like shrine models is by Berkheij-Dol (2012); their most complete catalogue is by Katz (2006). Jar-like shrine models include at least 27 examples:

A1. Ashkelon, MBIIB, with a silver calf inside, IAA1990-1120. Height 25.2 cm; door 9x5 cm (Fig. 4.4). The wheel-made jar is squat and ends with a knob at the top; the base is flat; there are traces of handles beside the door for a clay lid that did not survive. It was found in a storage room near a temple. Inside was a silver calf figurine 10.5 cm high, 11 cm long, weighing 400g (IAA1990-1120; Stager 2006; Stager 2008: Figs 32.1-2; Katz 2006: Vol. I:8; Vol. II:44; Berkheij-Dol 2012:116, Figs. 81-82).

A2. Tell Jerishe, MBIIA. Reg. 9703/1, height 14.5 cm; door 8.5x3.5 cm. A small, wheel-made jar-like container with a "button" shaped top, a long rectangular door and a flat base. It has two large handles with small holes at the side of the door (Katz 2006: Vol. I:45; Vol. II:9, Pl. 16:3).

A3-5. Hazor, LBII, three jar-like models:

A3. From the Area H temple, Reg. No. H122, L2133, height 19 cm, door 7.5x9 cm (Fig. 4.5). A squat model with a rounded top; the door is rectangular and has a protruding 'edge'. The upper edge continues upward creating a 6 cm high fronton. Two holes at the left side enabled closing (Yadin 1961: Pls. 282:1; 309:17; Katz 2006: Vol. II:13, Pl. 17:2; Berkheij-Dol 2012:84, no. 2, Figs. 54-55).

A4. From the area G temple, Reg. No. G951, L621, IAA1995-1084, upper part broken, height 19 cm, oval door height c. 10.5, width c. 9 cm (Fig. 4.6) (Yadin *et al.* 1960:109, Pls. 25:3; 123:4; 177:6; cf. Yadin 1975:90; Katz 2006: Vol. II:12, Pl. 17:1; Berkheij-Dol 2012:84, no. 1, Figs. 46-47). A silver-coated bronze standard was found inside this shrine model, depicting snakes and a human face (?), but badly corroded (Yadin et al. 1960: 117, Pl. 181).

A5. From Area A3, Reg. No. 74099, height 38.5 cm, door 16x15 cm (Fig. 4.7). It was found in a destruction layer of a palace or temple. It is a complete model with a high rounded top, a rectangular opening set closed to the base with a stressed applied frame. There are no visible signs for handles or holes (Zuckerman 2003: Pl. 4.13, 1-2; Katz 2006: Vol. I:46; Vol. II:14, Pl. 17:7, 2, 7; Hesse 2008:144, Fig. 4.6 top left; Nissinen and Münger 2009: n. 22; Berkheij-Dol 2012:84, no. 3, Figs. 56-57).

A6. Tel Erani, LBII, a base fragment, Reg. No. 379, height 8 cm. A small part of the door survived; it had a stressed frame. The excavators did not publish this model and the context is unclear (Katz 2006: Vol. I:47; Vol. II:15, Pl. 17:9).

A7-9. Tell Deir 'Alla, LB, three complete and two partial jar models:

A7. Reg. No. 388, height 43 cm; door c. 22.5 cm (Fig. 4.8). A partially broken model found in the *cella* of the temple, Phase E. The base and the lid are missing. The door is rectangular and has a stressed frame protruding outside. The edges of the upper frame curve upwards resembling small 'horns'. There is a button-like protrusion at the center of the upper frame between the 'horns'. Two ledge handles on the sides of the door for closure (Franken and Franken 1992:28; Fig. 3-8.12; Katz 2006: Vol. I:47; Vol. II:18, Pl. 17:4-5 [not 5-6]; Berkheij-Dol 2012:108, Fig. 76).

A8. Reg. No. 800, height 32 cm, door c. 23.5 cm (Fig. 4.9). A round shrine-model from room E1 east of the *cella*, Phase E (Franken and Franken 1992:40, Fig. 4-3.16; Pl. 5c; Katz 2006: Vol. I:47; Vol. II:16, Pl. 17:6; Berkheij-Dol 2012:108, Fig. 77).

A9. Reg. No. 1425, height 25 cm; door c. 9.3 cm (Fig. 4.10). A nearly complete model (one handle is missing) from room E8 west of the *cella*, Phase E. It was found with its lid. It is shaped as an upturned jar with a rectangular door. The door is stressed by a frame and has two ledge handles on the sides for closure. The lid has a similar ledge handle (Franken and Franken 1992:83, Fig. 5-8.30; Pl. 11d; Katz 2006: Vol. I:47; Vol. II:17, Pl. 17:3; Berkheij-Dol 2012:109, Fig. 79).

A10. Not registered; height c. 32cm; door height unknown (Fig. 4.11). Part of a body of a fenestrated jar from the Treasury Room (E4) east of the *cella*; Phase E. There is only a drawing without description. The body is round and seems to have 'normal' large loop handles (only one survives) and two smaller handles besides the door. The lid has a handle, now broken off; presumably part of the lid survives (Franken and Franken 1992:57, Fig. 4.17; Berkheij-Dol 2012:109, Fig. 74).

A11. Not registered; deposit N310; Height c. 19 cm; door height c. 8.5cm (Fig. 4.12). Roughly half a jar with an opening from room E6, lost after the excavation. There is only a partial drawing of it. The body is round; there is one long loop handle besides the rectangular door, indicating closure by a lid. The door is located quite high. The jar has a very shallow ring base; it appears as a base ring in the drawing (Franken and Franken 1992:67, Fig. 4.24:14; Berkheij-Dol 2012:109, Fig. 75).

A12-15. Kamid el Lōz, LB, four models; three (A12-14) were found near the altar of the LB temple.

A12. Reg. Nos. 404, height 19.4 cm, door c. 10.5 cm (Fig. 4.13). A squat model with incised decoration of plants and a bird. The door frame has handles with holes for closing (Miron 1982: Pl. 1; Metzger 1993: Pl. 74; Muller 2001:339, Fig. 1; Katz 2006: Vol. I:48; Vol. II: Pl. 19:1).

A13. Reg. No. 400, height 67 cm, door c. 51 cm (Fig. 4.14). A very tall jar model with an extended floor that stabilizes it; the door extends for most of the jar and has an applied lintel above the opening (Miron 1982: Pl. 4; Metzger 1993:212-213; Pl. 75; Katz 2006: Vol. I:47; Vol. II: Pl. 19:5).

A14. Reg. No. 626, height 24.7 cm, door 15.4 cm (Fig. 4.15). A smaller model similar to A12 but without the incised decoration (Miron 1982: Pl. 3; Metzger 1993:212-213; Pl. 73; Katz 2006: Vol. I:48; Vol. II: Pl. 19:3).

A15. Reg. No. 24873, height 30 cm. A round jar with a rectangular door with a double 'frame' around it (Muller 2002:111, Fig. 99; Katz 2006: Vol. I:48; Vol. II: Pl. 19:2).

Notes: Berkheij-Dol (2012:69-70) cites different excavation numbers. One more fragment from Kamid el-Lōz is not counted here since its nature is unclear (Berkheij-Dol 2012:70, no. 6, Fig. 39 bottom right).

A16. Tell Munbāqa in Syria, LB, Reg. No. Mbq26/25-80, House P, Room 53, height 41 cm; door height 27 cm (Fig. 4.16). The door is framed by an applied ridge with incised "rope" pattern. The rounded top ends with a knob. The door was closed with a lid (not found) sitting in sockets at one side and locked to a ledge handle at the center of the opposite side (Werner 1998:4, No. 22, Pl. 24-26; Katz 2006: Vol. I:48; Vol. II: Pl. 19:7; Berkheij-Dol 2012:116, Fig. 80).

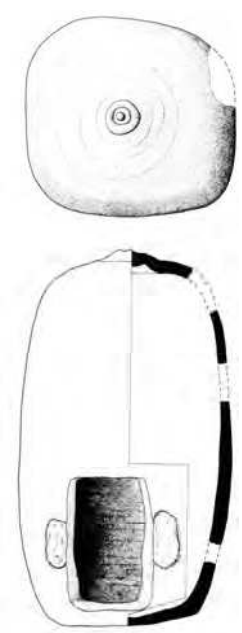
A17-18. Ugarit, LBI-II, two models:

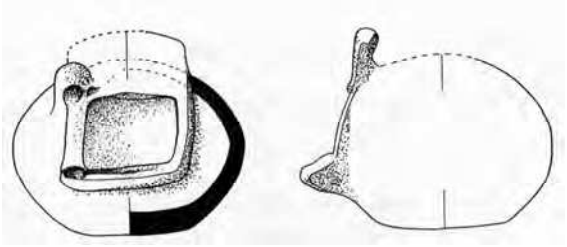
A17. Reg. No. AO32066, RSII.199; height 28 cm, door 16.5 cm (Fig. 4.17). An upturned jar with a 'button' top and a door that still has the lid. The lid has a handle that adjusts to the two side handles, enabling to fasten the lid with the help of a small stick or cord. Applied snake-like decoration above the door (Schaeffer 1949, Figs. 79:1-4; Pl. 30; Katz 2006: Vol. I:48; Vol. II: Pl. 19:4).

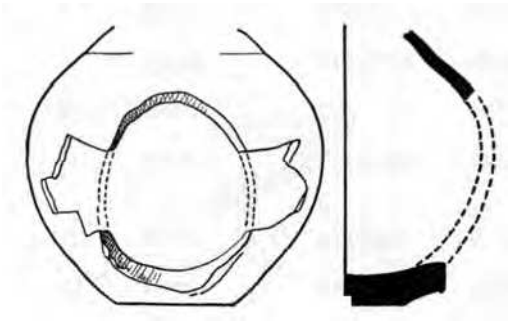
A18. IV.136, height 14.5 cm, door c. 5.7 cm (Fig. 4.18). An upturned jar with a 'button' top and horizontal, incised lines. It has a small door with a two handles on the side and a lid with another handle to enable closing (Schaeffer 1949, Figs. 79:a-d; Katz 2006: Vol. I:48; Vol. II: Pl. 19:6).

A19. Tel Dan, Iron I, Level V, room L7082, an industrial area (?); height 27 cm, door 10.5x12 cm (Fig. 4.19). The model has a conical roof (missing the upper edge) and a conical lower part with a relatively small ring base. The door is rectangular, with two large loop handles on its sides for closure (Biran 1994:152-53, Figs. 111; 112,1; Zevit 2001:336, Fig. 4.18; Katz 2006: Vol. I:49; Vol. II:20, Pl. 18:3; Berkheij-Dol 2012:78, Fig. 43).

A20. Tel Hadar, Iron I, L299, in room L299 of Level IV, IAA201-522, height 42 cm, door 15x13-15 cm (Fig. 4.20). The model has a pointed roof missing the upper edge, decorated by incisions, and a rectangular door. There are two large loop handles for closure at the sides of the door. The model was found in a tripartite storage building (Kochavi 1996:191, photo 15; Kochavi and Yadin 2008:1757; Katz 2006: Vol. I:50; Vol. II:21, Pl. 18:1; Berkheij-Dol 2012:93-94, Fig. 59).







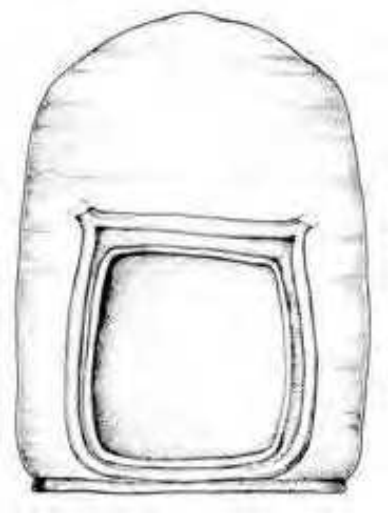
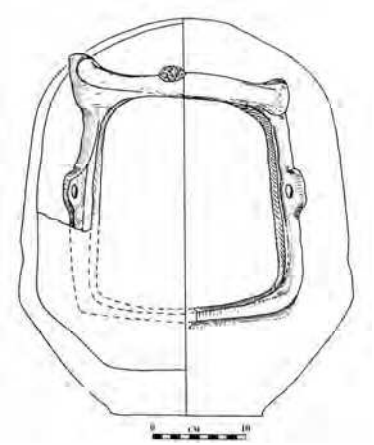
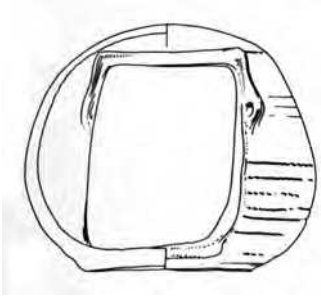


Fig. 4.4 (left): Ashkelon, A1, Seger 2006: Fig. 3. Fig. 4.5 (center top): Hazor, A3; Yadin et al. 1961: Pl. 282:1
Fig. 4.6 (center bottom): Hazor, A4, Yadin et al. 1960: Pl. 123:4. Fig. 4.7 (right): Hazor, A5, Zuckerman 2003: Pl. 4.13





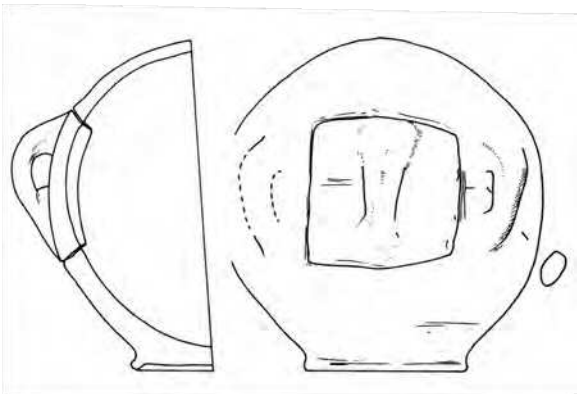
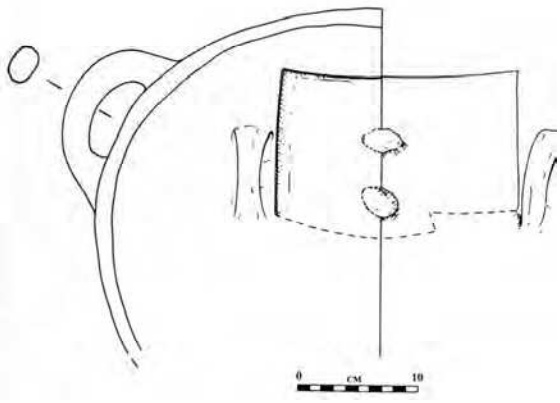


Fig. 4.8: Tell Deir ‘Alla, A7
Franken 1992: Fig. 3.8:12

Fig. 4.9: Tell Deir ‘Alla, A8
Franken 1992: Fig. 4.3:16

Fig. 4.10: Tell Deir ‘Alla, A9
Franken 1992: Fig. 5.8:30



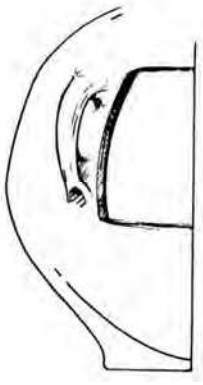


Fig. 4.11 (left): Tell Deir ‘Alla, A10, Franken 1992: Fig. 4.17
Fig. 4.12 (center): Tell Deir ‘Alla, A11, Franken 1992: Fig. 4.24:14
Fig. 4.13 (right): Kamid el-Lōz, A12, Miron 1982: Pl. 1

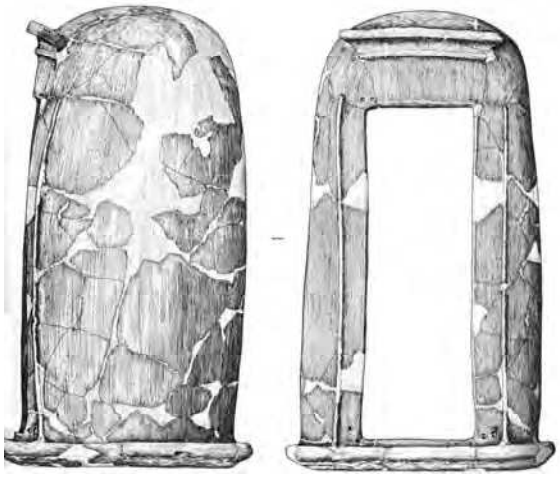


Fig. 4.14: Kamid el-Lōz, A13
Miron 1982: Pl. 4.

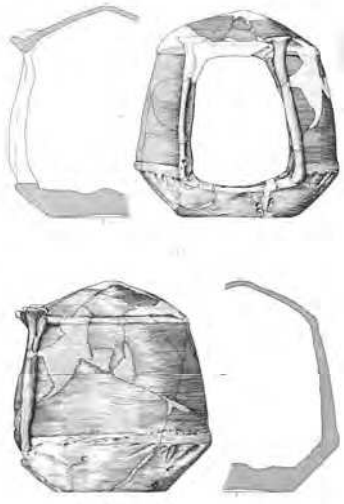


Fig. 4.15: Kamid el-Lōz, A14
Miron 1982: Pl. 3

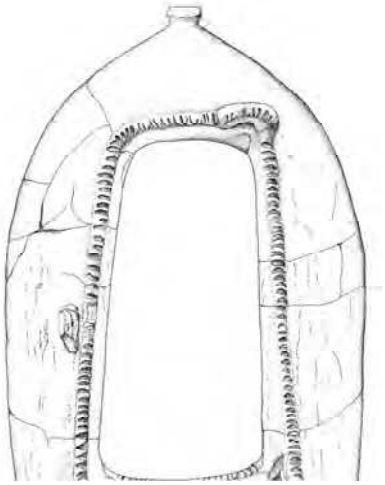


Fig. 4.16: Tell Munbāqa, A16
Werner 1998: Pl. 24-26

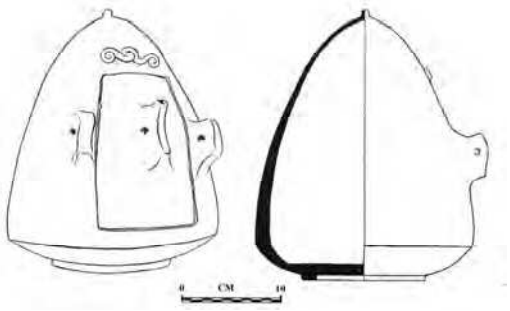


Fig. 4.17: Ugarit, A17
Schaeffer 1949: Fig. 79:3-4

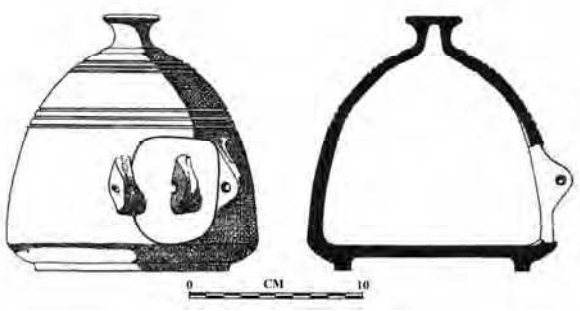


Fig. 4.18: Ugarit, A18
Schaeffer 1949: Fig. 79:c-d

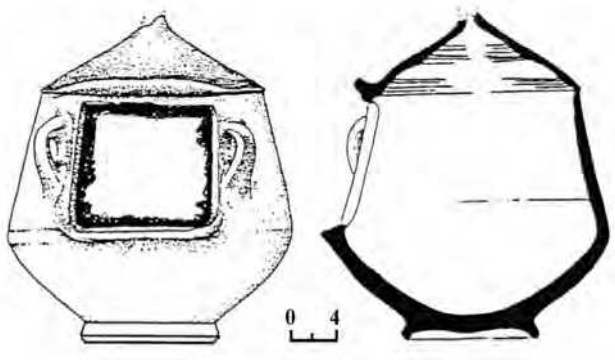


Fig. 4.19: Tel Dan, A19
Zevit 2001: Fig. 4:18

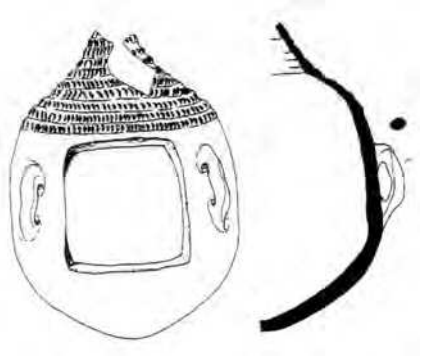


Fig. 4.20: Tel Hadar, A20
Katz 2006: Pl. 18:3

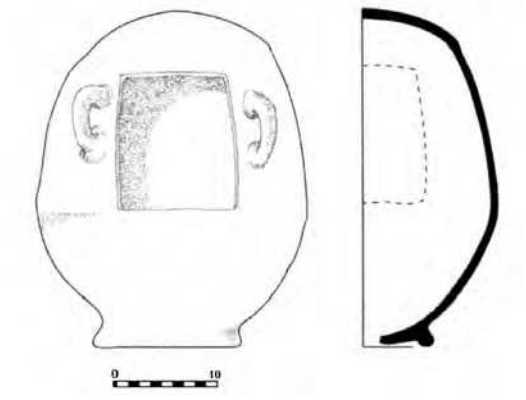
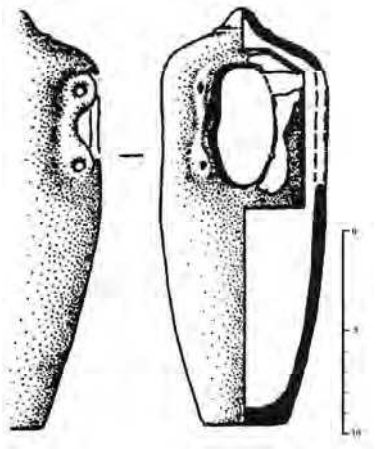


Fig. 4.21 (left):
Kinneret, A21
Nissinen and Münger 2009:
Fig. 4:2

Fig. 4.22 (right):
Haran Site 38, A25
Katz 2006: Pl. 16:2



A21-22. Kinneret/Tel Kinrot, Iron I; two models and two lid fragments.

A21. Complete model, Reg. No. 6603/2, Area N, Level V, L3594, height 31.5 cm, door 13.5x9.5-11 cm (Fig. 4.21). The model is an upturned jar with a ring base and a rectangular opening set high above the floor. Two large loop handles beside the door enabled its closing (Nissinen and Münger 2009:134-5; Katz 2006: Vol. I:50; Vol. II:22, Pl. 18:2; Berkheij-Dol 2012:47: no. 1, Figs. 22; 23:1).

A22. Nearly complete model, missing the upper part. Area T, Reg. No. 10103/2, L9010, level VI or V estimated height in origin c. 45 cm. An elongated, upturned jar, with a rectangular door located in the upper part. One large loop handle survived beside the door; the lid is missing (Berkheij-Dol 2012:47: no. 3, Fig. 24:2; Münger 2013:163-4, Fig. 7:2).

A23. Two lid fragments of shrine models. One from area N, Reg. No. 6480/1, Level VI, L3531 (Nissinen and Münger 2009:135, n. 22; Katz 2006: Vol. I:50; Vol. II:22; Berkheij-Dol 2012:47: no. 4, Fig. 23:4; Münger 2013: Fig. 7:4). The second is a smaller fragment from Area N, Reg. No. 6480/5, L3531, Level VI, Iron I (Berkheij-Dol 2012:47: no. 3, Fig. 23:3; Münger 2013: Fig. 7:3). We count both as one item, since the smaller lid fragment could have fitted models A21 or A22.

A24. Tel Rehov, Reg. No. 54575, Area C, level IV, L5439, Iron II (9th century), height 28.5 cm; door 14x11.5(?). A squat model, with rounded top and rectangular door. Remains of ledge handles indicate that the door could be closed by a lid. The model is decorated with a snake above the entrance and three figures on the roof – two humans flanking an animal (Katz 2006: Vol. I:51; Vol. II:23, Pl. 18:4; Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2007:210-211; 2008:45-46; Mazar 2008:2015; Berkheij-Dol 2012:103, Figs. 66-67).

A25. Near Ruqeis, the Haran Area. An elongated jar-like model, MBII, height 21 cm, door c. 7.3x3 cm (Fig. 4.22). It has a 'button' top and a flattened base. The rectangular lid was attached to the model with the help of double handles at each side. The door is located very high and the vessel is large (Eames 2004; Katz 2006: Vol. II:11, Pl. 16:2).

A26. Kh. Qeiyafa. A complete round model found in 2010 in House C4, c. 10th century. It has a 'button' top and flattened base; height 21.7 cm, height door c. 9.9 cm. The opening is large and rectangular, with a protruding "frame". Above the entrance there is a worn-out decoration, perhaps head of an animal. The lid was found too (Garfinkel et al. 2012:149-150, Figs. 34, 58).

A27. Tell Zira'a in Jordan, found smashed in a pit/silo, square AE116, Area I, Iron I, c. 25 cm high, door height c. 11 cm. It is nearly complete, formed as an upturned jar with a large square door located at middle height of the jar. The lid has a large loop handle that fits two similar loop handles on the sides of the door. Probably undecorated. The excavators called it a "Götterhaus für Hausgötter" (*sic*, http://www.tallziraa.de/; Vieweger and Häser 2010: 13, Pl. 7; Berkheij-Dol 2012:97, Figs. 62-63).

Notes: a fragment of a jug-like model in the Hecht Museum, Haifa, is rounded and has a 'button' top and rectangular door, height 21 cm, door width 9.5 cm. It is exceptional – with a square front and a fronton and remains of figures or pillars, it mixes features of types A and C. The origin is unknown (mentioned as "Judah"; Reg. No. REH142, Katz 2006: Vol. I:49, Vol. II:19, Pl. 17:8). Another unpublished fragment from Tell Jerishe, Reg. 9801/3, length 9 cm, MB II context, L1554) is of unclear nature (Katz 2006: Vol. II:10, Pl. 16:4).

4.3.2. TYPE B: PHOENICIAN/CYPRIOT SHRINE MODELS (Figs. 4.23-37)

Some registration numbers, heights and even places of origin vary between publications; I follow Karageorghis (1996), which offers the best catalogue.

B1. Achzib, in the Rockefeller Museum, Reg. No. 44.46, height 18 cm; cubiculum 12x8.8 cm (outside measures?); door height c. 10 cm (Fig. 4.23). Unclear context, probably a tomb of the 7th century or later; the object was purchased, not found in an excavation. It has a large, wide fronton decorated with one pellet and a rectangular room. A wide 'tongue' fills the entire niche carrying eight 'pellets' in two vertical lines at its top. The 'tongue' extends outside, curving down to the base which extends to the front (Culican 1976:485-6; Weinberg 1978:42-43, Fig. 17; Zevit 2001:335-336, Fig. 4.17; Dayagi-Mendels 2002:160-162 Fig. 7.25; Katz 2006: Vol. I:69-70, Vol. II:45, Pl. 31:1-2).

B2. Tyre, in the National Museum, Beirut, Reg. No. MN22536, height 18 cm (Fig. 4.24). It was found in a tomb dated to the 7th-6th centuries. The fronton is missing (Katz describes it as having a fronton with one pellet). Inside is a wide 'tongue' with a conical headdress and an applied necklace with a large disc-and-crescent pendant. There were perhaps pillars, now missing. Painted red and blue decoration (Culican 1976:48, Pl. 6b; Muller 2002:220, Fig. 219; Karageorghis 1996:62, Fig. 46; Katz 2006: 70; Vol. II:Pl. 31:3).

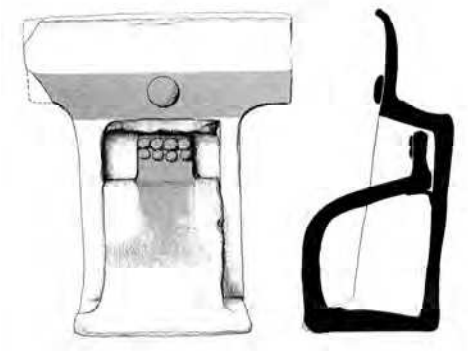


Fig. 4.23: Achzib, B1
Dayagi-Mendels 2006: Fig. 7:25

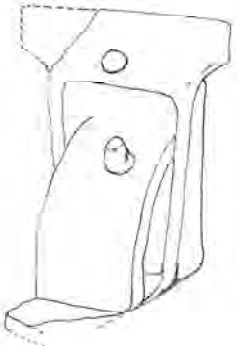


Fig. 4.24: Tyre, B2
Katz 2006: Pl. 31:3

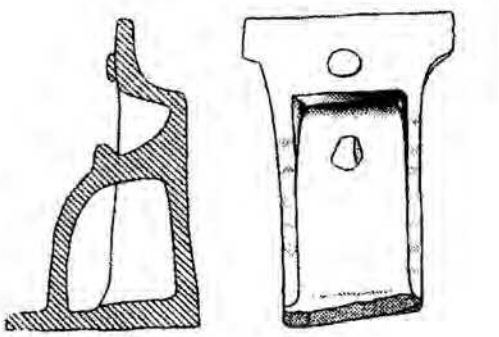


Fig. 4.25: Tyre al-Bass, B3
Caubet 2006: Fig. 3:10

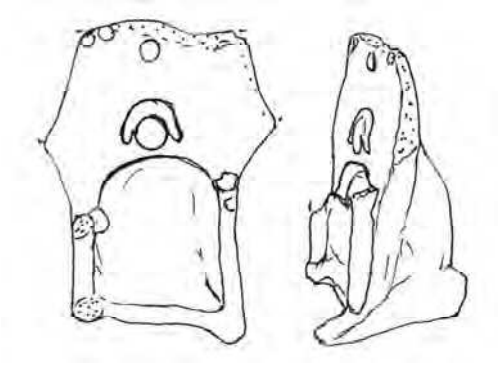


Fig. 4.26: Amathos, Limassol Museum, B4
Karageorghis 1996: Pl. 35:3

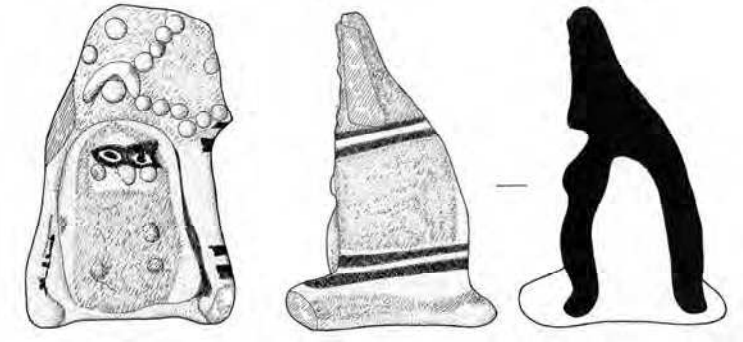


Fig. 4.27: Cyprus Museum, B6
Karageorghis 1996: Fig. 48

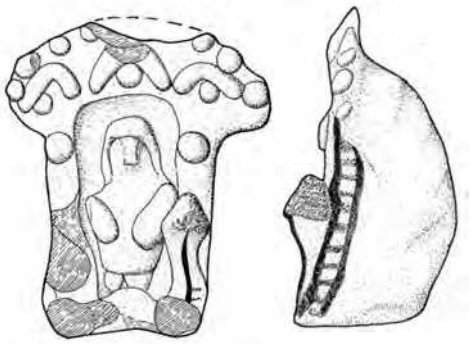


Fig. 4.28: Cyprus Museum, B7
Karageorghis 1996: Fig. 41

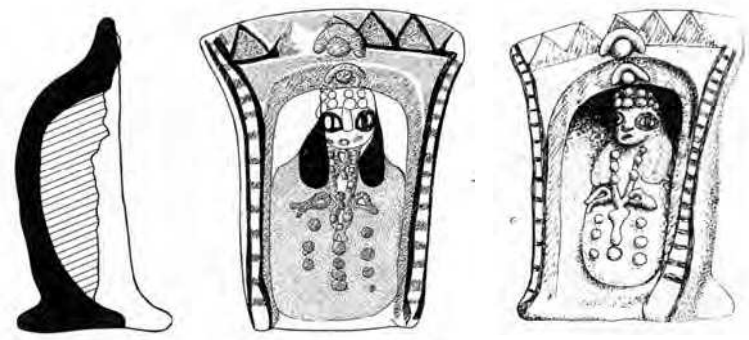


Fig. 4.29: B8
Karageorghis 1996: Fig. 40 (left); Metzger 2004: Fig. 286c (right)

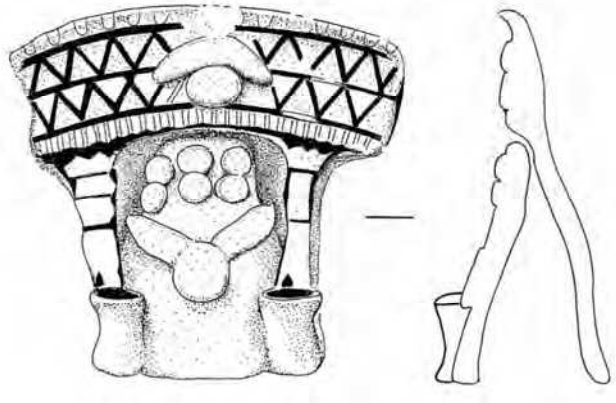


Fig. 4.30: B9
Karageorghis 1996: Fig. 47

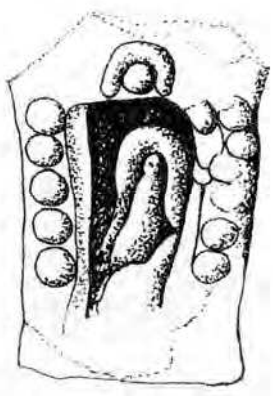
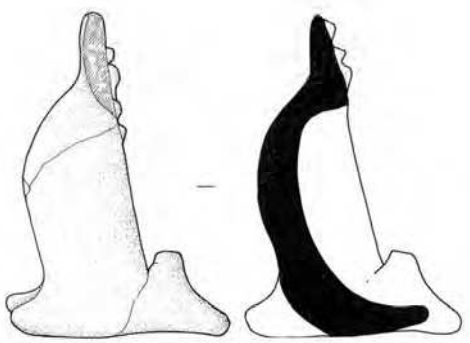


Fig. 4.31: Amathos B10
Metzger 2004: Fig. 286d

Fig. 4.32: Alhambra, B11
Katz 2006: Pl. 32:1



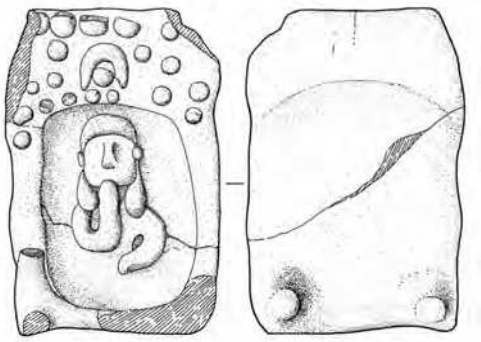


Fig. 4.33: B12
Karageorghis 1996: Fig. 42

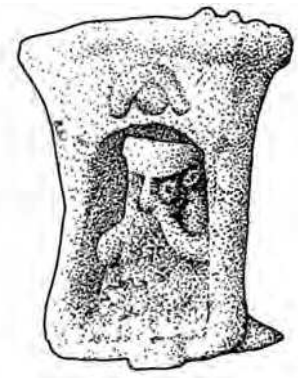


Fig. 4.34: B13
Karageorghis 1996: Fig. 43

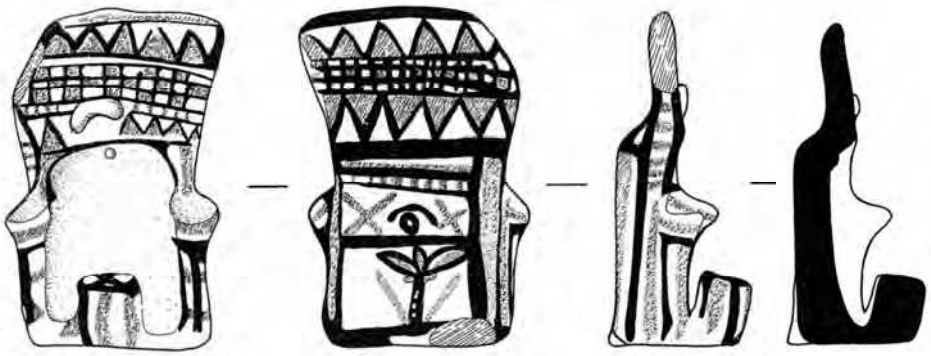


Fig. 4.35: B14
Karageorghis 1996: Fig. 49

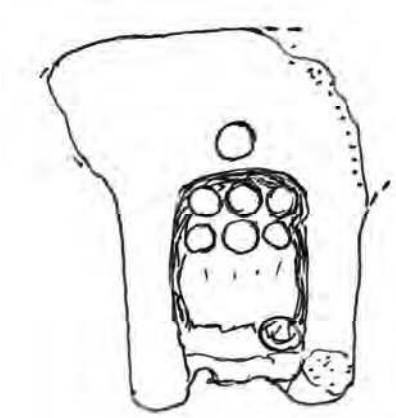


Fig. 4.36: Metropolitan Museum, B15
Karageorghis 1996: Pl. 35:4

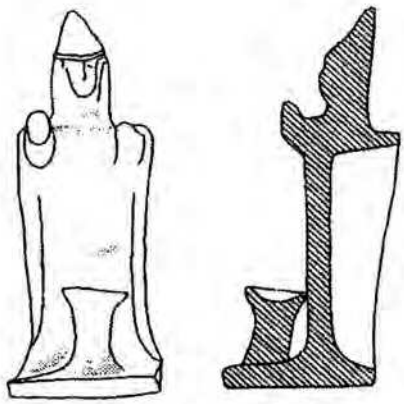


Fig. 4.37: Tyre al-Bass, B19
Caubet 2006: Fig. 3:11

B3. Tyre, al-Bass, Tomb 8, Reg. No. U.8-10, height 16.5 cm; 7th-6th centuries (Fig. 4.25). A rectangular model with a floor extending forward. There is a wide fronton (partially missing) decorated by one pellet. A curved 'tongue' of clay comes out from the top of the room, reaching the floor, and on it is a lump of clay – like a pellet but more elongated. The edge of the front floor is broken off. Traces of red paint (Metzger 2004:420- 432, Figs. 280-281; Aubet 2006:45, Figs. 3:10; 4c; Aubet 2010:154, Fig. 15c).

B4. Amathus, in the Limassol District Museum, Tomb 194 No. 12, height 13 cm, roughly end of 6th century (Fig. 4.26). Rounded black walls, wide fronton broken on the sides, with a disc and crescent motif at center and a pellet above it. The base extends to the front, carrying pillars with capitals (one is missing). There was a figure inside the model, now missing, but the arms (?) remain at the sides (Karageorghis 1996:65, Cat. T12, Pl. 35:3).

B5. Provenance unknown, in the Metropolitan Museum, maybe from Idalion, Reg. No. 74.51.1754, height 10 cm. Rounded back walls and a small plain fronton. There are remains of two broken rounded elements in

front of the door jambs, maybe pillars or stands. Inside, the schematic rounded "baetyl" has one row of three pellets and a forth pellet further below (Karageorghis 1996:64, Cat T10, Pl. 35:6; Karageorghis 2001: 144-5, no. 218; Katz 2006: vol. I:82, Vol. II: Pl. 32:9).

B6. Provenance unknown, in the Cyprus Museum, Reg. No. C71, height 14.2 cm (Fig. 4:27). Rounded back walls, but without an inner room. There is only a closed cavity, since the 'baetyl' (which is not a separate figure) blocks the front. Thus there is no 'door' or entrance. The wide fronton is broken on the sides and has a disc and crescent at center and pellets that do not form a clear pattern around it. The 'baetyl' is very schematic, interpreting it as human requires a vivid imagination. There seem to be prominent black painted eyes, a horizontal row of three pellets below the eyes and five pellets in two rows on the lower 'body' (mostly broken off). Red and black paint (Culican 1976:48, Pl. 2b; Karageorghis 1996:64-65, Cat. T11, Fig. 48, Pl. 35:1; Katz 2006: Vol. I:83, Vol. II: Pl. 32:3; Katz gives the origin as Amathos and sees a snake decoration on the fronton).

B7. Provenance unknown, in the Cyprus Museum, Reg. No. C74; red and black paint, height 11 cm (Fig. 4.28). Rounded back walls; a broad 'mushroom' like fronton with three disc-and-crescent motifs at center and pellets along the upper edge. Two attached 'stands' (?) or pillars besides the door reached only half its height, ending with a conical top (only one survived). Inside is a schematic human figure, perhaps female, with long side locks and hands on the belly (Culican 1976:48, Pl. 2d; Karageorghis 1996:59, Cat. T2; Fig. 41; Pl. 34:2; Katz 2006: Vol. I:83, Vol. II: Pl. 32:11).

B8. Provenance unknown, in the Cyprus Museum, Reg. No. C75, height 11.5 cm (Fig. 4.29). Rounded back walls; floor extends at the base; the top widens to create a fronton that shows painted geometric patterns and a disc-and-crescent motif at center. Inside is a female bust without arms/breasts, but with black painted eyes and hair and a 'crown' made of two rows of pellets. The torso is painted yellow and has vertical rows of red painted pellets and perhaps a necklace. Another disc-and-crescent motif is placed above the lintel (Culican 1976:47, Pl. 2c; Karageorghis 1996:57-8, Cat. T1; Fig. 40; Pl. 34:1; Katz 2006: Vol. I:83, Vol. II: Pl. 32:4).

B9. Amathos, in the British Museum, London; Tomb 25, Reg. No. 1894/11-1/38, height 11.4 cm (Fig. 4.30). There is an inner cavity which does not form a real room, since there is no door leading to it – the front is nearly completely blocked by the figure. There is a wide fronton with a disc-and-crescent in its center and black and red registers with triangles. In front of the door jambs there are small cylindrical objects with hollow tops, perhaps incense stands. The figure inside is schematic (a 'baetyl'), red painted, reaching almost the ceiling, and has on the upper part two rows of pellets. Under the pellets there is a crude disk with two 'wings'– perhaps a necklace (Culican 1976: Pl. 3a; Karageorghis 1996:63-64, Cat. T8, Fig. 47, Pl. 35:2; Katz 2006: Vol. I:83, Vol. II: Pl. 32:5, Reg. No. 150A).

B10. Amathos, in the Pennsylvania University Museum; Reg. No. MS156, height 8.1 cm (Fig. 4.31). Rounded back walls with the floor protruding backwards to stabilize the object. The fronton widens out and has an applied disc-and-crescent at center. Pellets adorn the door jambs. On the sides of the door there are attached pillars with 'half' volute capitals. Signs of breakage may indicate another pair of pillars at the front. Inside is a schematic human bust with a row of pellets (a crown?) on the head, raising the right hand to the mouth. According to Karageorghis the figure has a veil (Betancourt 1971; Karageorghis 1996:61, Cat. T5, Pl. 34:4; Katz 2006: Vol. I:83-4, Vol. II: Pl. 32:6).

B11. Alhambra or Idalion, in the Louvre, Paris; Reg. No. N3526, height 13 cm (Fig. 4.32). Rounded back walls and a wide fronton (with broken corners). The fronton is divided by a horizontal ridge. Below the ridge are a disc-and-crescent at center and two pellets at the sides. Inside is the upper figure of bearded male with a conical hat/helmet with flaps (?). He stands behind an object with horns – most likely a horned altar, holding in both hands, in front of his chest, a vertical, narrow object (interpreted in many ways – scepter, pestle, penis…). There is a disc-and-crescent on the door lintel and two pellets; as well as red and black lines (Karageorghis 1996:61, Cat. T6, Pl. 34:4; Katz 2006: Vol. I:84, Vol. II: Pl. 32:1).

B12. Amathos, Cyprus, Reg. No. 470 from Tomb 2, height 13.4 cm (Fig. 4.33). Rounded back walls; the floor extends outside to stabilize the model. There are stubs of two rounded pillars (broken). The wide (now broken) fronton carries many pellets and one disc-and-crescent motif at center. Inside there is a human bust with one arm folded to the belly and the other folded to the mouth. Long side-locks reach the shoulders (Karageorghis 1996:60, Cat. T3, Fig. 42, Pl. 34:3).

B13. Provenance unknown; private collection in Nicosia, height 9.3 cm (Fig. 4.34). Similar to B12. A small fronton that slightly widens has a disc-and-crescent at its center. The figure inside has its left hand at the mouth; the other arm is broken off (Karageorghis 1996:60, Cat. T4, Fig. 43).

B14. Amathus, in the Limassol District Museum, Tomb 605, No. 12, height 10.1 cm, Cypro Archaic II – Cypro Classic I periods (Fig. 4.35). An empty model. The back is rectangular; the inner space is shallow. The wide

fronton (now broken) is decorated in black and red geometric motifs (mainly triangles and squares). At the center there is an applied disc-and-crescent motif. Two cylindrical pillars are attached to the sides of the model, reaching only middle height and ending with a cup-like top. On the floor, outside of the pillars and at the center there is a cylindrical protrusion, perhaps an altar. Rich red and black painted motifs adorn also the back of the model, including a stylized flower or palm tree (?) (Karageorghis 1996:65-66, Cat. T13, Fig. 49, Pl. 35:5).

B15. Provenance unknown, in the Metropolitan Museum, perhaps from Idalion. Reg. No. 74.51.1753, height 9.9 cm (Fig. 4.36). It is quite similar to B9, with rounded back walls, a small and plain fronton with a disc-and-crescent at center. The 'baetyl' inside is extremely schematic, with two rows of three pellets each at the top. There are three additional pellets on the floor inside the model. Red painted lines (Culican 1976:489, Pl. 2a; Karageorghis 1996:64, Cat. 9, Pl. 34:4; Karageorghis 1996:64, Cat. T9, Pl. 35:4; Katz 2006: vol. I:82, Vol. II: Pl. 32:8).

The following three items are fragments:

B16. Provenance unknown, in the Cyprus Museum, Reg. No. C1915, height 6.2 cm. A fragment of a fronton showing pellets and a disc-and-crescent; the beginning of the door is visible at the bottom (Karageorghis 1996:66, Cat. T15, Fig. 51, Pl. 36:2).

B17. Amathus, in the Limassol District Museum, Tomb 649, No. 39, height 6.3 cm. A fragment of part of a fronton, 'mushroom' shaped, with beginning of the inside space at bottom; showing many pellets and one disc-and-crescent (Karageorghis 1996:66, Cat. T16, Pl. 36:3).

B18. Amathus, in the Limassol District Museum, Reg. No. 76.1779.130, height 5.5 cm. A fragment of the central part of a fronton with a disc-and-crescent above the start of the inner space and one pellet; the top was perhaps conical. It is the only model of Type B found in a sanctuary (Karageorghis 1996:66, Cat. T17, Fig. 52).

One more object is exceptional:

B19. Tyre, al-Bass, Urn Tomb 8, Reg. No. U8-11, height c. 20.5 cm, 7th-6th centuries (Fig. 4.37). An "anthropomorphic" model. It is rectangular, with a shallow, empty niche at the back. The front side has an extension of the 'floor' on which there is a cylindrical stand with a depression at top. High above it, at the upper edge of the front, hands (?) are applied on the corners of the roof and a molded (?) head with a conical hat is attached to the center of the roof. The head was broken off the model and mended (Metzger 2004:432-435, Figs. 288-290; Aubet 2006:45). Metzger mentioned two possible interpretations for the male figure: a deity or a worshipper. According to Aubet the object depicts "a figure in front of a sacrificial stand with arms raised in a gesture of benediction. Although it has no divine attributes, it probably represents a deity" (Aubet 2006:45, Fig. 3:1, 4:d). We agree that the figure can be a male deity, but rather than making an offering, he receives an offering that a person would place in the stand in front of him. Hence it is a sort of a miniature offering stand – combined with the divine 'image'. It is impossible to say if real offerings were placed on the stand, such as grains, incense, or scented oil; or the object was meant only to evoke offering (quantities were anyway limited, since the cup at the top of the round stand is small; so the difference is a subtle one). The relation to Type B shrine models is mainly technical – the potter took the 'body' of a Type B shrine model, but instead of decorating its front and adding a figure inside, the potter turned it around and used the back of the shrine model as the front. The figure on top of B19 seems male and if so, cannot represent Astarte.

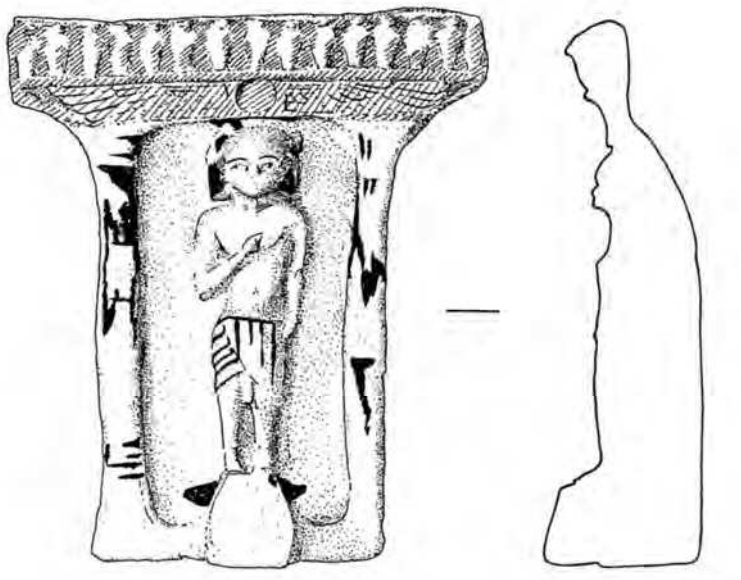


Fig. 4.38: Plaque from Amathos, Karageorghis 1996: Fig. 45

Three 7th century fragments from domestic contexts at Sarepta in Lebanon lack clear typology. One seems to be part of a rectangular shrine model, but the photo and the description are not detailed enough to classify it (Pritchard 1988:124, No. 2506, Fig. 37:21). The other two fragments could be cult stands or shrine models (Pritchard 1988:124, Fig. 37:22-23; Katz 2006:70, Pl. 31:4).

Kats mentions three fragments in the Louvre Museum from Sidon, A01333, AO1471, and AO7494; they are rectangular and two of them show a standing female figure on two animals in a niche (Katz 2006:81, Pl. 31:5-7). However, they are not shrine models but plaques (temple façades). Their decoration follows that of stone *naoi* from Sidon and shows strong Egyptian influence (Contenau 1928:165, Fig. 59; Gubel 1986: 122 no. 52; Ward 1996; Nunn 2000:16, Pl. 2; cf. Sader 2005:19, 75, 137).

Katz includes here an plaque depicting a shrine façade from Amathos, now in the British Museum, London, Reg. No. 1894/11-1/180, height 17.1 cm (Fig. 4.38).This object was found in Tomb 83, c. end of 6th century (Culican 1976: Pl. 3b; Karageorghis 1996:62, Cat. T7, Fig. 45, Pl. 34:6; Katz 2006: Vol. I:83, Vol. II: Pl. 32:2; Reg. No. 149A). It is not a B Type model – but a molded plaque with a shallow niche lacking an inner room. It shows a strong Egyptian influence missing from B Type models (frieze of *uraei*, winged sun disc, etc.). Inside the frontal niche there is a male figure standing on a pedestal with the right arm on the chest and the left arm along the body. One cannot dispute that there are similarities in theme between shrine models and plaques of shrine façades (Mazar 1985; Katz 2006: Pl. 33; Ward 1996); but the objects are different. We will not discuss further plaques, since the Yavneh shrine model is not similar to them.

4.3.3. TYPE C: "JORDANIAN" SHRINE MODELS (Figs. 4.39-47)

All the Type C (so-called "Moabite") shrine models lack provenances. A few fragments that possibly belong to Type C were found in scientific excavations in Jordan, but since their exact typology is uncertain, they do not prove the origins of this Type.

C1. University of Missouri-Columbia, Reg. No. 68-64a, unprovenanced, reputedly from Mt. Nebo, height 30 cm; door 11.6 cm (inner cubiculum 12.8 cm) (Fig. 4.39). It has a narrow porch and a wide fronton, decorated in red and black geometric motifs. There are two square columns beside the door. At the edges of the niche, above the door, there are two probably mold-made female protomes (Weinberg 1978:30-34; Katz 2006:75, Vol. II:53, Pl. 27:10; Daviau 2008:297, n. 19).

C2. University of Missouri-Columbia, Reg. No. 68.64b-c, unprovenanced (Fig. 4.40). Two fragments of a porch of a shrine model, with lion protomes in front of roughly rectangular (broken) pillars. The lions were made separately (the heads perhaps in a mold); the lion bodies seem different from each other. The pillars were freestanding (Weinberg 1978:34, Fig. 4; Katz 2006:75, Vol. II:53, Pl. 27:11; Daviau 2008:297).

C3. Israel Museum, Jerusalem, Reg. No. 82.24.415, unprovenanced, height 30 cm, door 12.5x13 cm (Fig. 4.41). A model with a porch, large, high fronton, freestanding round pillars that have lotus (drooping leaves) capitals, and two oval openings in the niche. White slip and black painted lines (Weinberg 1978:40-41, Figs. 15-16; http://www.imj.org.il/imagine/collections/item.asp?itemNum=373107; Katz 2006:74, Vol. II:51, Pl. 27:4; Daviau 2006:297, n. 21).

C4. Eretz-Israel Museum, Tel Aviv, Reg. No. MHP199, acquired in 1999, height 26.5 cm, door 9x13 cm. A large, high fronton (partly missing); a porch with rectangular, detached pillars; a bird in the niche above the door; red and black decoration, probably Iron II (Katz 2006:74, Vol. II:50, Pl. 27:2).

C5. Israel Museum, Jerusalem, Reg. No. 75.7.143, unprovenanced; probably Iron II, height 38 cm, door c. 12.5 cm. This model has a wide, high fronton with painted red and black decoration and a relatively small room. There is no porch, but two freestanding pillars were probably placed on the ground, supporting the model. A semi-circular niche above the entrance has two small rectangular openings. Uniquely the model has a large loop handle at the back, perhaps for carrying or for tying on a wall (Katz 2006:74, Vol. II:52, Pl. 27:5).

C6. A private collection, unknown provenance, height not published (Fig. 4.42). It has a wide, high fronton ending in a bird figure at the top; a porch with two pillars that have drooping leaves, supported by lion protomes. Uniquely, inside the model, at the back wall, there is a wide, low throne with a "double-back" (Dever 2008; but see discussion below).

C7. A collection in Switzerland, unknown provenance, height 34.9 cm; door c. 12.5 cm. It has a wide, high fronton, decorated by black and red paint; a porch carries two round (semi-detached) columns with large rectangular capitals that join the fronton. A disc-and-crescent motif adorns the niche above the door, the only such motif in Type C (Weinberg 1978:40, n.13; Katz 2006: Pl. 27:6; Daviau 2006:297).

C8. Hecht Museum, Haifa, Reg. No. H2541, provenance unknown, height 32 cm, door 11x10 cm (Fig. 4.43). It has a large, high fronton, a niche with a bird, a porch with rounded, detached pillars with drooping leaves. Dated by style to Iron II. White slip and red and black paint (Hachlili and Meshorer 1986:42; Katz 2006:74, Vol. II:49, Pl. 27:3).

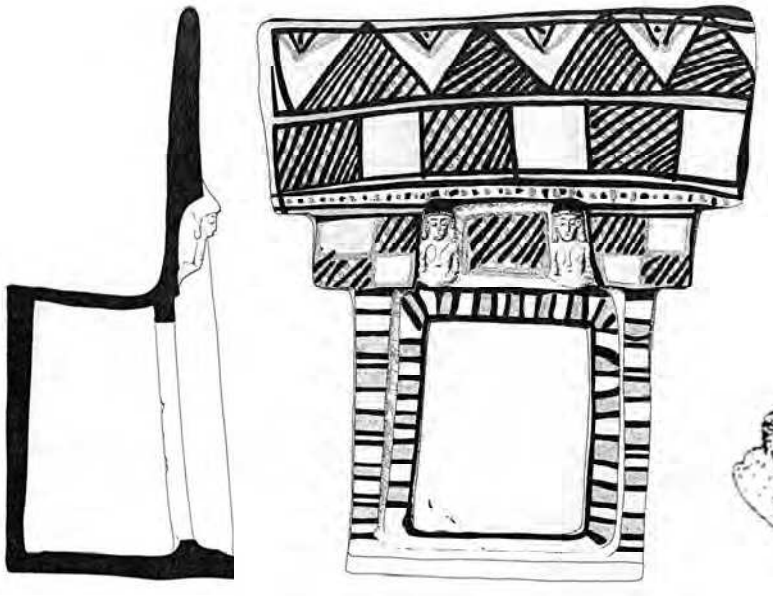


Fig. 4.39: Missouri University, C1
Weinberg 1978:33

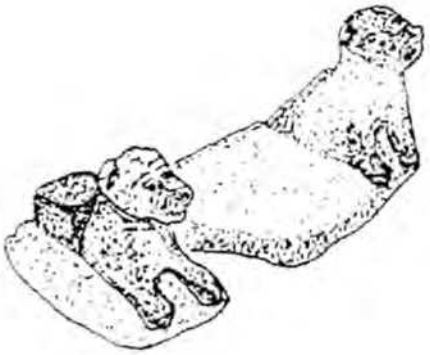


Fig. 4.40: Missouri University, C2
Katz 2006: Pl. 27:1

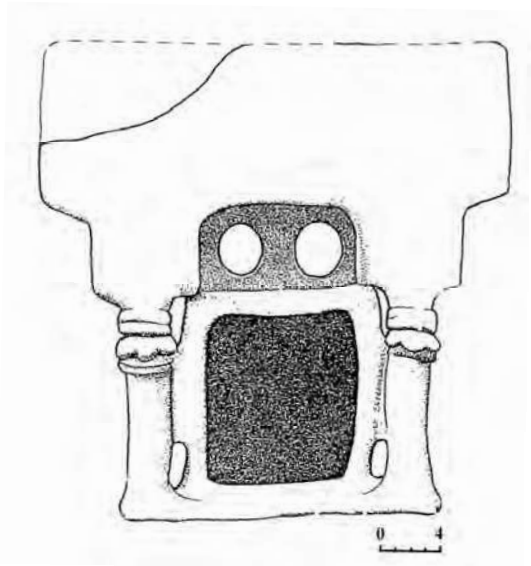


Fig. 4.41: C3
De Miroschedji 2001: Fig. 22b

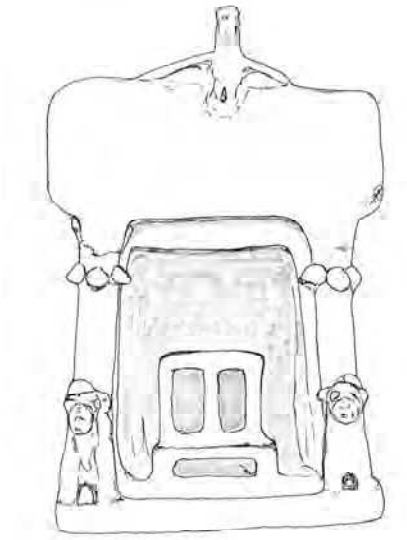


Fig. 4.42: C6
Dever 2008:56

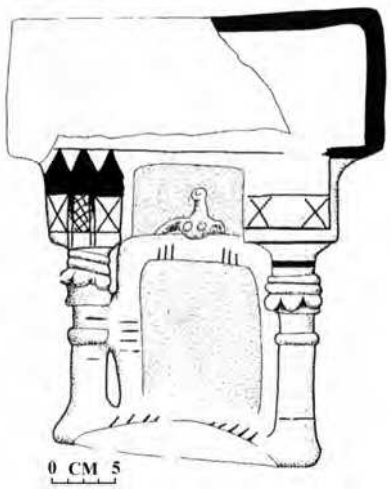


Fig. 4.43: Hecht Museum C8
De Miroschedji 2001: Fig. 21a

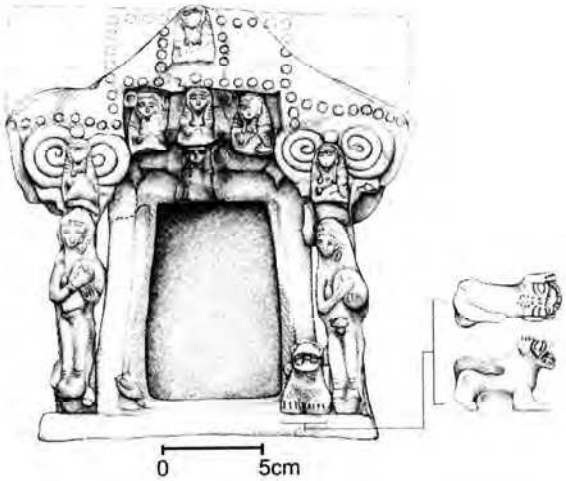


Fig. 4.44: C9
Maeir and Dayagi Mendels 2007: Fig. 1

Fig. 4.45: Site WT13, C10
Daviau 2008: Fig. 4:5

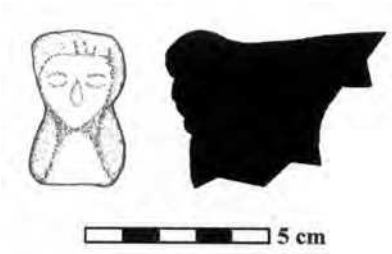


Fig. 4.46: Site WT13, C11
Daviau 2008: Fig. 5

Fig. 4.47: Tel Jawa, C12
Daviau 2002: Fig. 43:1

C9. Moussaieff collection. Unprovenanced, height 31 cm, inner cubiculum 18 cm; door c. 14 cm (Fig. 4.44). This is the most ornate, or should one say tasteless, model in this group. It has a wide, high but not rectangular fronton; a porch with mold-made female drummers attached to freestanding pillars, with volute capitals above their heads; near their feet are lion protomes; above their heads palm capitals with female protomes; in the niche above the door are three more female protomes. Yet two more female protomes (or maybe one female protome and one bird) adorn the front, one below and one above the three protomes in the niche (Maeir and Dayagi-Mendels 2007: Figs. 1-2).
For the style of the volutes, compare a female figurine with volutes from Amman Tomb C, c. 8th century (Homès-Fredericq 1987:94-95, Fig. 4).

The following items are small fragments; their typology is not completely clear:

C10. Wadi ath-Thamad, site WT13, Reg. nos. WT88+89-2/2588+2589 (Fig. 4.45). A fragment with attached female figures; including one complete standing mold-made drummer. Daviau interpreted it as part of a fronton (Daviau 2008:297, Fig. 4), and if so, it belongs to our type C. However, it could be part of a cult stand, because complete females are not found on model shrine frontons, only protomes. Also the shape of the rounded, protruding upper corner seems to fit better cult stands than Type C fronton.

C11. Wadi ath-Thamad, site WT13, Reg. No. WT104-2/604. A small fragment (c. 3 cm in height) of a female figure, but only the head survived (Fig. 4.46). It could belong to a shrine model, but more probably to a cult stand with the figure placed at the front corner (Daviau 2008:297, Fig. 5; and the two photos on the right).

C12. Tell Jawa, several fragments. Reg. No. TJ1569, 1570, 2236 from building 102 are façade fragments, one with painted decoration. TJ218 is a fragment of a miniature volute capital, probably from a shrine model (Fig. 4.47). TJ1277 is a pillar fragment perhaps from a shrine model. However the exact type remains unclear (Daviau 2002:80-84; Figs. 2.42:1; 2.43:1; Daviau 2008:297).

Notes: Katz (2006:880-81-82) looked for comparisons to models with "stresses front" in Mesopotamia, Turkey, and Cyprus; but none is comparable to the Type C examples, and most do not fit in time. Some are very early or exceptional; some may belong to Type B; a few from Cyprus have affinities to round Cretan "hut models" (discussed further below). One circular object from site WT13 in Moab lacks a roof and has knobs and a scar inside, maybe from a figure. Its nature is unclear and is not similar to any of the Type C shrine models (Daviau 2008:298, WT437, Fig. 6). We did not include several shrine models from private collections in New York, which Katz mentioned very briefly. They all lack provenience.

4.3.4. TYPE D: EARLY RECTANGULAR SHRINE MODELS (Figs. 4.48-56)

D1. Kamid-el Lōz, LB2, Reg. No. 625, height 26.5 cm, door 16 cm (Fig. 4.48). This rectangular model has a porch, slightly rounded back corners, and two detached columns in front of the doorway. The pillars are broken and it is not clear if they supported a porch roof, or stood without a roof (Hachmann 1983:75, Fig. 38; Metzger 1993:251, Vol. II: Pl. 72; Katz 2006: Vol. I:64, Vol. II: Pl. 25:3; Berkheij-Dol 2012:69, no. 4, Fig. 36: top).

D2. Gezer, a fragment missing the upper part, trench III 30, height unknown, width 21 cm, width of door 11.5 cm. The typology is uncertain; there are several reconstructions (Fig. 4.49 is from the original publication). The date is unclear; opinions vary between MB and Iron 1. The fragment shows a porch with a central door that has recesses and female figures sitting at both sides of the door (only one survives). In front of the door are two small round protrusions, but they do not look like pillar bases (Macalister 1912:437-439; de Miroschedji 2001:70, Fig.17; Muller 2002: No. 145; Katz 2006: Vol. I:64; Vol. II:26, Pl. 24:2-4).

D3. Kh. Qeiyafa. Reg. No. not published (Fig. 4.50); House C10. Height c. 28 cm, door height c. 10 cm (the threshold is mostly missing). The irregular, somewhat rounded body ends in a (wheel-made?) knob at the top, which finds similarity to some A Type models. The applied decoration at the front creates a narrow porch, with two attached pillars decorated by horizontal 'rope' designs. The pillars rest on top of lion protomes (only one survives; Garfinkel et al. 2012 do not notice this relation, speaking about crouching lions and comparing to statues and *orthostats* of lions, but the correct reference is to lion-shaped pillar bases). Holes served for closure of the door, but the lid is missing. A low fronton rises above the roof, with two rows of knobs and two 'rope' patterns above them. According to Garfinkel et al., three birds stood on the roof – meaning on top of the fronton; but not much of them survived. The pillars are topped by round knobs with vertical incisions, possibly capitals. They and similar knobs in two rows above the entrance are interpreted by Garfinkel as edges of wooden roof beams (Garfinkel and Ganor 2012; Garfinkel et al. 2012:152, Figs. 35, 59-60).

D4. Karm er-Ras (Galilee), Reg. No. 6107, area G, L638. A fragment, hand-made, height 13 cm. It is an upper corner with a pellet decoration and the edge of an opening. It is unclear if is a type D shrine model or a cult stand. The date is not published; the site has Iron I-II remains (Katz does not explain and it is not clear from the frontal photo, but she saw the fragment and there is no evidence to the contrary; Katz 2006: Vol. I:65; Vol. II:27, Pl. 25:6; on the excavation in general see Alexandre 2008).

D5. Tel Rekhesh, a complete model, probably Iron I, height 26.5 cm, door 13.5x9 cm, IAA 1996-396 (Fig. 4.51). It was found in a survey; but cultic finds from a recent excavation support the Iron I dating (Paz 2010). It is rectangular, with a rounded back wall, a large rectangular opening, and two holes at one side for closure. There is a very small porch with bases of two worn-out elements, perhaps lion protomes. A 'snake' decoration above the door is perhaps a 'rope'-pattern; above it is a row of knobs. There are two horn-like projections at the top front (Zori 1977:116-117, Pl. 33:3-5; Weinberg 1978:43-44, Fig. 18; Zevit 2001:336-337, Fig. 4.19; Katz 2006: Vol. I:65; Vol. II:28-29, Pl. 25:4).

D6. Tel Rekhesh, a fragment, probably Iron I, found in a survey, IAA 1980-2515, height 26.5 cm. It is rectangular and probably had a rectangular opening. The upper back corners (now missing) were rounded according to the angle of the walls; no traces of figures or decoration survived, but there were perhaps attached pillars on the sides near the front. Broken remains of handles at the sides of the door indicate that it could be closed (Katz 2006: Vol. I:65-66; Vol. II:Pl. 25:5).

D7. Tel el-Far'ah North, Iron II, height 20.6 cm, door 13x8 cm (Fig. 4.52). The model was found in a pit L241 in a room of level III (dating suggestions vary from 10th to 8th centuries); it has rounded corners engaged pillars that have volute capitals. Above the opening there is a crescent, pellets like and other incised motifs (de-Vaux 1954:571-2, Pl. 13; Weinberg 1978:40, Fig. 14; Chambon 1984:77, Pl. 66:1; Zevit 2001:337, Fig. 4.20; Katz 2006: Vol. I:66-67; Vol. II:31-32, Pl. 26:1).

D8. Tell el-Umayri, Jordan; dated to late Iron I (11th century), Reg. No. U6852-3, height 40, door 23.5x16 cm. A nearly complete model with rounded back corners, engaged pillars beside the opening, and volute capitals; there is a rectangular, low fronton above the door, rising above the level of the roof, with a bird applied above the door. A unique aspect is two thin, standing figures that face one another at the inside of the door, not attached to the front wall as is customary. The model was found in an "open air" sanctuary; in the same level were many collared rim jars (Herr and Clark 2003: Fig. 23; Roth 2003:58; Katz 2006: Vol. I:67-68; Vol. II:38, Pl. 26:5; http://www.wallawalla.edu/academics/departments/theology/mpp/photos/ceramic.htm; Daviau 2008:298; Herr 2012:214, Fig. 7).

D9. Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, Reg. No. 1940.286, height 23.5 cm; door height c. 10 cm (Fig. 4.53). Provenance and date are unclear. The shrine model is wheel-made, shaped as a round jar (with a "button" top), to which was attached a flat, rectangular front. There is a porch and a fronton that rises above the roof of the model; beside the door are freestanding pillars with double volute capitals. A dove is placed in the niche above the entrance. The elements suggest an Iron Age date, though Zevit (2001:332) suggested the LB period (Iliffe 1944; Weinberg 1978:38; Dorneman 1983:143; Daviau 2008:298, "pot model"; Katz 2006: Vol. II:48, Pl. 27:1).

The following two models show standing female figurines beside the door:

D10. Beirut Museum, Reg. No. 67.12; provenance unknown, height 22.4 cm; door c. 18.3 cm (Fig. 4.54). A deep room with traces of black paint; there is no fronton. Katz suggested that there could be one in origin, since the model is broken. The entrance is recessed; beside it stand two probably mold-made female figures with hands on the abdomen. The figures had birds above their heads (only one survives); there could be a porch now missing. The door could perhaps be closed by a lid (Culican 1976:492, Pl. 5b; Seeden 1979:10, Pl. 2:12, 3:14; Mazar 1985:15, Fig. 22; Katz 2006: Vol. I:71; Vol. II: Pl. 28:1).

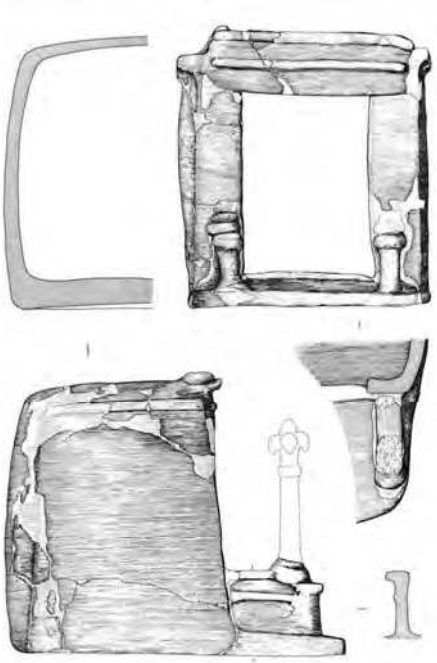


Fig. 4.48: Kamid el-Lōz, D1
Miron 1982: Pl. 2

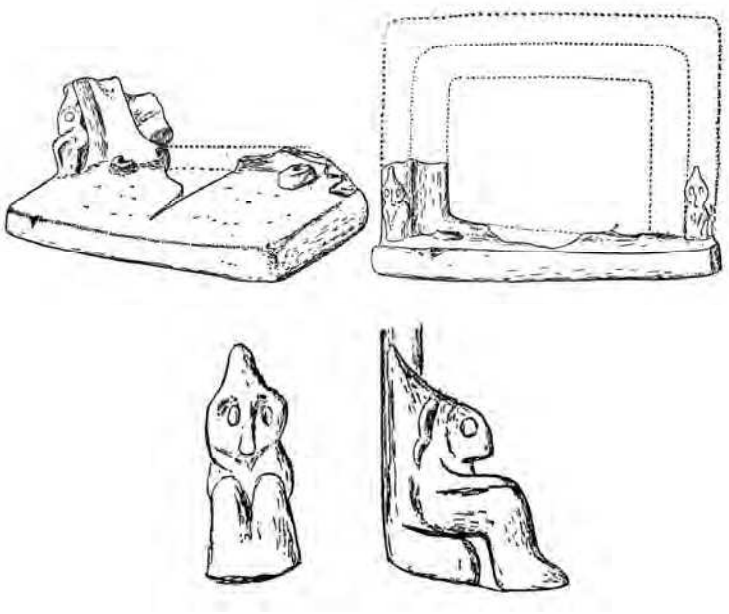


Fig. 4.49: Gezer, D2 (the item, restoration, detail of figure)
Macalister 1912: Fig. 517

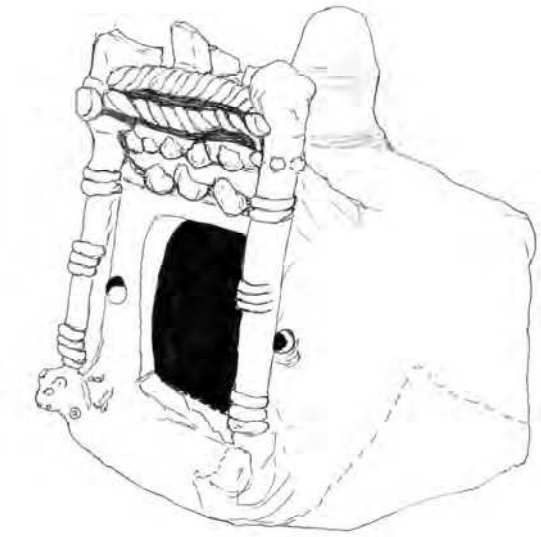


Fig. 4.50: Kh. Qeiyafa, D3
Ganor and Garfinkel 2012: frontispiece

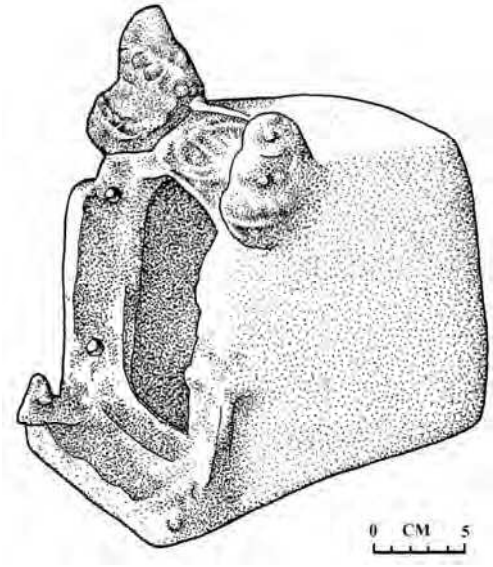


Fig. 4.51: Kh. Rekhesh, D7
Zevit 2001: Fig. 14.19

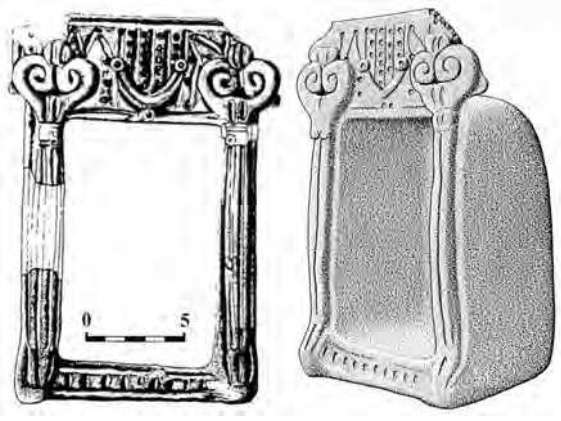


Fig. 4.52: Tell el-Far'ah North, D7
Left: Zevit 2001: Fig. 14.20; Right: Seeden 1979: Pl. 7

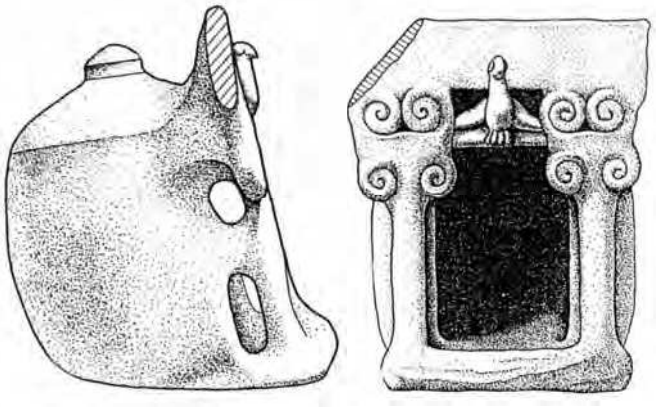
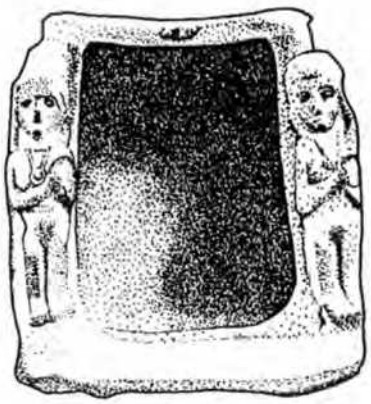


Fig. 4.53: Rockefeller Museum, D9
De Miroschedji 2001: Fig. 21b

Fig. 4.54: Beirut Museum, D10
Katz 2006: Pl. 28:1



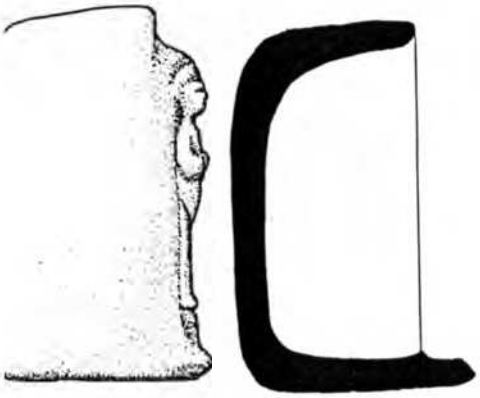


Fig. 4.55: Karak (?), D11
De Miroschedji 2001: Fig. 18b

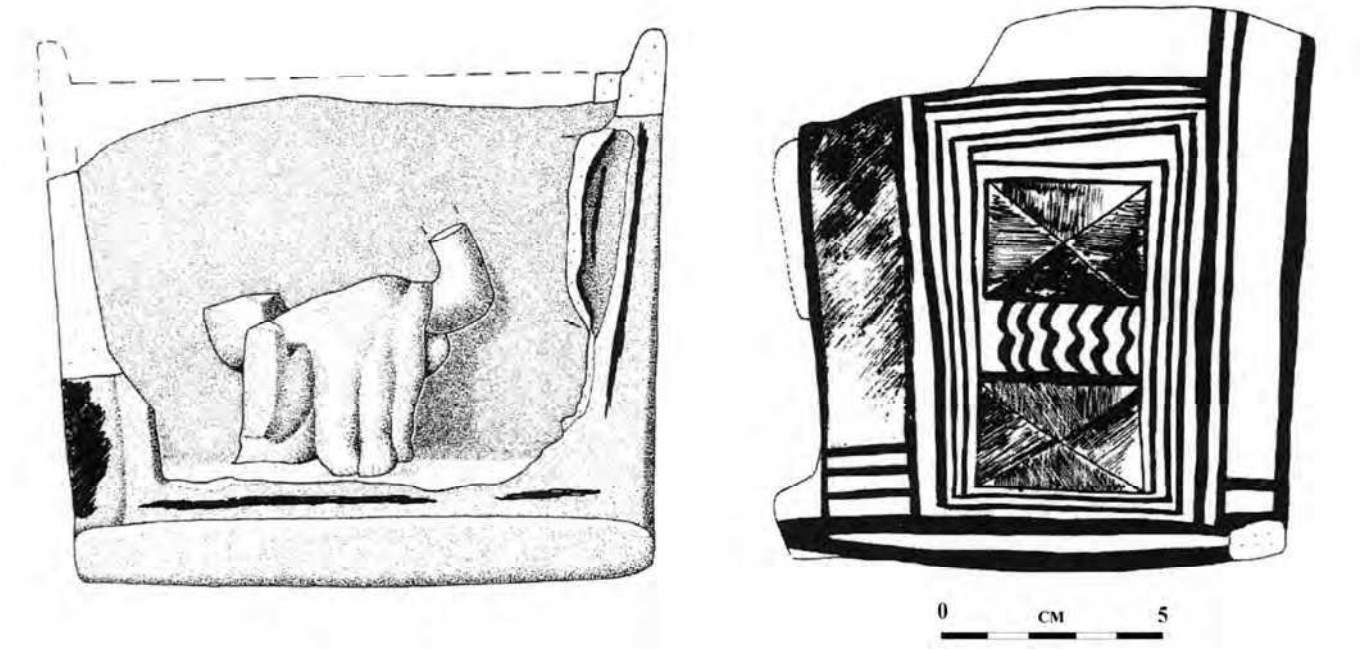


Fig. 4.56: Sèvres Museum, D12, Karageorghis 1990: Fig. 2

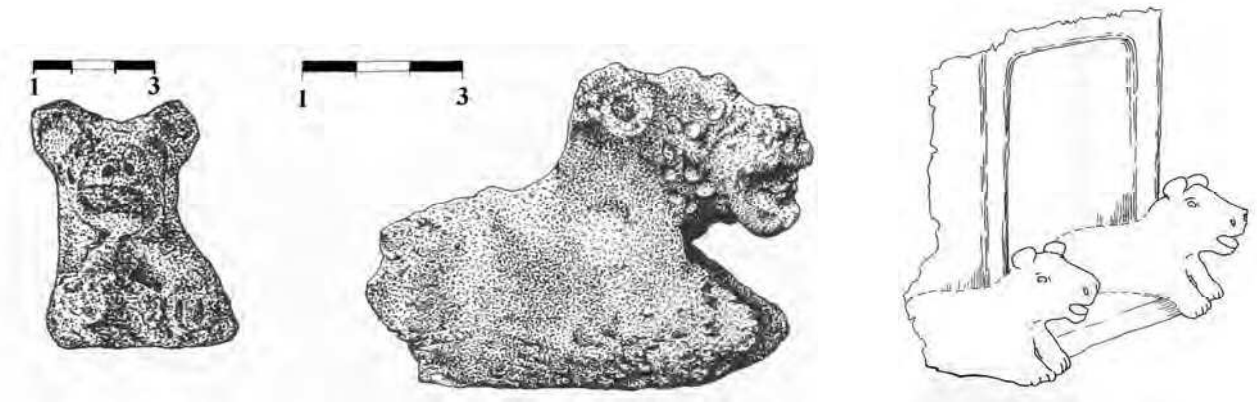


Fig. 4.57: Tell el-Umayri, two fragments of lions and suggested restoration, Dabrowski 2000: Figs. 9.12-13

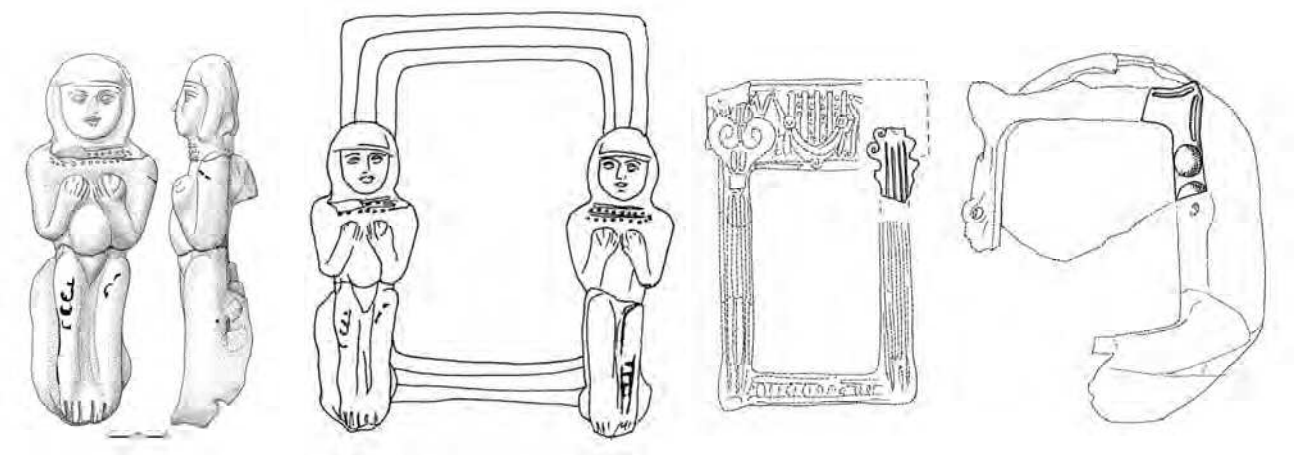


Fig. 4.58: Qitmit – female figure (left); suggested restoration as shrine model (middle); two small fragments with suggested reconstruction (right). Beck 1995: Figs. 3.67; 3.69; 3.119.

D11. Amman Museum. Reg. No. J5751; bought at Karak, provenance unclear, height 15 cm, door height c. 1.5 cm (Fig. 4.55). It shows a porch with two standing female drummers. Dorneman dated it to the Iron I, but the drummer figurines may indicate a slightly later date. According to Katz signs of breakage indicate a broken fronton; Daviau thinks there was no fronton. We classify it as type C but if there was no fronton it may be classified as type D, as it is quite similar to D9 below (Dorneman 1983: 143-4; Katz 2006: Vol. I:71; Vol. II:46, Pl. 28:3; Daviau 2006:297).

One more object is unique:

D12. In the Sèvres Museum, unknown provenance. Reg. No. MNC106878 (Fig. 4.56). It is dated by the style of decoration to the Cypro-Geometric period, c. 9th-8th centuries (Karageorghis 1990:109, Fig. 2, Pl. 114:2; Katz 2006:Vol. I:82; Vol. II: Pl. 32:7). The object was bought in Larnaka (Kition) in 1901 by Eugène Boysset, the French consul there (Caubet 1993:34). The flat roof is mostly missing; there is a deep *cubiculum* with a short portico before the door. Low parapet walls rise up from the roof at the two sides of the model. The shape of the door is unclear, since only one lower corner of it survived. The side walls and the façade are painted in bichrome technique with geometric motifs. Inside the room near the back wall there is part of a figure, which Karageorghis interprets as a figure of a sitting female with uplifted arms; but only part of the left arm is preserved. The inner room is 13.5 cm high. The drawings and the picture do not clarify the nature of the figure inside the model: the stumps of the arms are not symmetrical and seem too thick and ill-fitted in relation to the lower body. One does not see a clear chair or throne, and feet are also not clearly visible.

Model D12 does not belong to type B, as already noted by Karageorghis (1990:108): it is much earlier, larger and different in details. If the figure inside is indeed a female with upturned arms, is relates to the Cretan "hut-models" with such figures (for which see the concluding part below). Models with such figures are rare (only two are known, from Archanes and from Knossos). However, model D12 does not fit well the Cretan "hut-models", since it is rectangular, while they are round.

Karageorghis (1990:109) saw the closest comparisons to model D12 in the LB model from Kamid el-Lōz (D1 above) and in models from Jordan (our Type C); but perhaps type D is more closely related. In any case, model D12 hints that there had been an early link between the Levantine LB and early Iron Age rectangular shrine models, and Cyprus in the Geometric Period, preceding the later series of Phoenician-Cypriot shrine models (Type B). Such a link could only be formed through the Phoenician coast, and hence, it speaks in favor of existence of early rectangular shrine models in Phoenicia, before the 7th-6th centuries, even if so far none have been found in Phoenicia itself.

Notes: One shrine model from Kh. Qeiyafa, made of stone, is discussed below. A fragment from the Iron I "Bull site" in Samaria is too small to indicate the type (Katz 2006:66, Pl. 25:7). The same is true for more fragments from Tell el-Far'ah North (Reg. Nos. F2764, F3204; Chambon 1984:78; Katz 2006:67, Pl. 26:2-3).

Two fragments from Iron II Tell el-'Umayri may have belonged to a type D shrine model, or to a cult stand: one is a lion figurine (Fig. 4.57) with possible signs of a pillar, or of the front wall, behind its head (Dabrowski

2000:229, Fig. 9.12-13, No. 1344; Katz 2006:68, Pl. 26:4, 6). The second fragment is part of a front with a female head (Katz 2006:68, Pl. 26:7).

A third object from Tell el-'Umayri shows thin hand-made standing figures; but there is a solid front. This is part of a cult stand, which has figures that are quite similar to some of the Yavneh cult-stands' figures (http://www.madabaplains.org/umayri/weekly-reports.htm?y=2000&w=5).

Several fragments and figures were found at late Iron Age Qitmit in the Negev (Fig. 4.58). They belong to at least four-five different objects, and were restored by Pirhiya Beck as belonging to shrine models similar to models D10-11 above. However, they could also belong to cult stands and cannot be classified with certainty (Beck 1995:99-103, Reg. Nos. 107-108, 204, 206, 210; Katz 2006:68, Vol. II:40-44, Pl. 28:2, 4-5).

4.3.5. TYPE E: BOX-LIKE OBJECTS WITHOUT FIGURES (Figs. 4.59-64)

In this category we list several box-like objects:

E1. Tell Munbāqa, Syria, Reg. No. 23; Mbq28/22-4; LB, height 29.7 cm (Fig. 4.59). A rectangular box-like object with a large rectangular opening. Sockets indicate that there was a closing lid. The front side is decorated with rows of 'pellets' (Werner 1998:4, Pl. 27-32; Katz 2006:Vol. I:63; Vol. II: Pl. 25:2).

E2. Hazor, LBII, Area A3, L7376, Reg. No. 43283/3, height 30 cm, door 17x11 cm (Fig. 4.60). A hand-made model with a rectangular door, a horizontal ridge below the door and traces of handles for closing. There are no pillars or porch. The upper corners of the front side protrude, resembling horns. It was found in the destruction layer of the palace/temple (Zuckerman 2003:33, Pl. 4.13; Katz 2006: Vol. I:63; Vol. II:25, Pl. 25:1; Berkheij-Dol 2012:84, no. 4, Figs. 56-57).

E3. Amman, Jebel el-Joffe Tomb E, c. 7th century, height 18 cm (Fig. 4.61). A box-like model with four small feet, an open front, and painted dark lines at one side (Dajani 1966:46-47, Pl. IV:130; Daviau 2008:298; Zevit 2001:333, Fig. 4.16; Katz 2006:72, Pl. 30:2).

E4. Jerusalem, 7th century, Cave 1, Reg. No. 490. An undecorated 'box' from Cave 1 in Jerusalem, 7th century (Fig. 4.62). It lacks a roof and its nature is unclear (Zevit 2001:338, Fig. 4.21, with references; Katz 2006: Vol. II:7, Pl. 2:2; height 8.8 cm).

E5. Amathus Tomb 649, in the Limassol District Museum, Reg. No. 39, height 6.3 cm. An empty, nearly rectangular box-like model. The base widens to enable standing. There is no fronton; the entire front is open. At the center of the top there is an applied disc-and-crescent. The front edges are decorated with pellets except at the floor (Karageorghis 1996:66, Cat. T.14, Pl. 336:1).

E6. Tell el-'Umayri, Reg. No. 1892. Height 5.7 cm, height of inner room (estimated) 3.1 cm (Fig. 4.63). A box-like, undecorated object with an inside niche. Most of the lower part is missing. It was interpreted as a miniature model of a one-room shrine (Dabrowski 2000: Fig. 9-15); but shrine models are all "miniatures", and this is not smaller than others.

E7. Moab, Wadi ath-Thamad Site WT13, Reg. No. 16-1/516, width 9.7 cm, height 9.5 cm, Iron Age II (Fig. 4.64). A cubical 'niche' open at one side with rounded edges and four small 'legs'. It is open at the top. Small paws hang from the front; traces of red paint (Daviau 2008:299, Fig. 7).

4.4. DEFINITIONS OF TYPES A-E

Jar-like shrine models Type A are round or roughly round and formed as jars/jugs. Sizes and proportions vary, in relation to regional and temporal differences between pottery workshops, but even at the same site and period (e.g., Kamiz el-Lōz A12-15). Jar-like models are wheel-made, with small hand-made parts added by application. There is a single, rectangular opening with loop or ledge handles on its sides or corners to enable closing (exceptions without closing devices are few, A5, A15). Sometimes the door is stressed by a frame applied around it from all or several sides. The closing was made with a rectangular lid, formed as part of the wall of the jar and cut out before firing. The lid has a handle through which a stick or cord can be fastened to the handles on the body of the jar. Unfortunately, lids rarely survive. Save for one exception, which is also later (A24 from Tel Rehov), jar-like models lack figurative art.

Heights of models Type A vary and so too their doors' size. One door is extremely high (A13) and three are between 22.5-27 cm (A7-8, A16); but most are either c. 13-16.5 (A5, 14, 17, 20-21, 23) or 7-11 cm high (A2-4, 9-12, 24-25, 26). The lowest door is of model A18 from Ugarit (only 5.7 cm).

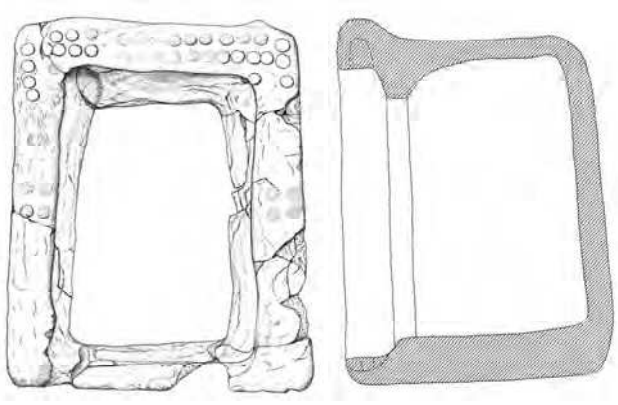


Fig. 4.59: Tell Munbāqa, E1
Werner 1998: Pl. 32

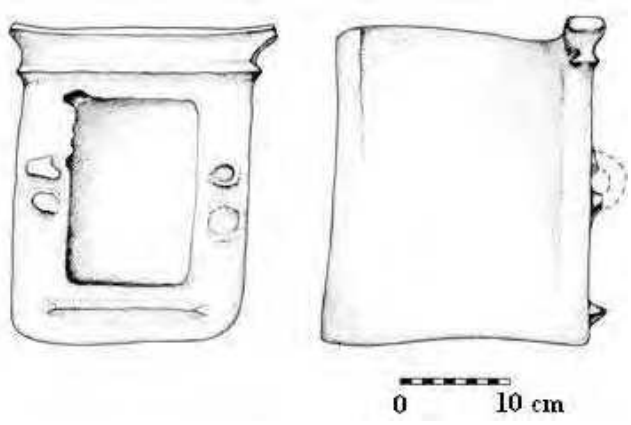


Fig. 4.60: Hazor, E2
Zuckerman 2003: Fig. 13.4

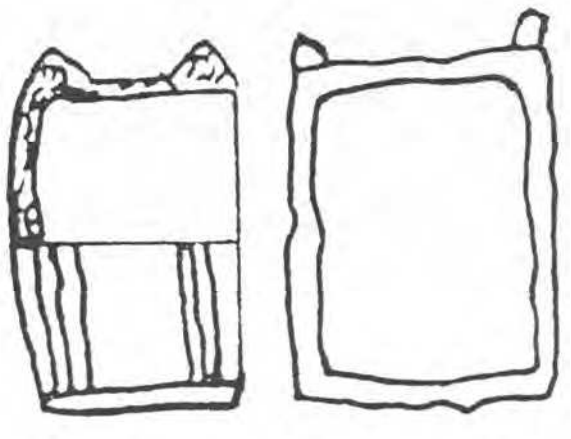


Fig. 4.61: Jebbel Joffe, E3
Zevit 2001: Fig. 14.16

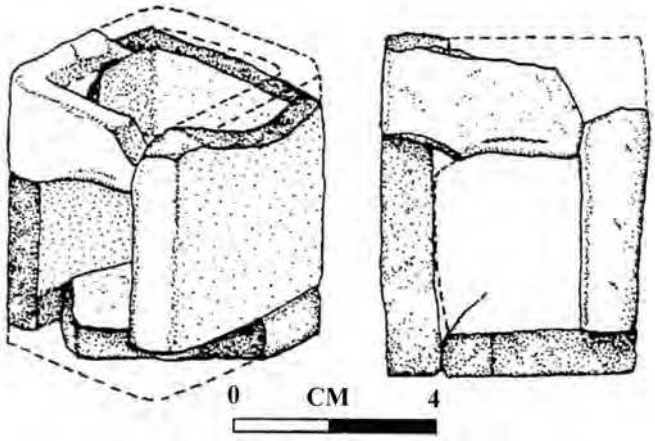


Fig. 4.62: Jerusalem, E4
Zevit 2001: Fig. 14.21

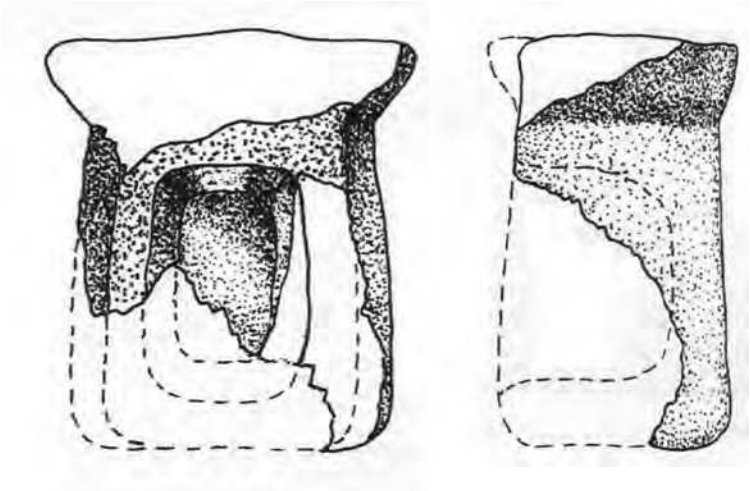


Fig. 4.63 (Top): Tell el-'Umayri, E6
Dabrowski 2000: Fig. 9:15

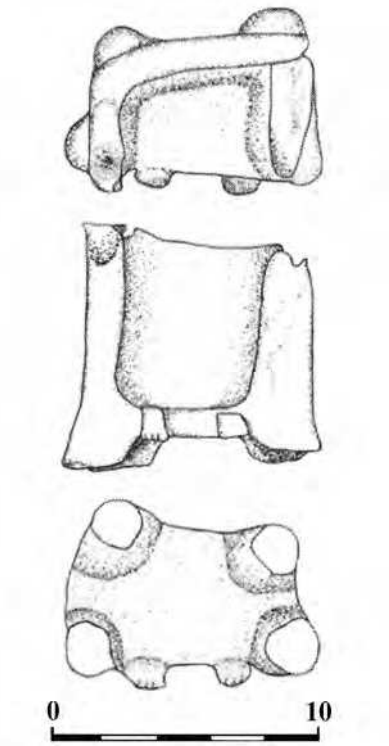


Fig. 4.64 (Right): Wadi ath-Thamad WT13, E7
Daviau 2008: Fig. 7.4

Since Type A models are built as jars, one way to seal the open side of the jar was by a flat piece of clay (later serving as the 'floor' of the model). Then, the potter sliced the door and added handles on its sides and on the lid before firing. The end result is a sort of an upturned jar (A9, A21). The door is high in these models and one would have to insert a hand to put an object in – or pull it out. Somewhat improved models started from jars with rounded bases, but the potter 'stopped' at the shoulders and did not fashion the neck part. The open upper end was sealed with a flat slab (A3, A4?, A5, A7-8, A12, A14-15). So these models are also upturned jars, but their door was cut near the bottom of the model. Other Type A models have 'button' tops (A2, A16-20, A25). It seems to indicate a slightly different way of manufacture. As before, the potter started by making a jar from the base up, but closed it gradually at the top, still spinning the wheel, finishing off with the 'button'. Hence, the 'button' is a technical feature; it had neither symbolic nor decorative meaning. With A17-A19, the manufacture is somewhat different, involving ring bases. We should pay attention to the fact that although most of the Type A models are simple and undecorated, quite many stress the door by applied 'frames' that often end with small 'horns' on the corners above the door (A2-3, A5, A7-8, A12-16, A19); one item even has a sort of fronton drawn upward (A3). These features tie jar-like models with later series, where the front becomes much more prominent.

Type B Phoenician shrine models (B1-3, 19) are rectangular, but the Cypriot ones are rounded at the back, so their inner rooms are concave. All these models have frontons wider than the body (some are just broken); but much smaller than the frontons of Type C. There are no porches in Type B. Often the base extends to the front and/or to the back. This was not done in order to create a porch, but to enable these rather shallow models to stand independently. Most B models lack pillars. Sometimes the decoration suggests pillars (B8, B9). Few have pillars attached or detached, but never connected directly to a roof; often these are not pillars but sort of cylindrical stands, perhaps for incense (B5?, 7, 9, 12, 14). The doors have concave (rounded) lintels in the Cypriot models, but flat, horizontal lintels in the Phoenician models (B1-3, 19). Type B models are decorated at the front with round pellets (B1-4, 6-7, 10-12, 16-18) and with disc-crescent motifs (B4, 6-18; add inside B2). Many models are painted in red and black and a few are painted also on the sides/back (B6-8, 14). Eight of the Type B models include small 'built in' (made as part of the model) anthropomorphic figures (B4, 7-8, 10-13, 15). Seven other models include 'built in' schematic figures or *baetyls* (B1-3, 5-6, 9, 15). Usually, the figures and the *baetyls* also show applied clay pellets.

Type B models are significantly smaller than other series. Those found in Phoenicia tend to be around 18-20 cm high (B1-B3, B19) while those from Cyprus are only c. 10-13 cm in height (the highest is B6, 14.2 cm; the lowest is B10, 8.1 cm). Apparently they could not and did not accommodate a detached figure; common figurine types (such as horses and riders and standing female figurines) cannot be fitted inside. Most of them also have 'built in' figures/*baetyls*. This hints that the few empty Type B models (B14, B19) were not meant to accommodate figures – or at least, not the common types of clay figurines known from this region at the time.

"Jordanian" shrine models (Type C) are very rectangular and typically have a completely rectangular room. Figures were so-far not found in any of these rooms. The models have very large frontons that are often richly decorated. At the front they have porches with detached pillars that connect to the fronton, creating a recession above the door ("secondary niche", Katz 2006:73). Decorations include red and black geometric motifs, but many models also have applied figurative art: birds (C4, 6, C9?, 10); standing female drummers (C9); female protomes (C1, C9); lions (C2, C6); volute capitals (C9, C12); and capitals with drooping leaves (C3, C6, C8). One model has a disc-crescent motif (C7). Type C models are quite large, often above 30 cm high (the largest is C5, 38 cm); but since the frontons occupy a large part, door heights are smaller: in one model 14 cm high (C9); in the rest c. 12.5 (C3, C5, C7), 11.6 (C1); 11 (C8); and even 9 cm (C4).

Type D shrine models are all hand-made. They are essentially rectangular, but often have rounded corners and/or squat forms. Daviau (2006:298, n. 23) observed that the U shape is more easy to manufacture and is sturdier than rectangular 'boxes' made out of joined slabs. Therefore this form (or technique) is natural and does not have a functional meaning. The same is true for cult stands – at Yavneh many 'rectangular' cult stands have rounded corners and also rectangular openings with rounded corners (Kletter 2010a:35; de Miroschedji 2001:72; Muller 2002:100-101). Usually Type D models have thick walls, giving them a crude look.

Type D models are the least homogeneous and one can see them as several, perhaps distinct groups:

1. Two models (D3, D9; 28 and 23.5 cm high; door heights c. 10 cm) are transitional between Type A and the other models of Type D. They are made as rounded jars and have the 'button' top like them. However, they

have a large, flat front with figurative art. The Tel Rehov model (A21) shows similarities to them and perhaps should be classified here too.

2. Most of Type D models (D1, 2[?], 5-8) are rectangular, with rounded back corners, and small frontons. They all have (or had in origin) figurative art. Yet they are not homogeneous and each is different in details. Most have pillars and/or figures. The height varies from 20.6 (D7) to c. 26 (D1, D5-6) and to 40 cm (D8). Door openings therefore are quite large – from 13 (D7) to 23.5 cm (D8).
3. Two models (D10, D11) have the same rectangular body with rounded corners, but have no fronton. Instead of pillars they show standing female figures with hands at the breasts. None has a context; perhaps more examples existed at Qitmit and if so, they suggest a late Iron Age date for this group. These models are smaller than the rest (15, 22.4 cm; door heights c. 18.3 and 11.5 cm).

Having a door that extends along most of the front side, and a real inner room, most of Type D models could easily accommodate a 15 cm high figure. Yet so far, no Type D model was found with a figure inside.

We listed box-like objects (E) separately, since including them in other series would have blurred the typological distinctions. E1-2 and E5 are definitely shrine models, while the nature of E3-4 cannot be determined with certainty. These box-shaped objects are small, empty, and lack figures (most lack decoration as well). They do not constitute a well-defined type, since they range in time from the LB (E1 from Tell Munbāqa and E2 from Hazor) through the Iron Age (E3-4 from Amman and Jerusalem) to the Cypro-Archaic period (E5). There are other box-like items at Tell Munbāqā, showing some affinities to the Yavneh cult stands; but they are not shrine-models (Czichon and Werner 2008:314-318). The objects grouped under Type E are also widely distributed across Syria, Cyprus, Jordan, and Israel. We will not discuss these objects further.

4.5. DATE, DISTRIBUTION, AND CONTEXT

Jar-like (Type A) models appear in the MBII period and are common in LB and Iron I contexts. Model A24 from Tel Rehov, as noted by Katz (2006:51, 57; add perhaps D3, D9), forms a link between the earlier MB-Iron I jar-like models and the later, rectangular, shrine-models Type D. This Tel Rehov model (A24) is later than all the other jar-like shrine models and also shows features that appear in Type D, especially the applied figurative art. Type A models are found in a few coastal sites in central – southern Palestine (Ashkelon, Tell Jerishe, Tel Erani); but are more common in northern Palestine/Lebanon, mainly along the Jordan Valley (Hazor, Dan, Tell Deir ‘Alla, Hadar, Kinneret/Tel Kinrot, Kamid el-Lōz). Few appear also at Ugarit and in Syria at Tell Munbāqa. They are widely spread in the LB period, but by the Iron I they are limited to a small area in northeastern Palestine (Dan, Tel Hadar, Kinneret, and later Tel Rehov).

Cypriot and Phoenician shrine models (Type B) are later than the other types. They date mostly to the Cypro-Archaic period. The Achzib example (B1), if indeed from the 7th century (the date is not certain), is perhaps the earliest. It was sometimes seen as the bridge between models Types C-D and Cypriot models Type B (Weinberg 1978: Fig. 17). Yet, it is a late Iron Age model, which exhibits many features of group B. The Tyre al-Bassit model (B2) is dated to the 7th-6th centuries. Type B models are found in Phoenicia (Achzib, Tyre) and mainly in Cyprus, especially at Amathos. Unfortunately, many come from unknown provenances, or from old excavations without a clear context. Unlike other types, Type B models have been found almost exclusively in tombs.

It is hard to date the “Jordanian” Type C series. The few examples with contexts belong to the Iron II period. This also seems to fit the molded female drummers, which as freestanding figurines appear mainly in the Iron II period. One exception is a drummer figurine found in a pit at Hazor, dated to the late Iron I (late 11th century). The excavators wrote that these Iron I pits were sealed, holding nothing later (Ben Ami and Ben Tor 2012:19-20, 25-26). However, Tadmor, who published this figurine (2012:481, Fig. 7.1.1), suggested a much later date (9th-8th centuries), presumably based on comparisons. Other motifs also indicate an Iron II date for the Type C shrine models, especially the volute (Proto Aeolic) capitals, which are common in Iron II Kingdoms in the Levant (Shiloh 1979). The disc-crescent motif (C7) is also a sign for a relatively ‘late’ date, as it commonly appear in the late Phoenician-Cypriot series (Type B). Yet the sole example on Type C models lacks known origins, and should not be relied upon for major conclusions. Maeir and Dajagi-Mendels (2008:116 n. 6; 119 n. 14) tried to limit the date of model C8 to the 10th-9th centuries based on the style of the lion figures; but the same style appears in the Yavneh cult stands at c. 850-750 BC (Ziffer 2010:67). Lacking more models from scientific excavations, one cannot offer a more precise date to Type C than the entire Iron II period. Type C shrine models were ascribed to central Jordan, and this region seems to fit the stylistic features on these models. However, many features (such as the use of red

and black paint and the drummer figures) are found in various other areas too. Thus the question of their origin remains open.

Type D Shrine models start in the Late Bronze Age (D1 from Kamid el-Lōz) and are more common in the Iron I period (D3, D5-6, D8). Model D7 from Tel el-Far'ah North is from the Iron II, but its exact date within this period is unclear. Models D10-11 can be dated to the Iron II, based on style. If the Qitmit fragments belonged to this group too, a late Iron Age may be suggested for D10-11; but this is not certain. In sum, Type D is not homogeneous and is spread in various cultures from LB Kamid el-Lōz to Iron II Israel and Jordan.

4.6. THE MEANING OF SHRINE MODELS: GENERAL TREATMENTS

The interpretation of shrine models is a complex issue and scholars have suggested a wide range of explanations. Many scholars struggled to explain these objects in architectural terms, viewing them as representing or symbolizing existing buildings, including temples, houses, huts, and even tombs. Interpretations were sometimes general and sometimes specific to one type of shrine model, but types have been defined differently by various scholars. We discuss in the following pages general interpretations for shrine models; we will not review here works which referred to shrine models in passing.

Zioni Zevit (201:341-343) saw shrine models as representation of temples. Hence, for example, he takes the relations between the size of human figures and the height of walls of shrine models as a tool for calculating height of real temples. Zevit interprets the models as reflecting two types of temples, mainly based on biblical sources: single hall temples and temples with a hall and a holy of holies. However, it seems that shrine models do not reflect accurate plans/size of temples. They also ignore internal divisions of space.

Zevit made an interesting observation concerning the Kamid el-Lōz shrine models (our types A10-13, D2). Four of these models were found in the same temple, but they have various forms, and cannot all be models of this temple! Therefore, Zevit (2001:332) assumed that these are models of other temples, but still dedicated to the same deity worshipped at Kamid el-Lōz; or perhaps models dedicated to other deities (worshipped elsewhere, at various temples), that "come to pay respect".

Zevit (2001:329) suggested that even empty sphinx thrones indicated a sky god; they did not require an image inside, since the figures or images on the façade were enough (what with models lacking figurative art?). The pellets, pillars and fronton are spread over such a large area and time, that they are "conventional signs of divine presence" and do not reveal the identity of the deity worshipped. Zevit (2001:332) tried to guess from the objects bought together with the Missouri shrine model (our C1) about rituals involving shrine models. Unfortunately, there is no guarantee that these objects functioned together with the shrine model. Even if all originated from the same site, they may have functioned in separate rituals and not as one group.

Zevit (2001:339-340) saw model shrines as miniatures of actual "shrines, kiosks, or chapels", and suggested that they can be identified with the biblical term *ḥamman* (pl. *ḥammanim*, חמן). This term is little understood and there is no evidence to support (or refute) this suggestion. Since shrine models are found in periods and areas transcending the scope of the Bible, it is questionable if this term fits them all.

Pierre de Miroschedji offered an excellent typology of shrine models; his interpretation of their meanings is also outstanding, yet questionable. He reached the conclusion that shrine models (and also *naoi* plaques) are all miniature representations of shrines or temples, with an image (combined or removable) inside. From the motifs on the fronts such as the crescent (on the Tell el-Far'ah model), female figures, doves, lions and columns he concluded that the models were dedicated to a female fertility goddess, such as Astarte (*"les éléments décoratifs des tabernacles désignent toujours, et exclusivement, la mâitresse du temple comme une divinité feminine*"). The Ashkelon model, though, based on the calf inside, was related to Ba'al (de Miroschedji 2001:74-77). De Miroschedji (2001:77-78) related shrine models with the biblical *'aron* or the pre-Islamic *qubbeh*, which could be carried, for example in battle. Numbers 25:1-8 alludes to sacred prostitution in a *qubbeh*; therefore, the shrine models express temples for the Great Goddess, where there were periodical sacred marriages between her and Ba'al (de Miroschedji 2001:78). Finally, since some shrine models appear in graves or in houses, de Miroschedji (2001:78) assumes a relation to domestic rituals of ancestral rites.

De Miroschedji correctly marked that shrine models were not exact replicas or models in a modern sense, they were meant to "evoke" a temple, not to give precise data about its architectural design. He avoided defining the models' function, as we lack data on this issue. The problem with his explanation of shrine models is that it

adopts almost everything: Ba'al and Astarte, temples and houses, domestic rituals of ancestral cult and feminine fertility; Islamic *qubbeh* and biblical *'aron*; sacred prostitutions and sacred marriages…

The discussion by Havah Katz (2006) is often excellent, but she treats shrine models together with various cult stands and other objects, and this affects her conclusions. Following earlier scholars, Katz (2006:136, 141, 241) concludes that jar models and models "with stressed façade" fitted use for storage, but not always have a mechanism for closing the door. She suggested that not a single model was found with contents or remains of stored material (ignoring Ashkelon and series B).[4] Models have different sizes, even within the same site; they are found in different contexts. Hence, she suggested that they played part both in public cult (the larger models) and private cult (small models, including models with stressed façade, Katz 2006:144-6, 168). Models could hold cultic objects, be dedicatory offering, amulets to protect relatives or deceased persons; but above all they were a symbol of the house of the deity (Katz 2006:242). Due to the wide diversity in area and time, the models belong to various cultures and are not specific in an ethnic sense (Katz 2006:165). Katz (2006:171-196) stressed that though models have some architectural features, they are never exact replicas or close to exact representation of existing buildings. Their aim was not to give data about architecture but to offer a spiritual expression. Thus the various architectural motifs are a symbolic language expressing an abstract idea of "temple". Jar models express only the holy of holies, but models with stressed façade express the holy of holy and the façade of the temple too, and are the most 'architectural' of all models.

Though Katz (2006:214ff) identifies the figures of all the models, in particular of the Iron Age, as representing deities, she thinks that the figures inside are "mysterious and emphasize the distance between the divinity dwelling in the house and the worshippers" (Katz 2006:228-229; quoted from the English abstract). The façade figures, however, may represent also worshippers (Katz 2006:228).

4.7. MODEL C6: YAHWEH AND ASHERA SIDE BY SIDE?

One model portrays a throne inside (C6), but unfortunately, it comes from illegal trade in antiquities and should be treated with caution. Since the throne appears to have a "double" back (divided vertically into two parts), Dever (2008) concluded that it seated a pair of divinities, namely, Yawheh and Asherah:

> "It is the clear double throne in the cubiculum. I know of no other double throne like this. Obviously it is for two figures" (Dever 2008:57).
> "That there are two chairs is clear from the two panels, emphasized by the clearly visible upright on the back. If this is a throne in a model temple, it was obviously intended for the observer to imagine two deities sitting there: Asherah … and her consort Yahweh, at least in the Israelite example" (Dever 2008:61).

Since this model is most likely from Moab, Kemosh should be imagined sitting, not Yahweh. We should not criticize Dever on this point, because if Kemosh sat side by side with his consort in a Moabite context, Yahweh and Asherah can be imagined sitting in an Israelite context. For the journal which published this model, Yahweh has a much higher sex-appeal; they saved readers the necessity of imagining Kemosh before reaching Yahweh.

The issue is different: should one translate the "double" throne as intended for a pair of deities? Many depictions of ancient thrones show them occupied from the front or from the side, so the back is invisible (e.g., Paspalas 2000). However, examples exist that tell a different story. The back frame of the lion throne of Tutankhamen shows the same double division created by vertical beams (Pl. 23:1-2). It is invisible from the front, because of the richly decorated panel serving as backrest and placed at an angle on the frame, making sitting more comfortable (Kuhlmann 2011:3, Figs. 3-4, Pepler-Harcombe 2011:164; http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/gif-files/segal_01_26.jpg). Tutankhamen could not sit on this throne side by side with his wife – or any other lady – since it was a single chair. Similar construction appears on simpler chairs from Egypt starting with the Early Dynastic period, including more chairs from Tutankhamen's tomb (Pl. 23:3-6) (Pepler-Harcombe 2011:165, Fig. 60; 170, Fig. 65; 174, Fig. 68; 174-5, Fig. 69, Pls. 72, 74, 76; Metzger 1985: Pls. 4:14; 31:224, 226; 35:250, 252).[5]

Mycenaean figurines show tripod thrones, often with a sitting "goddess with uplifted arms"; these thrones too have one central vertical beam that divides the back frame into two parts (Karageorghis 2001:26 no. 16, Metro-

[4] Katz (2006:229) mentioned "Judean figurines" on Iron Age cult stands and shrine models; it must be a slip of hand – I am not aware of any examples.

[5] A construction of vertical beams appears in miniature ivory thrones, e.g. from 9th century Tel Rehov (Mazar 2007:104, Fig. 1); but is not as clear as examples of ancient (full sized) chairs.

politan Museum, Reg. 74.51.1711; French 1971:169-172; cf. Tzonou-Herbst 2002:39, 72, 83-84, 118, 138, etc.; Rehak 1995; Maran and Stavrianopoulou 2007).

Therefore, there is no evidence that the throne in model C6 is a double throne. In addition it is a simple throne. It lacks the rich ornaments fit for the throne of a king or god: lion legs, ivory inlays or reliefs of sphinxes at the sides, friezes of *ureai*, winged sun-discs… There is no backrest separated from the back frame, or even a cover or cushion draped over the back frame, as in many ancient thrones (Pepler-Harcombe 2011:168, Fig. 64: left). Perhaps the potter never saw a fabulous throne like that of Tutankhamen – but certainly he could imagine how a royal/divine throne should look, and he certainly knew how to ornament the façade of shrine C6 with a bird, lions, pillars with drooping leaves, etc. Perhaps the potter was satisfied with representing the idea of a throne, but not its exact details.

What sort of statuettes, based on our knowledge of Ancient Near Eastern iconography, can match the throne of shrine model C6? Muller (2002:260, Pl. 32) shows hypothetic drawings of three Kamid el-Lōz shrine models with metal figures inside: a sited figure inside the rectangular model and standing ones in the two round models. However, few discussed the possible figures that may fit shrine models.

It seems unlikely that clay figurines have been used in model shrines, either in the LB or in the Iron Age (excluding Type B, where they are inseparable from the model itself). Clay figurines would have survived even if broken, yet there are hardly known sitting figurines that fit shrine C6. Late Bronze Age standing plaque figurines cannot be seated on thrones; most Iron Age pillar figurines are too large to fit into C6 and are portrayed standing, not sitting. Sitting clay figurines are very rare. Some riders are portrayed sitting sideways on a horse/donkey, but they were attached to the animal and not used without it. Among the 120 cult stands from Yavneh, only one shows sitting figures (Ziffer 2010:66, Pls. 97:2-3, 98:2), but they are not complete figures – the legs were applied onto the wall of the cult stand and the upper body is a protome attached by a peg. At Tell eṣ-Ṣafi, Maeir (2012:376) reports two miniature figurines "of a sitting god" from Stratum A3 of the 9th century, attributed to a "cultic corner". One of the two was published and interpreted as the god El (missing the legs, Fig. 4.65) (Maeir 2008; Ben-Shlomo 2010:74-75, Fig. 3.32). The identification is a complete guess; the figurine could sit in a cult stand or on a vessel and there is no evidence for a throne.

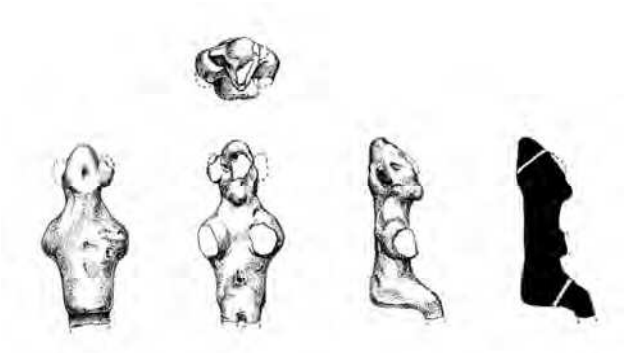


Fig. 4.65: Clay Figurine, Tell eṣ-Ṣafi
Maeir 2008: Fig. 2

Iron Age seated figurines are extremely rare in Jordan (the area assumed as origin for model C6). One was reported from Tell Jawa (Fig. 4.66). It is highly ornate, but the lower body is missing, so the position is not very clear. Daviau made a detailed study looking for comparisons, but the nearest are found in the Aegean World. Yet, this is a local figurine, and the chair's decoration is very similar to fronton decorations of C Type model shrines (Daviau 2002:53-58, TJ119, Fig. 2.28:1). If this figurine was c. 11-12 cm high (assuming a full, though seated figure), it seems too large to fit model C6. Admittedly, potters could reproduce smaller example. To complicate matters, Dever (2008) did not mention the door size of model C6. However, if the figure of model C6 was detached (there is no sign of attachment, or broken areas) and made of clay, how could it be secured to the throne, or prevented from falling out (there is no closure mechanism)? With a clay figure, surely the potter would have attached it to the throne before firing, like in Type B models.

Hence, if shrine models Types C-D were intended for figures, these would have probably been metal figures. Figurines in expensive metals rarely survive. We have for comparison mainly Bronze figurines from the LB Age, which include quite many sitting male (Fig. 4.67) and (less common) female (Fig. 4.68) figurines. Thrones are rarely preserved, but often tenons for attachment remain. They hint that the figurines fitted thrones of metal or wood, not clay (Negbi 1976: nos. nos. 1437-1484; 1644-1656). The male figurines vary in height from 5.5 to 31.5 cm (Negbi 1976: Nos. 1465, 1472); but most are c. 8 to 13 cm high. The females are higher, the smallest being 7.5 cm (Negbi 1976: Nos. 1654). Ancient Near Eastern iconographic rules required the figure of a male deity to be at least as large as his female consort, usually larger. In the Iron Age, metal statues are rare. We cannot judge Iron Age shrine models by standards of LB figurines. Yet, it does not seem likely that shrine models have been used with completely unknown types of figures (as the Ashkelon figure from Model A1 hints).

The discussion does not lead to conclusive results, but places some limits for types of figurines that may fit shrine models. Model C6 is the only one with a throne for a deity. It could have held a metal figure, risking loss as it could not be secured to the throne. However, it could also be an empty throne.

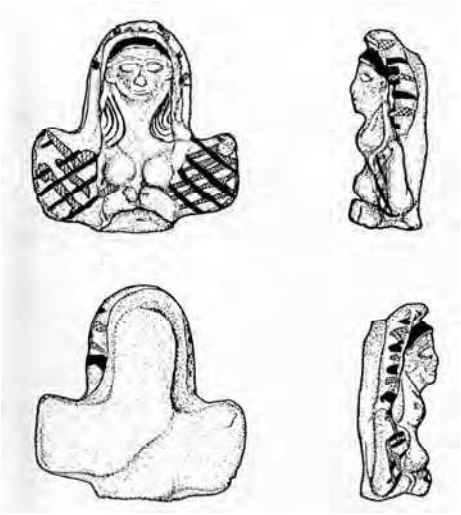


Fig. 4.66: Sitting (?) figurine,
Daviau 2002: Frontispiece

Fig. 4.67: LB metal figure
Negbi 1976: Fig. 64 (1473)

Fig. 4.68: LB metal figure
Negbi 1976: Fig. 103 (1648)

4.8. SHRINE MODELS AND VOLUTE CAPITALS

Since the study of Shiloh (1979), scholars held that volute (Proto-Aeolic) capitals originated in the Near East, perhaps in Phoenicia, and were used in several Iron Age II kingdoms including Northern Israel, Phoenicia, Moab, Ammon and Judah (Fig. 4.69). However, the motif has more ancient roots and appears over a wide area.

Recently, Lipschits (2009; 2011) interpreted typological differences as indicating a chronological gap between capitals from Northern Israel and those from Judah and Jordan. Following the Low Chronology, he dates the Northern Israelite capitals to the 9th century; but pushes down the date of all volute capitals in Judah, Ammon and Moab (allegedly a "late" type) and their associated buildings to the Neo-Assyrian period. He claims that volute capitals were invented by the Omrides in North Israel, but remained unknown in all other kingdoms for c. 150 years. Only after c. 720 BC they were adopted by the Assyrians and used in Assyrian palaces. Finally, the Assyrians re-brought them to the Levant:

> "These capitals gained prestige with the Assyrian destruction of the Kingdom of Israel [745-720 BC]. In fact, the Assyrian encounter with this unique architectural feature in Israel had begun more than a hundred years earlier [= 9th century]. The distinctive style … their size, esthetics, and quality, attracted the attention of the Assyrian rulers who … adopted the volute capitals for a limited time and scope. They were installed in Sargon's palace … as well as in Sennacherib's palace in Nineveh[6] … [and] also placed in a few citadels and other official structures established during that period and were used by the local or Assyrian administration in the vassal kingdoms of Judah, Moab, and Ammon … probably as a result of Assyrian encouragement, approval, or sponsorship" (Lipschits 2011:220).

There is nothing new about the Low Chronology; the different types of Iron Age volute capitals were recognized decades ago (Wesenberg 1971:63-65; Shiloh 1979; Kendirci 2012; add two items: En Mor 2013 and http://www.keytodavidscity.com/the-israeliteproto-aeolic-capital/). There are many reasons why Lipschits' suggestions should be rejected.

4.8.1 VOLUTES IN JUDAH

The late Iron Age II date of Judean capitals is not a new theory, but an old story. Forty years ago Wesenberg (1971:66) dated the Ramat Rahel capitals to the late Iron Age; twenty years ago Barkay (1992:103-107) dated them to the 8th century BC.

Volute capitals appear in early stamp-impressions (*bullae*) from Jerusalem, proving that the Judeans were aware of volute capitals by the 9th century at the latest. Lipschits (2011:209) claimed that these *bullae* only imply "acquaintance with the capitals that were common in the Northern Kingdom".

[6] These kings ruled between 722-681 BC, but their palaces were probably built during a more limited range of time.

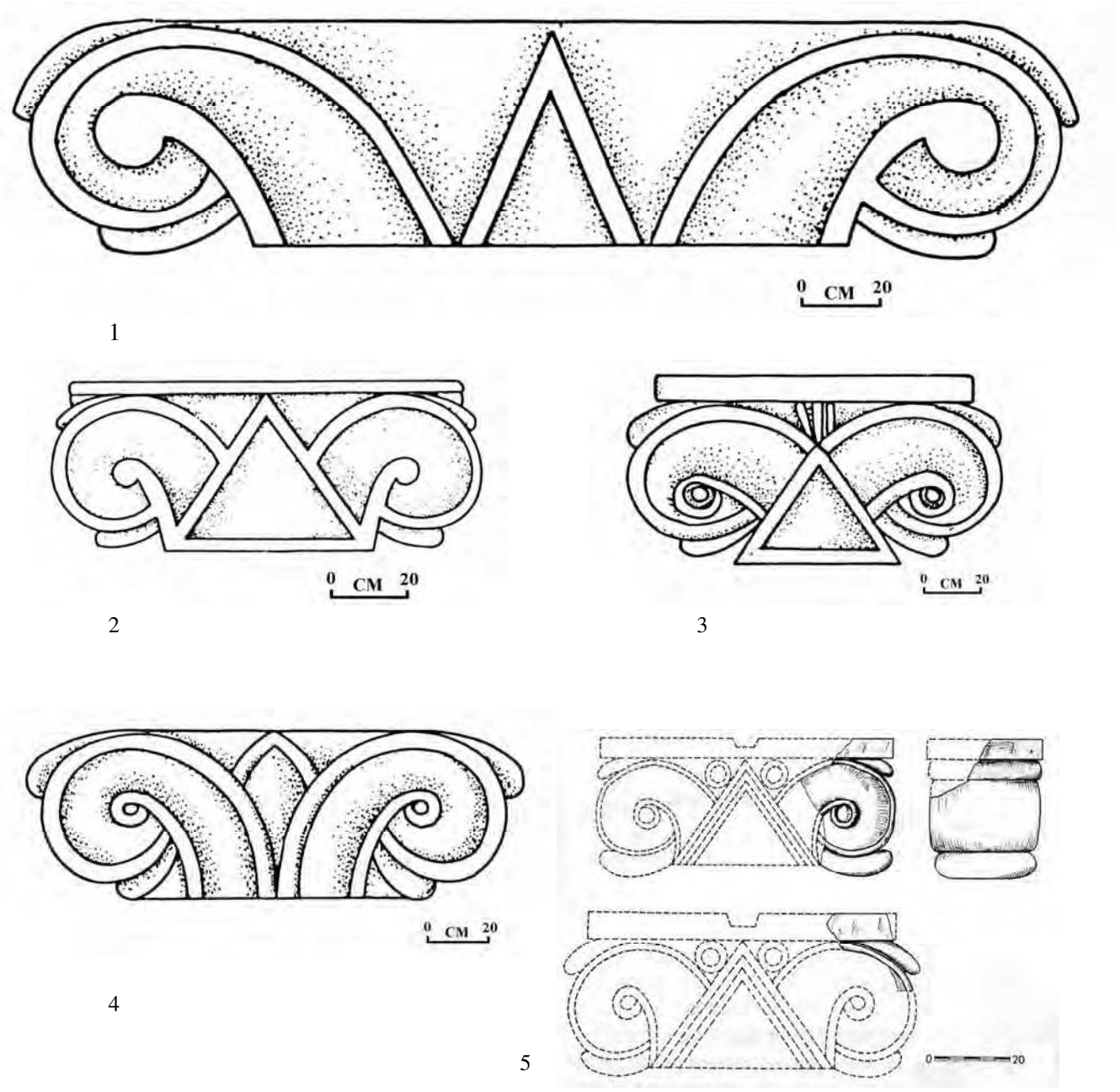
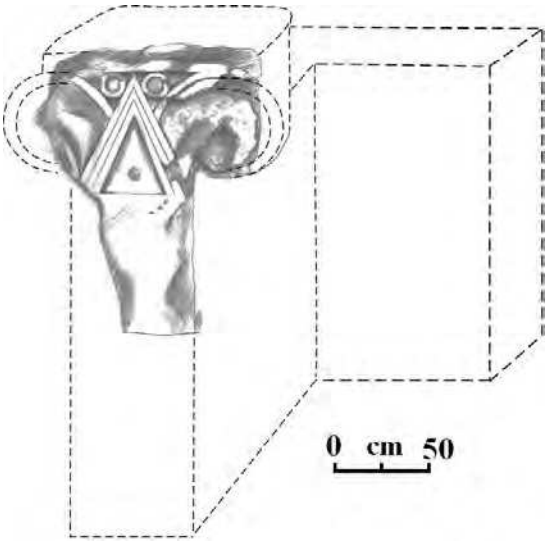
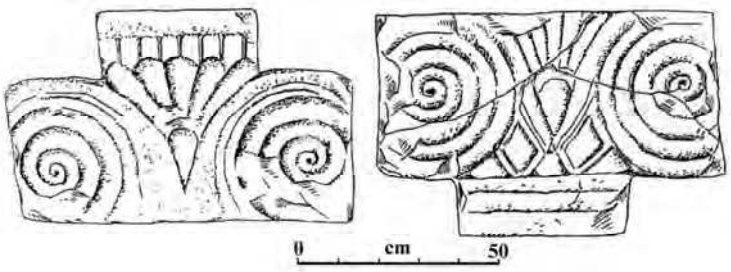


Fig. 4.69: Proto-Aeolic Capitals. 1-3. Megiddo (Barkay 1992: Fig 61:1-3); 4. Hazor (Barkay 1992: Fig. 61:4); 5. Ramat Rahel (Aharoni 1959, Ramat Rahel 1: Fig. 12).

However, the Judean seals are local and belong to local elite. Motifs used, even if foreign in origin, have been adopted and reflect local tastes. In addition, such an early knowledge does not fit the idea that volutes were introduced to Judah only two hundred years later, in the Neo-Assyrian period. Rather, the Judean seals indicate an early use of Judean volutes, before the Neo-Assyrian period and thus, without relation to Assyria.

Lipschits' re-dating of volute capitals does not concern the well-known debate between the High and Low chronologies (10th-9th centuries BC). He pushes down volute capitals and buildings in Judah, Ammon and Moab from the 10th-8th centuries to the end of the 8th and 7th centuries. There is no archaeological method behind it. Nobody doubts that Judah, Ammon and Moab existed as kingdoms before the Neo-Assyrian period, say around 800 or 750 BC. The entire logic of the Low Chronology is that there cannot be a kingdom without monumental architecture. One cannot employ this logic just for one kingdom (northern Israel). Palaces and temples must have existed in Judah, Ammon and Moab before the Neo-Assyrian period, and hence, there is no reason why such kingdoms could not use volute capitals.





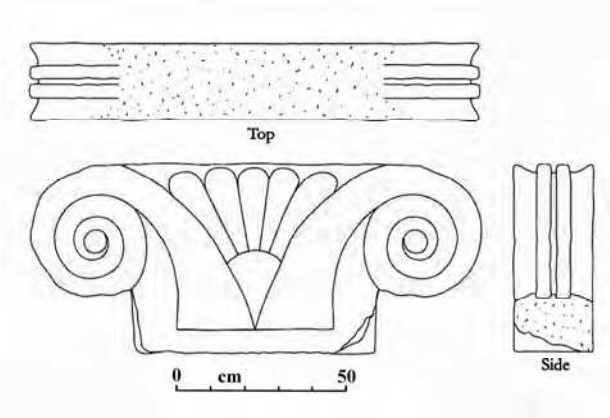


Fig. 4.70 (top): 'Ain Joweizeh, after En Mor 2013: Fig. 1
Fig. 4.71 (top right): Mt. Gerizim, after Baran 2013: Fig. 1
Fig. 4.72 (right): Sazköy, Karia, after Baran 2013: Fig. 6

A new volute capital made as one piece with a column (recalling Salamis in Cyprus) was recently reported from the tunnel spring of 'Ain Joweizeh, south of Jerusalem (Fig. 4.70) (En-Mor 2013; En-Mor and Ron 2013). There is superb ashlar masonry in the site and the capital is probably close to its original place, though not *in situ*. The exact date it at present unclear.

En-Mor and Ron (2013) offered an excellent report, but do not stress the local aspect of this discovery. Regardless of the date, the new discovery clarifies that the capital, the ashlar, and the tunneling are all part of a *local* Judean system. There are no limestone mountains and tunnel springs in Assyria. However, over 100 tunnel-springs are known from the area of the Kingdom of Judah, and though some may be late, a few are securely dated to the Iron Age II period, such as the tunnels at Gibeon and Suba (Gibson 2009; En-Mor and Ron 2013:102).

Ashlar masonry and volute capitals are not something unique or foreign to Ramat Rahel, but local to Judah (and other neighboring kingdoms). Volute capitals were used in royal contexts and in major buildings, so their distribution is quite rare. In northern Israel they have been found so far in only four sites (if one adds Mt. Gerizim, five). In Judah they are known from three sites (Jerusalem, Ramat Rahel, 'Ain Joweizeh) – but Judah was a smaller kingdom. Volute capitals and ashlars are *local* in both kingdoms and have nothing to do with the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

4.8.2. VOLUTES IN NORTHERN ISRAEL

In the Hebrew paper Lipschits wrote:

> "Once the Assyrians conquered the Kingdom of Israel they *saw for the first time* the decorated stone capitals that were in Israel, a unique architectural phenomenon which began more than a hundred years earlier, concerning which there are no evidences of a known parallel at the same time in other kingdoms in the region" (Lipschits 2009:21-22, my translation).

The later English version is different:

> "I suggest that these capitals *gained prestige* with the Assyrian destruction of the Kingdom of Israel. In fact, *the Assyrian encounter with this unique architectural feature in Israel had begun more than a hundred years earlier*" (Lipschits 2011:219; my stresses).

When and where exactly did the Assyrians saw volute capitals for the first time? Was it in the Kingdom of Israel after its conquest, at c. 720 BC? Or in the 9th century – where? Why this change?

It was a forced change. Lipschits was not aware that volute capitals appear in various media other than stone, for example in ivories, which are nowhere mentioned in his 2009 article. Volute capitals appear in 'Phoenician' ivories in Assyria, in contexts securely dated to the 9th century BC at Arslan Tash (Barnett 1982: Pl. 47:b, d) and Nimrud (Barnett 1982: Pl. 49:c-e).

Hence, the Assyrians met volutes before and without relation to the conquest of the kingdom of Israel. Lipschits admitted this "early encounter" in 2011, but tried to make it happen in Israel. He added a brief section, not found in the Hebrew paper on volute capitals:

> "It has been suggested that there were originally wooden capitals and that the appearance of capitals on clay and stone facades of sanctuary models, of the motif of "the lady in the window," and of the many small objects (made of stone, shell, ivory, and metal) with the palmetto motif all indicate that the "tree of life" and palmetto were well known artistic and architectural motifs (Stern 1995: 319–34). But this is insufficient to sustain the assumption that volute capitals were actually architectural elements in Phoenician palaces, gates, and open spaces, and it is certainly insufficient evidence for basing the claim that the Israelite capitals derived from the Phoenician coast (Betancourt 1977: 46–49, with further literature)" (Lipschits 2011:204).

Most readers, who read only the English version, would assume that the "suggestions" about wooden capitals, shrine models and small objects (such as ivories with volutes) refer to some old opinions, which are dismissed by Lipschits. In fact the "suggestions" were made to Lipschits after he published his 2009 paper, because he ignored all these finds. He had to modify his English paper and refer to these suggestions, but he did not explain properly their nature.

The modifications are unconvincing. There is evidence for wooden pillars in the shape of round stone bases; hence early wooden capitals likely existed. Just like the wooden pillars that once stood on the bases, the capitals did not survive. Of course, we cannot be certain that such early capitals were volute capitals, but it is possible. More crucially, what type of encounter did the Assyrians have with volute capitals in 9th century BC Northern Israel, if this area was conquered by them only much later? At this early date there was a buffer zone of Aramean kingdoms separating Israel from the Assyrian Empire. The early ivories found in Assyria could be manufactured in Northern Israel, being part of the so-called "Phoenician school" of ivories; but they could not be directly looted from Israel at this early date. In addition, if the Assyrians "encountered" volute capitals in Northern Israel in the 9th century BC and were deeply impressed by them, why did they wait 150 years before employing the motif in their palaces? It makes no sense.

Concerning the supposed lack of volute capitals from Phoenicia, there is an Assyrian relief from Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh showing a Phoenician city. Barnett reasonably suggested that it shows King Luli's escape from Tyre. The 8th century date of the relief is secure and the city shows a public building that has two pillars with volute capitals, though an exact type cannot be determined (Barnett 1956:91-93, Fig. 9; Wesenberg 1971:68; Russell 1991: Fig. 85). Therefore, it seems that there were early volute capitals in Phoenicia.

The dichotomy between an 'early' (supposedly only in Northern Israel) and a 'late' type of volute capitals (elsewhere) creates a problem. In order to maintain this dichotomy, Lipschits does not only push down the date of all the volutes outside northern Israel; he pushes up the date of all volutes in northern Israel to the Omride Dynasty – including the Mt. Gerizim capitals (Fig. 4.71). The site at Mt. Gerizim starts in the Persian Period; there are absolutely no earlier remains, let alone remains that are 400 years earlier. The Mt. Gerizim capitals belong to a very different type than all the other capitals from northern Israel. They have palmettes between the volutes, which is a 'late' feature known in Greek capitals, unknown among Iron Age Levantine capitals. The problem was noticed by Baran (2013) who treats similar 6th or perhaps 7th century BC capitals from Karia (Anatolia) (Fig. 4.72). Accepting Lipschits' date for the Mt. Gerizim capitals means that the Greek and Karian capitals must be dated to the same period; but one cannot date the Greek and Karian capitals to the 9th century.

The Gerizim capitals are 'late', probably post Iron Age (cf. Zangenberg 2012:402-404). If a local ruler could manufacture volute capitals after the days of Omri, why could not Iron Age kings in Judah, Ammon and Moab?

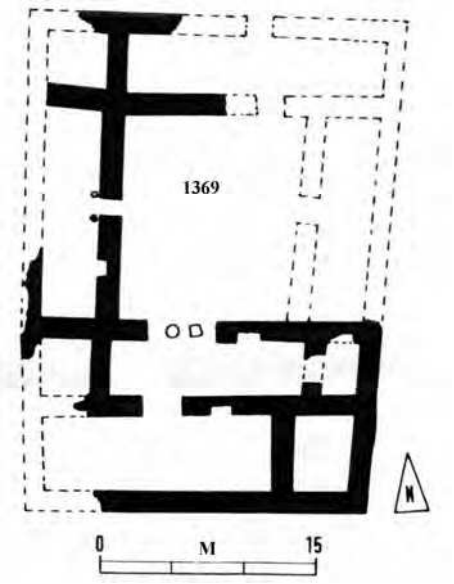
4.8.3. DID THE ASSYRIANS FALL IN LOVE WITH VOLUTE CAPITALS?

The suggestions of Lipschits go against the nature of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. The Assyrians hardly "encouraged, approved, or sponsored" building projects of vassals. What motive could the Assyrians have for "encouraging" their vassals to build buildings with volute capitals?

Did the Assyrians admire stone volute capitals? Recent studies in art history and iconography suggest that the Assyrians did not have a taste for the artistic/religious motifs of the Levant:

> "The Levantine ivories found in Assyria were shut away in treasuries and the Assyrians had no particular liking for this material. Moreover, their imagery was hardly suited for Assyrian royalty, whose official art differed from that of the Levant" (Suter 2011:223).

The Assyrians took ivories for economic value and to express their control over subjugated people (Suter 2011:224). Why should we imagine that volute capitals were different?



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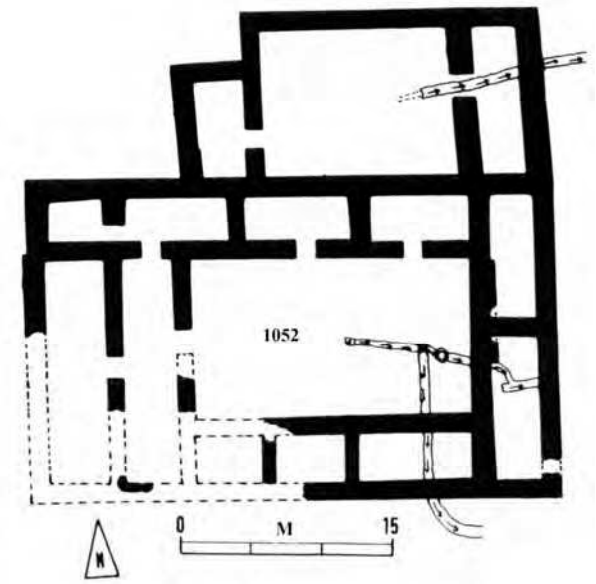

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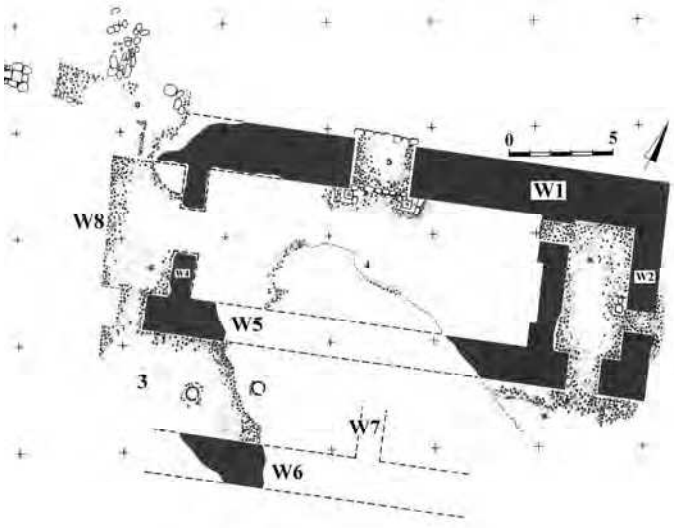

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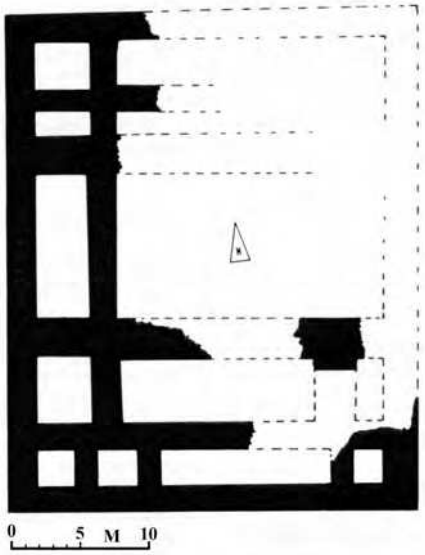

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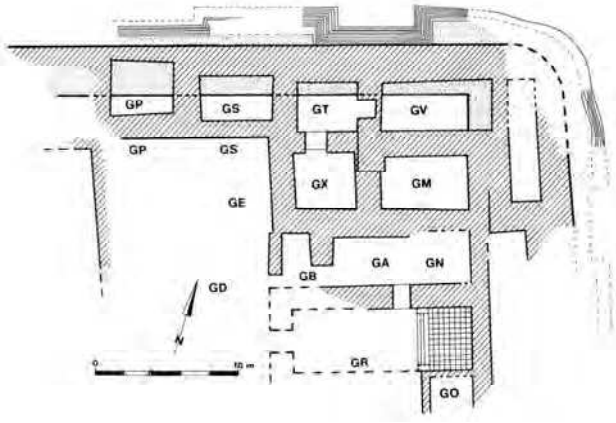

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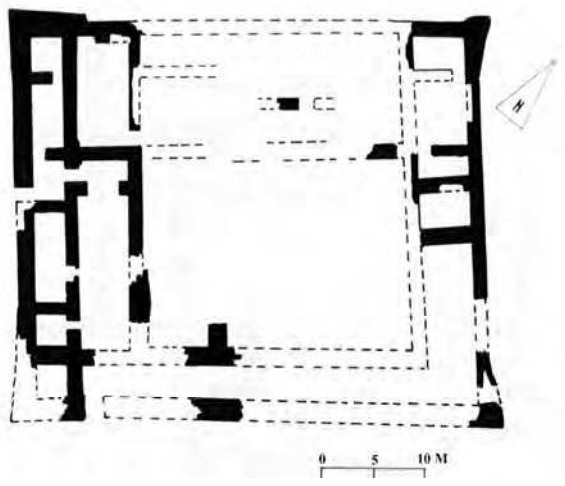

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Fig. 4.73: Assyrian/Assyrianized architecture: 1. Megiddo 1369, after Fritz 1979: Fig. 2; 2. Megiddo 1502, after Fritz 1979: Fig.2; 3. Ayyelet ha-Shahar, after Kletter and Zwickel 2006: Fig. 1; 4. Tel Jemmeh, after Fritz 1979: Fig. 5; 5. Tell Abu Salima, after Reich 1984: Fig. 2; 6. Buseirah Building B, after Fritz 1979: Fig. 5.

4.8.4. DID THE ASSYRIAN USE VOLUTE CAPITALS?

A few Iron Age buildings from the Southern Levant, for example the ashlar palace of Level Va at Ramat Rahel and a fortress at Tell Kudadi, were interpreted as Assyrian/Assyrianized structures (Na'aman 2001; Reich 2003; Fantalkin and Tal 2009; Finkelstein 2011). Although I disagree with this identification, it need not be further discussed here. Lipschits uses this concept to claim that all the buildings with volute capitals from Judah and Jordan are "uncharacteristic of the local architecture in these kingdoms" (Lipschits 2011:218); and therefore, related to the Assyrians.

Apart of the few above-mentioned buildings there is a large series of other buildings from the Southern Levant, which are undisputedly Assyrian/Assyrianized (Fig. 4.73). They include buildings from Megiddo Level III, Tel Jemmeh, Tell Abu Salima, Tel Kinrot, Tel Shera, Buseirah, Ayyelet ha-Shahar, and a palace at Ashdod (Petrie and Ellis 1937; Reich 1984; Bennett 1978; van-Beek 1993; Macchi 1994; Peersman 2000; Kogan Zehavi 2005; 2006; Kletter and Zwickel 2006; Reich 2012).[7]

It is possible to suggest various nuances concerning the chronology or architectural details of these Assyrian/Assyrianized buildings; but for over fifty years scholars have agreed that these buildings express the Neo-Assyrian rule/influence over the Southern Levant. The buildings exhibit indicative Mesopotamian features, such as walls of square bricks or adobe; certain canalization systems and bath/toilette installations; niches in walls; and typical plans, for example, of throne suits (Fritz 1979; Bloom 1988; Reich 1992; Stern 2003). Large stone items have been found in such buildings, for example "bathtubs" at Ashdod and drainage items elsewhere – but not even one stone volute capital.

If the Assyrians adored volute capitals and "encouraged, approved, or sponsored" their use at Ammon, Moab, and Judah, how can it be that at the same time and in the same area, the use of stone volute capitals was avoided in all those Assyrian/Assyrianized buildings? Volute capitals are missing not only from such Assyrian/Assyrianized buildings, but from the entire area of the former kingdom of Israel in the Neo-Assyrian period, when this area was under direct Assyrian control. The only possible conclusion is that volute capitals have nothing to do with Assyria.

We must also stress that the Assyrians never used volute capitals in Assyria and none was ever found there (Wesenberg 1971:71-72). The reliefs found in Assyria probably signified the Assyrian conquest of the West, rather than a reflection of real buildings with volute capitals in Assyria (Miglus 2004:428). Use of such reliefs in Assyria was very short-lived. It is wrong to speak about "an Israelite architectural influence in Assyria" and of "Israelite architects in Assyrian construction projects". Lipschits (2011:221, n. 32) brings as sole evidence the "presence of individuals from Samaria and Megiddo in the construction of Dur-Sharrukin's city wall". Deportees and slaves built the empire, but it does not make them influential architects. Would we find a lot of Palestinian influence on Israeli architecture after 1967, because many Palestinian labored as construction workers? They constructed many buildings in the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories, but the architecture, even when it sporadically uses "oriental motifs", reflects no liking for Palestinian culture (Weizman 2007; Ricca 2007).

Anyone familiar with Mesopotamian architecture of brick and adobe walls would have realized that stone volute capitals are incompatible with it. Though most volutes had probably been incorporated in walls or piers, and had not been free-standing capitals or lintels (Franklin 2011:131), their massive weight still required stone walls and stone foundations. Thus, the Assyrians could not easily incorporate volute capitals in their architectural tradition and would have no reason at all to "sponsor" or "encourage" vassal people to build with them.

4.8.5. DOUBLE STANDARDS

Not even one volute capital from Northern Israel was found *in situ*. They were found in secondary contexts, mainly *later* contexts.

Seven capitals from Megiddo were reused/found in the late Iron Age levels III-II (Kendirci 2012: Cat. 3, 6-8, 10-11, 14) and three have no clear date (ibid, Cat. 9, 12, 15). Two capitals from Megiddo (Kendirci Cat. 4-5, Shiloh's M2-3) were found in Building 338, but their context is doubtful (Lamon and Shipton 1939:55, n. 37). Building 338 was ascribed by the excavators to IVA; by Ussishkin (1993:72-79) to Va-IVb. The seven Samaria capitals (Kendirci, Cat. 16-22); the Mt. Gerizim capitals (two complete, one fragment, Kendirci Cat. 36); and the three Tel Dan capitals (Kendirci, Cat. 43-45) were all found in 'late' or unclear contexts. The Hazor capitals (Kendirci, Cat. 1-2; Shiloh 1979, H1-2) were found in secondary use in Level VII – which Finkelstein (1999) dates after the Omrides and ascribed to the Arameans.

Only one volute capital from Megiddo has a secure early context, predating Level IV. The excavators ascribed it to Level Va (Kendirci 2012: Cat. 13; Shiloh 1979:4, M11; the ascription to Level Vb in Megiddo II is

[7] Ben-Tor (2012: introduction, p. x) mentions a large Iron Age building at Hazor, perhaps Assyrian, not yet published.

apparently a mistake, Shiloh 1979:12, n. 21). Lipschits (2009:8, n. 12) does not count it since it is a miniature, though otherwise it is exactly like other volutes from Megiddo. If one disregards this capital, none of the capitals from Northern Israel is securely dated to the time of the Omrides. Indeed, volute capitals everywhere, and not just in the kingdom of Israel, are found in secondary/'late' contexts.

Lipschits dates all the capitals from Northern Israel to a period earlier than their secondary contexts. However, for Judah and Jordan, he dates all the capitals to the period of their late secondary contexts, ignoring the likely possibility that some originate from an earlier date. This is double standards.

Mt. Gerizim is a good example. Lipschits (2001:207) speculates (his term) that the Mt. Gerizim capitals, found in a site whose earliest remains are from the Persian period, originated from a 9th century Omride building elsewhere – a gap of some 400 years. If we employ similar standards to the Ramat Rahel capitals, we can easily assume that they originate from Jerusalem a century or two earlier. If we would jump back 400 years, as Lipschits does for Mt. Gerizim, we would have to imagine a kingdom in Judah before the United Kingdom…

Compare the treatment of the dates of Iron Age gates from two sites in Jordan: Kh. el-Mudeibi and Kh. el-Mudeyine. Several volute capitals have been found at Kh. el-Mudeibi, including the only capital found nearly *in situ,* close to its original location in a gate (Franklin 2011:135-136). Carbon^{14} dates of c. 760+-40 BC were measured from wood beams in this gate. Lipschits (2009:18; 2011:216) dismisses this evidence as "old wood effect" and claims that the gate was established only much later, in the Neo-Assyrian period, so the volute capitals are "late".

However, he reaches a completely opposite conclusion based on the same type of evidence for a gate at Kh. el-Mudeyine: a C^{14} date of 810–755 BC, which in his view comes from a wooden beam.[8] Instead of claiming that this is old wood effect and that this gate is much later, we are told that it is much *earlier* (Finkelstein and Lipschits 2010: n. 35). The beams could be "a replacement of the original ones" and the gate "a replacement of the original gate" (*sic*). No evidence exists for an earlier phase. One gate is pushed backwards in time, in order that it would fit a theory about Omride architecture; a second gate is pushed forwards in time, in order that it would fit the theory of volute capitals sponsored by Assyria. Such a way of dating allows any scholar to find whatever she/he wishes; but it cannot be called a scientific method.

4.8.6. VOLUTES AT RAMAT RAHEL: UP AND DOWN

The situation at Ramat Rahel is this:

1. All the volute capitals from Ramat Rahel were found in secondary (mainly 'late') contexts. They could originate from Level Vb (late 8th century, common dating), Level Va (7th/early 6th centuries), or both. Aharoni (1964:28-29, 54, 66; 1978:1004) ascribed them to Va; Shiloh (1979:10) to Vb.
2. Aharoni's excavations at Ramat Rahel were carried before the Wheeler-Kenyon stratigraphic method was accepted in Israel, and their stratigraphy is notoriously problematic (Kletter forthcoming A; Kletter 2006: Fig. 32). There are almost no secure finds on floors and Aharoni's absolute heights cannot be used as secure indicators for contexts.
3. Ramat Rahel must have been an important center already in Level Vb (late 8th century). This is deduced from the large amount of *lmlk* stamp impressions. They are all from broken handles, not from complete/restored jars, and from secondary contexts, but quite many seem to belong to Level Vb. Lipschits tried to date all the *lmlk* impressions to the 7th century, again based on typology (at sites like Ramat Rahel) and ignoring stratigraphy (at sites like Lachish). Ussishkin (2011; 2012) answered that matter convincingly and we need not review it further here.
4. The late 8th century date suggested for Level Vb by Aharoni (1978:1001) does not indicate the date of the beginning of this level, but its end.

Aharoni recognized few remains from Level Vb: a quarry, a private house, terrace walls, and in one area a wall identified as a casemate wall, which extended beyond the walls of the later Level Va palace (Aharoni 1978: 1000- 1001; cf. Lipschits et al. 2009:61). At first, Lipschits claimed that the new excavations have revealed a much larger Level Vb than the humble remains identified by Aharoni:

> "To this phase [Vb] one should ascribe the "western tower" exposed by Aharoni, but he joined it to the plan of the palace of the second phase … In our view this building served as a tower fortress … A large section of the inner wall of the "early casemate wall" was excavated … [at one point] the white floor of the second phase [Va] passes above the fortification wall (*khomah*) of the first phase – an archaeological proof that indeed this fortifica-

[8] Finkelstein and Lipschits (2010:35); but in fact it comes from a mat (Chadwick et al. 2000:261-262, n.9). Wood beams in this gate gave earlier dates. The issue is not the possible earlier date of remains; but pushing remains both ways, up and down, in order to sustain pre-conceived theories.

> tion wall belongs to the first phase [Vb]. In our view the fortification wall is not part of a casemate wall, but part of a large structure" (Lipschits et al. 2009:61-62).

Many finds were ascribed to Level Vb:

> "Further evidence to the duration and importance of the early phase can be seen in the large amount of pottery found in fills under the floors of the second phase … A special discussion was dedicated to Locus 477 … with hundreds of pottery vessels, mostly bowls and chalices. Aharoni restored the 477 assemblage as an evidence for a destruction horizon on the floor, but analyzing the relation between the floor level and the level of the vessels shows that most of them were found under, not above the floor. In one of the squares that we have excavated in the inner palace courtyard (Season 2008) a pit was found, like Locus 477 of Aharoni, sealed by the white floor of the courtyard. In the pit were many vessels, especially bowls of various types. The large quantity of shallow bowls and the use of red slip and wheel burnish are more typical to the 8th than to the 7th century BC ... However, with these vessels were found bowls and craters … lamps with high bases … and also neck-less cooking pots, which are typical to the end of the Iron Age … All these were not found *in situ*, and should be date to the 7th-6th centuries BC"… (Lipschits et al. 2009:62).

Vessels found in one pit can be dated typologically to various dates, but they share the same context. If indeed the white floor of Level Va sealed this pit, Level Va is later than the latest vessel in it. The details would hopefully be clarified in the final excavation report. In any case, Lipschits ascribed to Level Vb dozens of stamped *lmlk* handles and at least five "private" seal impressions; his conclusion was unequivocal:

> "The site began to exist at the late 8th century BC or the beginning of the 7th century BC … already in the early phase the site had been an administrative and ruling centre" (Lipschits et al. 2009:63).

As mentioned earlier, the date of an archaeological level indicates its end, not its beginning; so the site could have been established earlier. Lipschits at this stage agreed with Shiloh – against Aharoni – that the volute capitals belonged to Level Vb:

> "We accept the ascription of the capitals to the early phase of building at the site, not only because all the evidences show that at this phase too there was a well-build administrative centre at Ramat Rahel, of which part of the walls was built of fine ashlar masonry; but also because modifications and signs of fitting are apparent in all the capitals, notably the deep channel in the upper part of the capital, which is probably related to their inclusion in the walls of the building of Level Va. This fact strengthens the assumption that these capitals were in secondary use at this phase. Our conclusion is that already in the first building phase of Ramat Rahel (Level Vb), at the end of the 8th or beginning of the 7th century BC, the site served as a well-built royal administrative centre, and the evidence at hand shows that the items of monumental architectural originate from this level. Already in this level a palace was built unique to the entire Kingdom of Judah. It included, except the tower fortress in the western end, other buildings built with ashlar which included decorated stone capitals, stone pilasters decorating window or windows, and other decorative stone items"… (Lipschits et al. 2009:64).

None of the capitals was actually found in a Level Va wall. The plan of the palace of the kings of Judah in Jerusalem is unclear (if one identifies it as an Iron Age palace – for review and references see Mazar 2010:40-46). Only foundations survive at Lachish. So why is the Ramat Rahel palace "unique"? Ashlar masonry is found in quite many Judean sites, including Beer Sheba III-II, Tell en-Naṣbeh, Kh. el-Qom, and 'En Ḥaṣevah; it is a local feature (Frese 2012:47-48, 324).

The stress on the importance of Ramat Rahel Level Vb is kept in more preliminary publications, where the volute capitals are ascribed to Level Vb (Lipschits and Na'aman 2011:67-68; Lipschits, Gadot, and Langgut 2012:66-67). However, in the articles on the volute capitals it seems that there is no place for this important level. In the Hebrew paper Lipschits (2009) still admits that the volute capitals can belong to Level Vb:

> "In the renewed excavations at Ramat Rahel additional remains have been found, which support the reconstruction of two architectural phases of the Iron Age, as suggested by Aharoni … The interpretation given for the time being to this evidence is that a fortress has existed at Ramat Rahel in the western part of the site; and that a relatively small assemblage of buildings (a palace?) surrounded by a fortification wall (*ḥomah*) was attached to it on the east … One should not negate the possibility that the decorated stone capitals, part of which were found, together with the balustrade and other finds … were already part of its first phase, and that their time is from the late 8th or early 7th century BCE" (Lipschits 2009:14-15).

However, a question mark was added about the Level Vb palace and the buildings were defined as only a "small assemblage". Two years later (Lipschits 2011) Level Vb almost disappeared. The sentence (in Lipschits 2009:14) that the volute capitals could belong to it was dropped and the unique Level Vb ashlar palace became a small fort:

> "There were clearly two Iron Age strata at Ramat Rahel. The earlier one (Aharoni's Vb) included a small fort in the western part of the site with some structures attached to it on the east. The white floor of the palace, where most of the capitals were discovered, as well as many of the structures attached to the floor and the casemate wall, including the North-Western corner of the palace, where the window balustrades and remains of one fragment of a volute capital were discovered, are all part of the second phase of the site (Aharoni's Va)" (Lipschits 2011:211).

Suddenly the casemate wall, the volute capitals, the ashlars, and the window balustrades are all related to Level Va.

Changes of opinion, even drastic ones, are legitimate. However, one expects them to concern opinions and interpretations, not stratigraphic details, which had been presented earlier as facts – unless if there is new stratigraphic evidence. No such evidence has been presented. Can volute capitals and ashlars stones move up and down like small fragments in mice holes? What happened to the channel at the top of the capitals, which according to Lipschits (2009:64) proved that their association with Level Va is secondary?

4.8.7. EARLY VOLUTES

Until 2011 Lipschits was not aware that cult stands show various pillars and capitals and these reflect monumental architecture (even if not as accurate models).[9] At Yavneh several cult stands portray façades of temples with rows of pillars that have capitals. They were published already in our first catalogue (Ziffer 2007:65-71) and discussed in detail in *Yavneh I* (Ziffer 2010:79-81; Kletter 2010:35, 39, 43). Use of pillars is documented in Philistine temples already since the Iron I period (Ziffer 2010:81). These Yavneh cult stands date to c. 850-750 BC and they reflect local temple façades, though they are not "architectural models". Did Northern Israel hold monumental architecture and volute capitals secretly for hundreds of years?

Lipschits was not aware that volute capitals appear in cult stands, for example in the two famous stands from Ta'anach (Beck 2002:392-418). A crude representation seems to appear on a clay fragment (from a cult stand?) at Kh. Qeiyafa, dated to the 10th century BC (Garfinkel et al. 2012: Fig. 65).

Volute capitals also appear in shrine models (Katz 2006:182-184). They are found in at least five examples: B10 (Amathos); C9 (Moussaieff collection); C12 (Tell Jawa); D7 (Tell el-Far'ah N); and D8 (Tell el-'Umayri) (for details and references see above, part 4.3). Model B10 is late; model C9 lacks provenance; fragment C12 cannot be dated accurately; neither can model D7, which presumably reflects northern Israelite capitals, as it originates from this region.

However, the Tell el-'Umayri model U6852-3 (D7) is dated to the 11th or early 10th century (it was found in Level III, with collar-rim jars). With the Low Chronology it can be pushed perhaps a hundred years down – but that is the limit. This model, in whatever chronology, is earlier than the Omride Dynasty… An early Iron Age potter at Tell el-'Umayri could neither be a modern tourist nor work from a postcard. This is a local object, which reflects local buildings. Hence, volute capitals were part of local architecture hundreds of years before the Assyrian conquest of the Levant.

Lipschits could somehow doubt the evidence of ivories showing volute capitals, since they are small decorative pieces, which in theory at least do not have to refer to monumental architecture; though it is a difficult assumption. This cannot be true for rectangular shrine models – all the scholars agree that they reflect (even if not as accurate "replicas") temples or shrines (Weinberg 1978; Dorneman 1983:143-145; Metzger 1993; Karageorghis 1996:57-67; Maeir and Dayagi-Mendels 2007; Zevit 2001:339-340; de Miroschedji 2001; Katz 2006:242; Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2008; this is not an exhaustive list).

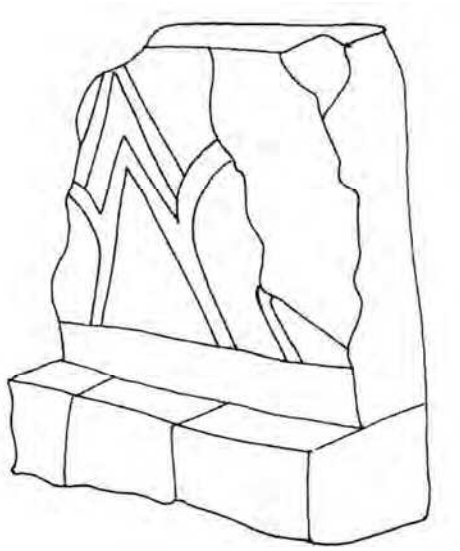


Fig. 4.74: 'Ain Dara item F15
After Shiloh 1989: Fig. 32

[9] Volutes as decorative parts, though not a full capital, appear on the fragmented cult stand D91 from Megiddo, which probably dates to Level VII (LB, Loud 1948: Pl. 253:2; Muller 2002: Fig. 147; Katz 2006: Megiddo 5).

Lipschits also ignored the basalt volute items from the temple of 'Ain Dara in Syria (Fig. 4.74) (Shiloh 1979:31; 89; Abu Assaf 1990: F15, F25, pp. 29, 59-60; Pls. 7c; 48a). They are *orthostats* and not free standing capitals, but probably most of the volutes from Palestine and Jordan were not free-standing capitals too (Franklin 2011). Item F15 probably belongs to the later phase of the 'Ain Dara temple; exact dates are unknown and the temple existed for a long period, yet all the decorations are in Hittite/Neo-Hittite style, and they are apparently very early. The tendency today is to date them to the 11th or 10th centuries BC (Novak 2013:50; Mazzoni 2013). One cannot push this item to the 7th century BC, or ascribe it to the Assyrians.

This 'Ain Dara item is "the largest and most impressive of all the stone volutes excavated until now" (Franklin 2011:135). Basalt is much harder than the soft Nari limestone used for volutes in Northern Israel (a harder limestone was used once – but for a capital from Jerusalem; Shiloh and Horowitz 1975:39). Judging by their magnificent buildings and items (Kohlmeyer 2009; Monson 2004; Harrison and Osborne 2012; Harrison 2012), Neo-Hittite architecture was far superior to that of the Omrides.

There is no benefit in tearing down the statues of David and Solomon as great kings from their pedestals, only to substitute them with Omri. It is the same outdated biblical-centric view, just with other names.

4.8.8. CONCLUSION

Volute capitals were local elements in the Levant, part of the architectural repertoire of Israel, Ammon, Moab and Judah in the Iron II period. We do not know who invented them and they have older roots in various media. To argue whether some volute capitals appear in the 10th or in the 9th century is futile, since none was found *in situ*, while the dating depends on the chronology that is employed. Judging by items such as the volute *orthostat* at 'Ain Dara and the shrine model from Tell el-'Umayri, it is doubtful that volute capitals were invented by the Omrides. Volute capitals were not limited to northern Israel in the 9th-8th centuries BC and had nothing to do with the Assyrians. The Assyrians had no liking for them and never employed stone volute capitals in Assyria or elsewhere.

NOTE

Lipschits (2009:6) states that rights for the drawings of volute capitals in his paper "are reserved to the Ramat Rahel team". In fact, most of these drawings were taken from Shiloh (1979:18, Fig. 11). Shiloh's drawings are handy, other scholars use them too (e.g., Barkay 1992: Fig. 61), but they give proper credits. In the English version too, Lipschits (2011:203 n. 1) ignored Shiloh and gave the credit to his own team. It seems that this is not an isolated case (cf. Ussishkin 2012:17-21).

4.9. THE KHIRBET QEIYAFA STONE MODEL AND THE BIBLICAL *'ARON*

A rare stone shrine model was found at Iron Age I Kh. Qeiyafa (Garfinkel and Ganor 2012:60-62, Fig. 15; Garfinkel et al. 2012:153-158, Figs. 36, 61-64; Garfinkel and Mumcuoglu 2013:140-144, Figs. 4-6). It is a rectangular limestone *naos* 35 cm high, restored from several fragments (Fig. 4.75). The door height is 20 cm. The front is wider than the inside room. There is a porch with a recessed door, showing three recessions at the sides. Recessed entrances are known in the Middle Bronze Age at Alalakh, Tilmen Höyük, Mari, and Tell el-Ḥayyat (Falconer 1995: Fig. 6b; Marchetti 2006: Figs 3-4), in the Iron Age (Tell Tayinat, Haines 1971: Pl. 86; Harrison and Osborne 2012); in various ivories and cult stands (schematically also at Yavneh, Kletter 2010: Pl. 75, Cat. 36); etc. (Garfinkel and Mumcuoglu 2013:144-146). It has been suggested since the 19th century AD, that the Jerusalem Temple had a four-tiered recessed entrance, based on I Kings 6:31, 33 and I Kings 7:15 (e.g., Busink 1951:164; Noth 1968:126-127; Hurowitz 2010:28, 31; Garfinkel and Mumcuoglu 2013:153-6). Another possible reading interprets these verses as indicating the width of the door (Millard 1989).

At the top of the Kh. Qeiyafa stone model, above the door, there is a row of (probably seven in origin) protruding 'cubes' with vertical incisions that divide each 'cube' into three rectangular parts. Garfinkel and his co-authors interpret these as edges of wooden beams carrying the roof, being forerunners of the Doric *triglyphs*.

Is not a surprise that Greek architectural features have 'forerunners' in earlier sites in the Levant. Yet, there is no proof for direct contacts (compare the case of Proto-Aeolic capitals). Doric *triglyph* friezes appear in the late 7th century. The common interpretation is that they signify edges of wooden beams supporting the roof. While Doric temples were made of stone, the *triglyphs* presumably kept a "petrified" glimpse of earlier, wooden buildings (Fig. 4.76).

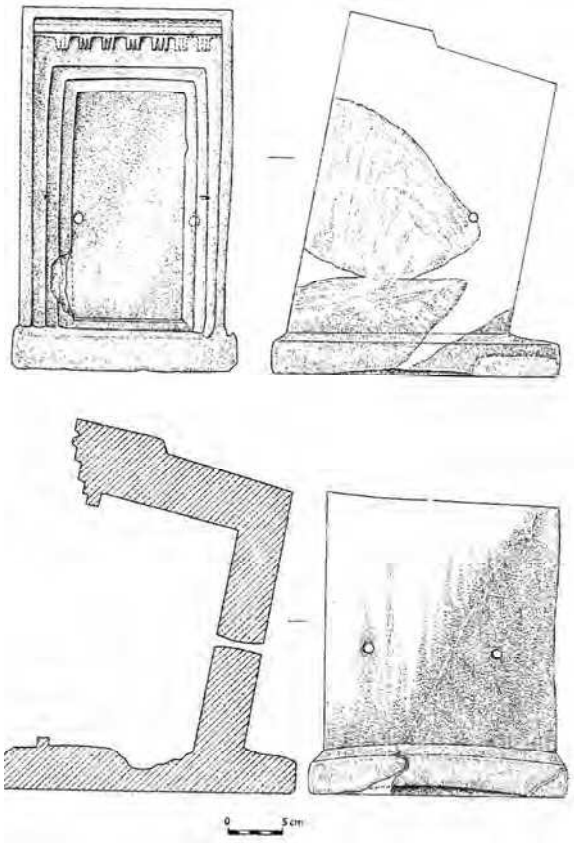


Figure 4.75: Stone naos, Kh. Qeiyafa
Garfinkel and Ganor 2012b: Fig. 36

Garfinkel et al. (2012; also Garfinkel and Mumcuoglu 2013:141-144) are not aware that the "petrification" theory is not a proven theory. It is challenged by scholars who point difficulties with it: Greek stone temples are highly ornate and hard to envision in term of wooden architecture, and there is no proof of such early wooden buildings. The *triglyphs* are the hardest element to explain: they are too large and dense for wooden architecture; they appear in places that do not fit beams (for example, on both sides of the same corner); the supposed timberwork associated with roof architecture lies above the frieze level; and the benefits of rectangular-cut beams were probably unknown before the Hellenistic period. Remains of early beams are usually square in section (Jones 2002:354-356).

Scholars, for quite a long time now, have challenged the "petrification" theory, looking for the origins of the *triglyphs* elsewhere – in Egyptian, Near Eastern, or Mycenaean architecture. Recently, symbolic origins were also sought, not just architectural ones (such as decorative motifs on Geometric pottery, Egyptian hieroglyphs, and Greek tripods: Jones 2002:357-8; http://blog.marcantonioarchitects.com/on-the-origin-of-the-doric-species-the-missing-link/).

We point out two cult stands from Yavneh, which also have protruding rows of square 'cubes', although not divided vertically (Kletter 2010: Pls. 91-93, Cat. 50-51). On many cult stands and shrine models (including the Yavneh ones) we see rows of round "pellets" near the top, which are often interpreted as edges of roof beams, but could also be interpreted as a decorative item (Kletter 2010a:41-42). Interestingly, on the Cypriot Type B models, which fit better the Doric order in time and area (Cyprus had closer ties to the Greek world), the pellets are no longer arranged in rows that fit an interpretation as roof beams. In addition vertical incisions appear also on rounded knobs, which cannot be interpreted as constructions of several rectangular beams placed together, one next to the other.

While the Kh. Qeiyafa stone model strengthens the view that *triglyphs* originated in the Levant, it does not solve the problem of their meaning. The 'cubes' on the model are too dense/heavy for wooden roof beams. They are not separated at the top, but connected to the part immediately above them (it is not clear in Fig. 4.75; but see Garfinkel et al. 2012: Figs. 63-64; Garfinkel and Mumcuoglu 2013: Fig. 6). If these are wooden beams, we would expect them to have complete, rectangular 'cuts' (as in Fig. 4.76), not merging with the roof above them.

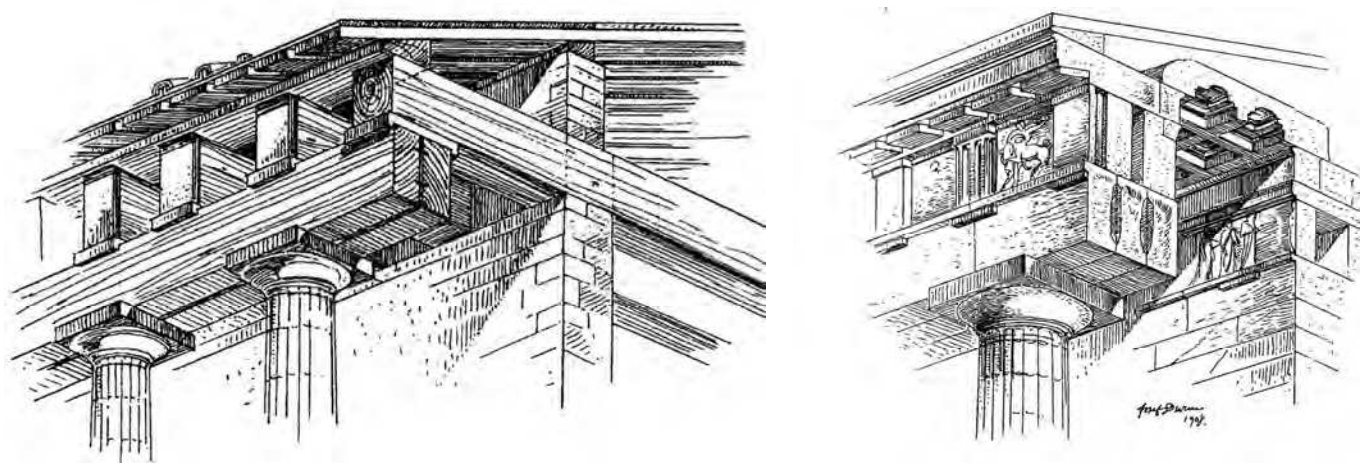


Fig. 4.76: The "petrification theory": assumed wooden forerunner (left) for a Doric temple (right); Jones 2002: Fig. 1

There is another problem, which can be viewed through the suggested cross-section of Solomon's "House of Lebanon" by Garfinkel and Mumcuoglu (2013: Fig. 12) (Fig. 4.78). I will not discuss their interesting suggestions about biblical terms (though note the tension in comparing sources about a palace with shrine models, which presumably evoke temples, not palaces). The reconstructed section (Fig. 4.78) cannot fit any real building: half of the roof beams are suspended in the air and the massive side walls bear no weight; surely this can serve only as a schematic drawing, not a real plan.

The problem I refer to is different: Levantine *in antis*/tower temples, and Solomon's temple in particular (Figs. 4.82-84 below), were long-room temples. There could have been various inner-divisions, but the main, weight-carrying walls of the building were rectangular, and the entrance (and hence façade of the temple) was located in one of the short walls (∏- like shape). Solomon's temple was 60 cubits long and 20 cubits wide. Solomon's house of Lebanon was 100 cubits long and 50 wide. The Kh. Qeiyafa stone and clay models evoke long-room temples (and are long-room themselves, though not in exact proportions of real buildings). Indeed, there were exceptions, notably, the 'Ain Dara temple (Fig. 4.81), divided into two wide-rooms. Beams above these rooms were perhaps placed in a front-back direction. However, if the porch area was roofed, the beams above it probably crossed sideways, so their edges could not be seen from the front. Writing about the *triglyphs* and the vertically incised knobs on the Kh. Qeiyafa clay model D3, Garfinkel and Mumcuoglu conclude that:

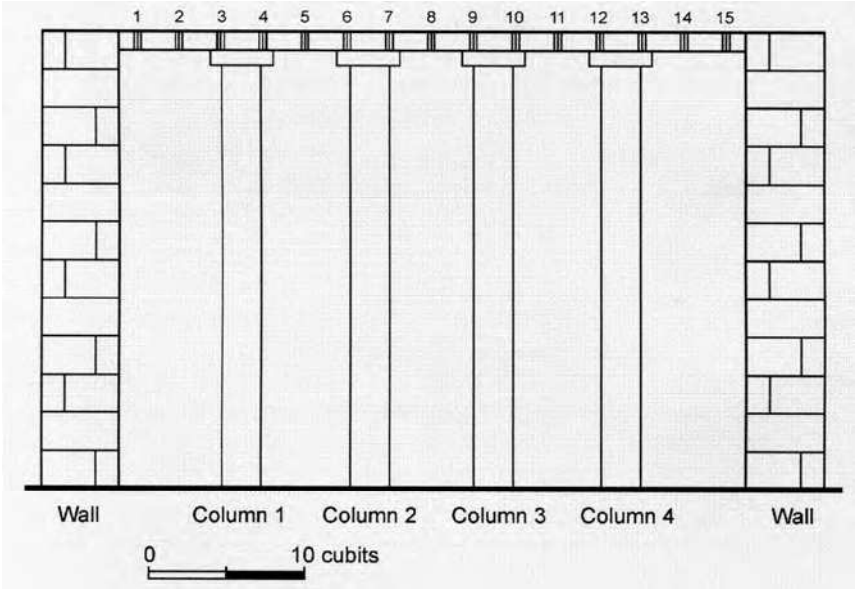


Fig. 4.78: Section of Solomon's "House of Lebanon"
After Garfinkel and Mumcuoglu 2013: Fig. 12

> "They apparently represent the protruding ends of roofing beams, running from the façade of the building to its rear side" (Garfinkel and Mumcuoglu 2013:142).

However, in long-room temples, including Solomon's temple (also his "House of Lebanon"), the distance between the front and back walls was much too long to span by beams. The beams would have been placed between the two long walls, spanning the *width* of these buildings.[10] If their edges were visible from the outside, it would have been at the side walls and not at the façade! Thus it seems that the *triglyphs* do not mean edges of wood beams, at least for the Kh. Qeiyafa stone model and Levantine long-room temples. Perhaps what we see is a decorative element hanging downwards, such as tassels hanging from above the entrance.

There are small holes at middle height on each side of the door of the Kh. Qeiyafa stone model. The only possible function of such holes is for securing a lid placed in the inner recess, by a stick or cord passing between the holes. Thus, although the lid was not found, the stone model had a door in origin. There are two larger holes at the back of the model, which Garfinkel and Ganor (2012:62; Garfinkel et al 2012:157) interpret as intended for tying a figure inside, to secure it when the model is moved from place to place; or for tying the model to a wall or a cupboard (this is not very likely, since the protruding base at the back does not fit hanging onto a wall/cupboard, it is much more reasonable that the model would have been placed on a bench or offering table). However, if the holes were for securing a figure, this stone model had an image inside and the cult at Kh. Qeiyafa used "images". Even if one *intended* to use a figure, without putting it in practice, this proves that one conceived of such a shrine as having a figure inside. Furthermore, according to Garfinkel et al. (2012:157) there is a shallow depression in the floor near the back wall, for placing a figurine/statue (though the depression is very crude and irregular, and seems ill-fitted for such aim).

[10] I do not suggest here an actual reconstruction for such roofs, which must have been complex, more than just one set of beams in the same direction. Note also that the roof could not be completely level, to prevent penetration of water; for that aim a slant towards one or two of the side walls (as in Fig. 4.76) was more practical than towards the rear/front wall.

Garfinkel, Ganor and Hasel interpret the object as a biblical ark (*'aron)*. This has already received criticism in responses on the web. While there is no definite proof for such identification, the criticism seems to forget that it is a legitimate suggestion. This is, however, not a new suggestion. De Miroschedji (2001:78-79) suggested that shrine models (his "tabernacles") are related to the Biblical tabernacle/Arab *qubbah*. Nearly eighty years ago, May (1936) suggested that the biblical ark was a miniature temple, reflected in the Megiddo cult stands, which he perceived as models of temples. The notion that the biblical ark contained a golden calf as Yahwe's image goes back to Gressmann (1920:25). When working on the Yavneh cult stands, I have toyed with the idea that they were "arks" (Kletter 2012:106), but rejected it, since cult stands in general and those from Yavneh in particular are *not* containers for objects. They are a different category of objects from shrine models, but many shrine models could indeed serve as containers. A relation to the biblical *'aron* is therefore possible.

The clay shrine models and the stone shrine model are not the same biblical *'aron*, of course. The biblical ark was made of wood, probably unadorned, and placed as foot-rest of Yahweh's cherubs-throne (I Kings 8:1-11; cf. Deut. 10:1-5). Data about the ark's shape is found only in later sources (Ex. 25:10-22; 37:1-9) that describe a rectangular box measuring 2.5x1.5x1.5 cubits (on the cubit see Kletter 2009, with references; taking a cubit of 52.5cm, the ark measured c. 130x90x90cm). In Exodus the ark is described as adorned with gold.

The biblical ark had means for carrying by two people (I Kings 8:8), for which one can find parallels from Egypt (Zwickel 1999:106, Pl. 9). The ark was movable, at least before reaching its 'end location' in Solomon's temple (I Samuel 3:3). It was lost to the Philistines and retrieved (I Samuel 4). In biblical sources there is no mention of a figure or a cult image inside the ark.[11] Rather, it contained the tablets of covenant. In Exodus 25, presumably postexilic, the ark was combined with the cherubs. The biblical ark was much discussed and views of its nature vary widely: a box-like container for an image, or for the tablets of the Decalogue; a throne; a footstool; a portable miniature sanctuary... Some scholars believe that two or even more arks existed; or that the ark is 'late' and never existed in the Jerusalem Temple (Van der Toorn and Houtman 1994; Zwickel 1999:105-10; Shin 2004; Bodner 2006; Porzig 2009).[12]

The Kh. Qeiyafa stone shrine model can be transported, but has no means for carrying (and does not fit carrying by two poles). It is not made of wood. The one biblical ark fitted one God; but at Kh. Qeiyafa three "ark like" objects were used at the same time: two of clay, one of stone.

Shrine models served in different cultures and periods. We should not form circles of first, identify the Kh. Qeiyafa shrine model as an example of the biblical ark based on the Bible; and then identify Kh. Qeiyafa as a "Jewish" site because it has a "biblical" ark. There was no dichotomy between Canaanite and Israelite/Judean religions, "foreign" iconic work *versus* "monotheism". We should neither look for monotheism or aniconism at Kh. Qeiyafa, in order to fit it with much later biblical sources; nor take it for granted that Kh. Qeiyafa is "Judean" and hence reflects on the cult of the kingdom of Judah. Nothing in the archaeological finds from Kh. Qeiyafa "proves" a specific ethnicity of its inhabitants, if they had "ethnic IDs" at all (cf. Kletter 2006b).

Limiting the remarks to the archaeological interpretation of the three shrine models from Kh. Qeiyafa, they come from the same site and time, and there is no evidence to separate them into different religions/cultures. Garfinkel, Ganor and Hasel describe the stone shrine model as iconic, probably on account of the holes at the back and the depression inside; this is a reasonable conclusion. However, since they also grasp it as forerunner to the biblical ark, they speak about a 'symbol' placed inside it, instead of a cult image. Do "symbols" require physical tying? If the Kh. Qeiyafa stone shrine model stored an image, and if it was part of Yahwistic cult, then Garfinkel, Ganor and Hasel should have concluded that the cult at Kh. Qeiyafa involved a cult image, even if a miniature one. However, the interpretation of these shrine models is not clear-cut. We do not know if these shrine models held images (and which type/s of images: anthropomorphic? zoomorphic?); we do not know to which deity/deities they were related (Yahweh? Ba'al? Asherah?); we do not know if the three shrine models imply one deity, or several different ones.

The Kh. Qeiyafa stone model relates to a long line of stone *naoi* starting perhaps in the MB Temple of Obelisks at Byblos (as already noted by Garfinkel, Ganor and Hasel). They probably held figures of deities and such stone *naoi*, with figures or without, are known from Iron Age II Phoenicia, though their dates are often uncertain; and from Archaic Cyprus (*Kastenförmiger Naiskostyp* – Wagner 1980:122, nn. 76-80; Sader 2005:137, Fig. 116, Nos. 7, 43; Seyrig 1966:viii, male figures and two lions; Kotsonas 2006:184-187, Fig. 3; Kamlah 2008: Fig. 12a-b).

Garfinkel and Ganor compared the Kh. Qeiyafa clay model (D3) to the Yavneh cult stands:

[11] Suggestions that the early biblical ark (before being placed in the Jerusalem Temple) included a figure are probably made in view of archaeological objects such as cult stands and shrine-models.

[12] Porzig (2009) suggests that there was no ark in Solomon's temple at all, since the ark is part of post-exilic theology.

> "All the Yavneh models are made as rectangular boxes shaped as a real house. In that they are completely different from the model found at Kh. Qeiyafa, which is a round, closed pottery vessel decorated only on one side"… (Garfinkel and Ganor 2012:61)

The Yavneh cult stands are certainly not shaped as "real houses" and many are oval, not rectangular. In our view cult stands are a distinctive category, different from shrine models. Thus, it is not surprising that the Kh. Qeiyafa shrine models are different from the Yavneh cult stands; but this does not prove different traditions/religions, as Garfinkel, Ganor and Hasel imply. They suggest so because the Yavneh finds are Philistine, while they want to prove that Kh. Qeiyafa is Judean. Perhaps this is so, but it cannot be proven from comparing different objects, shrine models and cult stands, or from differences in details between one shrine model here and a few shrine models there (the three shrine models at Kh. Qeiyafa are not similar to each other too).

Garfinkel and Ganor (2012:61) believe that the horizontal 'loops' on the pillars of the Kh. Qeiyafa clay model (D3) are unique. However, compare models C3 and C8 (also a picture in Dever 2008:59, top); and painted decoration on pillars in models B6 (?), B9, and B14. They interpret the "applied twisted thread (*gedil mephutal*)" on the fronton of D3 as "a veil (*parochet*) that was hanged above the entrance and could be rolled up" (Garfinkel and Ganor 2012:60), fitting the *parochet* in the Jerusalem Temple. Yet there is a second, upper band with a similar pattern on model D3. About this band they say only: "it is decorated with vertical incisions that mark the face of the roof of the structure" (ibid.). Both bands are comparable to common rope patterns on many cult stands and shrine models. Shrine model D3 has handles for closure, so the entrance was closed by a door (lid), not by a veil. In any case, a veil does not point specifically at the Jerusalem Temple, as other temples could have had veils too.

The Yavneh clay model also has a sharply slanting roof. Many rectangular shrine models have a roofed porch supported by pillars, or pillars supporting a high fronton. For the Yavneh model the potter made large, tall pillars that dominate the front; but did not tie them to a fronton that rises above the roof. To "make ends meet" (high front pillars, low side and back walls), the potter pulled the roof sharply upwards at the front. How to interpret this feature? Is it some vague 'influence' of shrine models with large frontons? It does not seem so, since the forms are very different and there is no evidence for ties in time/place with Type C models. The slanting cannot represent a realistic roof. We tend to see it as a creative solution of the potter for one specific model. It has no deep architectural or religious significance. The Kh. Qeiyafa stone model has a slanting roof too. The entire "room" stands as if tilted upwards. We suggest that the slanting was done in order to create a higher, more impressive front, and a better visibility of the space inside, especially if the models were placed below the onlooker (e.g., on an offering table or bench).

The *triglyphs* of the Kh. Qeiyafa stone model are likely forerunners of Doric *triglyphs*; but they are not "Greek" and do not indicate presence of ethnical Greeks/Greek religion at Kh. Qeiyafa. Similarly, the stone model may be a forerunner of the biblical ark, but it does not mean presence of "ethnic Judeans" or "biblical religion" at Kh. Qeiyafa. Our reading of the Kh. Qeiyafa shrine models is different in various aspects from that of Garfinkel, Ganor, and Haser; but there is no doubt that these are rare and important finds. They deserve praise for this discovery and for its fast publication.

4.10. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The wide distribution and considerable time span of shrine models in Israel/Palestine, Jordan, Phoenicia, Syria, Cyprus, and Crete proves that they had were useful in many material cultures, ethnic populations, and religions. They could have had several meanings and functions.

Yadin (1975:90) called some A Type models, "snake houses" and related them to snake cult. Nissinen and Münger (2009:136) rightly reject this interpretation. They suggest that Levantine jar-like models were influenced by Cretan "hut models". This is a series of more than 20 round terracottas from Crete of the Late Minoan III/Proto-Geometric periods, with few later examples. Most were found in domestic contexts. Two LB Cretan models from Phythies (Archanes) and Knossos included figurines of the 'Minoan goddess with upraised arms' (Figs. 4.79); the Archanes model also has figurines on the roof (Hägg 1990; Mersereau 1993; Petrakis 2006).[13] A new model from Gournos Krousonas – the oldest in the series (17th century) – probably had a seated figure inside; it was found in a peak sanctuary, proving the religious nature of these objects. It also shows horns of consecration and holes (for plants?) in the roof, possibly depicting a temple (Rethemiotakis 2009:195-198).

[13] Compare also shrine model D12 (above).

Most of the Cretan models have wheel-made walls, conical/vaulted roofs, and a rectangular opening (door) with devices for closure. Several meanings were proposed for these models, including representation of granaries of a fertility goddess; of Hades, the house of the dead (Coldstream); of a hut made from perishable materials (Hägg 1990); of purely symbolic objects in household cult (Mersereau 1993); and of a *tholos* tomb with the figurines as mourners (Petrakis 2006, following Boardman; Prent 2005:433-435; Yiannouli 2009).

Eames (2004) suggested that model A24 can be a shrine model, but also a model of a granary. However, jars are already granaries – vessels used to store grains (and other products). The comparison to granaries from Egyptian tombs, as Eames notes, is not close in time, form and space to shrine models from the Levant.

Fig. 4.79: Cretan 'Hut' Models
Left – from Archanes (after Prent 2005: Fig. 77); Right – from Knossos (After Prent 2005: Fig. 3).

Nissinen and Münger (2009: 136-137) point out that LB Levantine jar models are found in sites with imported Mycenaean pottery and this may strengthen the assumption that they are related to the Cretan models. Hägg (1990:100), Mersereau (1993:46-47) and Katz (2006:59) noted that the Levantine jar-like shrine models start earlier than the Cretan models, and the two series could develop independently. Mycenaean pottery was common in urban LB sites, not just in sites with jar models. The distribution of Type A models inland, in the Jordan rift valley rather than along the Mediterranean coast, speaks against a Cretan origin. A few Iron Age jar-like models from Cyprus show affiliations to Cretan "hut models", notably three models from Kition (Karageorghis 1970; Bretschneider 1991a, Pl. 134, Figs. 66-67; Katz 2006: Vol. I:54; Vol. II: Pl. 23:5; Nissinen and Münger 2009:136; Smith 2009: Fig. 30). However, they are later than most of the Levantine Type A models.

Hägg assumed that the Cretan "hut models" represent huts or houses; real huts/houses are closed from the inside (rather both sides, to protect dwellers and property). Therefore, he interpreted the closure from outside of the Cretan models as unrealistic convention (Hägg 1990:101). Petrakis (2006:192) agreed that "indeed, door-fastening from the outside does not make sense in any real dwelling". Alas, Hägg and Petrakis did not consider that "hut models" may evoke temples (cf. the Gournos Krousonas model, Rethemiotakis 2009) – which were closed from the outside. A deity could enter a temple in various ways; but worshippers and priests needed doors (Smith 2004:184). The Cretan models could serve for veiling/unveiling the goddess' figure inside (Rethemiotakis 2009:198).

Almost all the scholars reviewed in this chapter think that Levantine jar-like models represent shrines/temples (Biran, Bretschneider, Daviau, Kochavi, Mazar, Muller, Panitz-Cohen, etc.). Nissinen and Münger are cautious, and do not identify these models with shrines, perhaps since they follow Mersereau, who for Cretan models rejects an identification with real buildings. However, they too agreed that jar-like models had cultic functions. Unlike Crete, the Levantine Type A models cannot be connected to tombs, because local tombs are not round. Also the calf figure inside the Ashkelon model (A1) and the metal standard inside model A4 have no connection to mourning. In addition, eleven models were found in clear cultic contexts (A1 at Ashkelon, A3-4 at Hazor, A7-11 at Tell Deir 'Alla, and A12-A14, D1 at Kamid el-Lōz).

We support the identification of Type A models as shrine-models. However, their architectural representation is minimal. They do not resemble real temples. They have a door, at times stressed by a frame – but otherwise, they show nothing architectural in particular. The reason is the manufacturing technique of these shrine models. Being manufactured as round pottery vessels, the form is prescribed and cannot be much altered (cf. Katz 2006:120). One hesitates to call these objects "models" (we do so only since giving a new term would just add to the confusion); they are essentially *containers for an object kept inside and sealed by the door*.

We mentioned earlier Zevit's (2001:332) observation about the four Kamid el-Lōz models found in the same temple, yet different in shape (A12-14, D1). Zevit assumed that these models were dedicated to different deities who "came to pay respects" at Kamid el-Lōz; or represented worship to the same deity, but at several different temples. However, why would someone fashion a model of City X temple yet dedicate it at city Y? Why would visiting deities stay forever, when civilized visitors return home sooner or later? The issue can be better formulated: three of these four Kamid el-Lōz models are round (Type A) models, which do not represent a temple in an architectural way. These round shrine models are not models of the Kamid el-Lōz temple, or indeed, of any other specific temple. They are most likely local objects, related to deity/deities worshipped at Kamid el-Lōz. The question of similarity to real temples should be addressed to the rectangular shrine model (D1) from Kamid el-Lōz (see further below).

In sum, based on the cultic contexts of many Type A shrine models, the calf figure found inside model A1 from Ashkelon and the metal standard inside model A4 from Hazor, we conclude that Type A models were used as containers for small "images". They are religious/cultic objects, even if it cannot be proven for all of them. They are also not similar to the Yavneh shrine model.

What is the meaning of the Type B models with their figures and *baetyls*? Karageorghis (1996:57), following others (e.g., Caubet 1979:117), interpreted Cypriot *naïskoi* as objects dedicated to a deity, which after death were placed in the tomb as funerary objects. In his view they protected the living and had symbolic uses and magical powers. If dedicated to a deity, we would expect at least some models to remain in temples, or in *favissae* related to temples. Empty Cypriot shrine models (B14, see also E5) are far fewer than ones with figures/*baetyls*. Following Culican (1976), Karageorghis (1996:58, 2000) interpreted the disc-crescent, the aniconic *baetyls,* and the rows of pellets as indicative items of Astarte, a goddess originating from the eastern Mediterranean. Compare Dayagi-Mendels (2002:162) for model B1 from Achzib: the disc is a lunar disk and the 'tongue' is a seated 'Astarte' with the pellets being her crown – but pellets are also related to the Mesopotamian seven star motif; here having only a decorative value (cf. Metzger 2004:430).

Similar motifs continue in finds from the Hellenistic and Roman periods in Phoenicia and Cyprus. Some scholars tried to claim that they reflect a local Cypriot cult, not coming from the 'East' (Budin 2004; Zeman 2008). Aubet (2006:45) believes that the model from Tyre (B3), however, accommodated a figure of Ba'al or El.

The keys to understanding the Type B models seem to be their contexts (mostly graves), their symbols, and especially the figures inside them; but the latter are not well understood. The disc-crescent has received many different interpretations; it may be connected with various deities or even a general representation of heavens (Sader 2005:117-120).[14] The figures inside the models seem to include both females (B7, B8) and males (B11, B20); in various positions that do not lend support to interpreting them all as Astrate. Are the figures worshippers? If so, in the tomb the models represent the deceased. Yet what do the figures do inside a shrine, looking from within outside, a status that fits deities (or cult statues)? It seems more likely that the figures inside shrine models represent deities.

Most enigmatic are the models with the so-called "*baetyls*" (B1-3, B5-6, B9, B15; on *baetyls* see Sader 2005:123). The flat 'tongue' of clay in Phoenician models, filling most of the entrance and flowing outside the cubiculum does not seem to me particularly human. When the Phoenician and Cypriot potters wanted to express a human figure, they managed to do so with ease. In addition, what is the meaning of the pellets that protrude from such *baetyls*/tongues of clay?

Type B models lack means for closure. This is another feature which sets them apart of other types. Most shrine models Types A, C and D play a game of "hide and seek" with their audiences. They could be empty or have a figure; one could hide the figure behind doors or reveal it and even take it out. Type B models are less interactive: you get what you see immediately (of course, their audiences knew what the figures inside mean).

Type B shrine models are not similar to the Yavneh shrine model, which is larger, cruder, lacks a fronton, and has no disc-crescent or an attached figure/*baetyl*. It has features that are not found in the Type B models, namely, a porch with pillars that connect to the roof and rope decoration.

[14] One wonders whether some of the forms identified as *baetyls* are not pillars of a temple, such the two objects in stele 54, Sader 2005:122, Fig. 106.

In discussing the so-called Moabite models (Type C), Weinberg (1978:44-45) suggested that they had in origin an "Astarte figurine" standing inside. Daviau, concerning various models from Jordan, points out that they appear also in tombs and houses, but their "clearest context" is cultic – in shrines such as at Wadi ath-Thamad WT13 (Daviau 2008:300-301). Most C-Type models lack clear contexts, and little can be added about their meanings to what was already said about Types A-B (above). No figure was found inside any of these models and it is unclear if they held figures in origin. It is even not certain that they all originate from Jordan.

Type D models offer the best comparison for the Yavneh shrine model. However, having relatively few models of this type is a serious handicap to interpreting them. These models are less homogeneous than the other types, perhaps formed of several different groups. They are also spread over a large area and at least two periods and cannot fit one specific religion/ethnic group. For this reason, the shrine model from Kh. Qeiyafa (D3) is not a Judean marker. To argue that it supports the interpretation of Kh. Qeiyafa as a Judean site means circular reasoning.

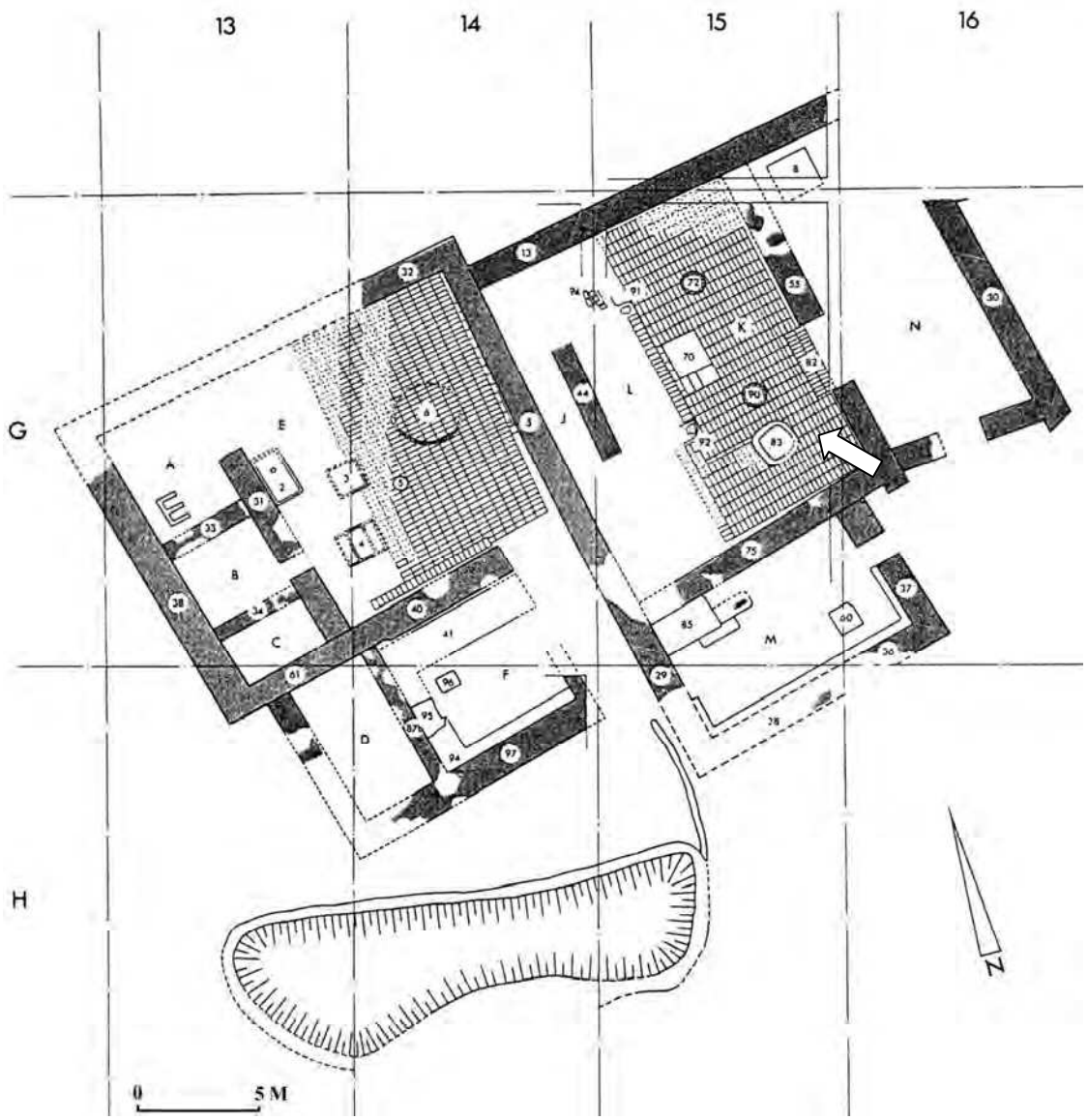
The Yavneh shrine model comes from the same 'milieu' as the Yavneh cult stands – it carries the same applied decoration of knobs and 'rope' pattern. Close ties are reflected between shrine models and cult stands at other sites too: motifs found in cult stands are also commonly found in shrine models (rope patterns, knobs, standing females and protomes, lion protomes, birds). We interpret this not just as artistic and cultural ties, but as indication of a shared cultic milieu. Cult stands relate to temples (at Yavneh they portray religious scenes at a temple façade and were dedicated as votive objects in a temple; in other places they can be altars or libation vessels); so do shrine models.

It is interesting to search after features that are *not* shared between cult stands and shrine models. There is one major motif – the bull/calf – which is very common in cult stands (Katz 2006:204-207; Ziffer 2010:69-73) but to the best of my knowledge, missing from shrine models. However, one figure found inside a shrine model (A1) is of a calf. It is thus possible that the religious scenes shown in shrine models, evoking the temple's façade, tell us only part of the story, which continues inside the temple, in the holy of holies. Egyptian *naoi* (the construction that surrounds the cult statue) perhaps show a somewhat similar phenomenon. *Naoi* from the 26th-30th dynasties are decorated with rows of deities, which are not an exact repetition of the deities represented in cult statues inside the temple. For example, in a shrine dedicated to Bastet her image was placed inside; but on the *naos* we find a more 'cosmological' group of deities. Bastet may appear there too, but not in the most prominent place (Spencer 2006:31, 35-36).

We tend to identify the front figures of Types C-D as deities, because of their similarity to the female figures on the Yavneh cult stands' façades (Ziffer 2010; Kletter 2010b:186-188). If so, shrine models that carry these figures are iconic. Very few shrine models can be related to the kingdom of Judah (possibly D3, but it may predate it). From Northern Israel shrine models with figurative art are also rare. Those dating to the Iron I predate the kingdom of Israel, and if they present pillars, volute capitals and a dove, it does not make them "iconic". One exception is A22 from Tel Rehov. Figurative shrine models are found in Jordan (Type C) and in Phoenicia and Cyprus (Type B). Of course, defining 'iconism' is complex (Mettinger 2006; Middelmas 2010; in relation to the Judean Pillar Figurines see Kletter 1996; Kletter and Saarelainen 2011)

Iconic and un-iconic representations existed side by side in the same sites at the same time; presumably also in the same cult. Worshipping could use iconic and un-iconic cult objects in the cult of the same deity (see Nunn 2008 for Phoenicia; Wenning 2001 for Nabataean *baetyls*). A shrine model that seems un-iconic at present could be iconic if it housed a figure, which had been lost.

Because rectangular shrine models are architecturally more informative, one can identify better the type of temple that they evoke. Evoke rather than represent, because I do not think that they were meant to represent accurately real buildings. The earliest Type D model from Late Bronze Kamid el-Lōz (D1) evokes a long-room temple with a porch and two freestanding pillars, probably located at the entrance to the temple. Does this model match in form the temple where it was found? The Kamid el-Lōz sacred precinct (Hachmann 1983:67, Fig. 30) shows a series of various small and medium-sized rooms and courtyards that belong to two adjoining buildings (separated by wall 5 in the middle). The entrances to both buildings are simple and have no porches or pillars (Fig. 4.80 top). Shrine model D1 bears no similarity to the overall plan of the sacred area at Kamid el-Lōz or to the way each building looks from the outside. Yet, the excavators' reconstruction (Fig. 4.80) of the inner part of the eastern building of temple T2, areas K-L (Hachmann 1983:74-75, Fig. 37), fits very well with the shape of shrine model D1. Various details in the temple may be differently interpreted; but overall it is a reasonable reconstruction. One must point out, however, that the reconstruction was made with knowledge of shrine model D1 and of the biblical descriptions of Solomon's temple. It is difficult to say if the same reconstruction would have been offered without these sources of inspiration.



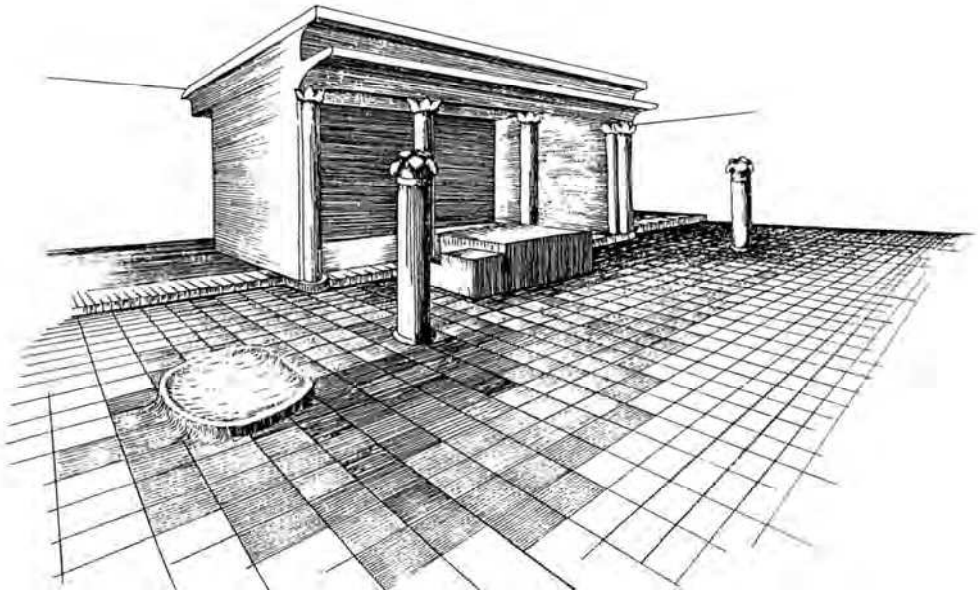


Fig. 4.80: The Sacred Precinct at Kamid el-Lōz (top). The white arrow was added to show the approximate point of view of the restoration (below) of the inner part of areas K-L (Hachmann 1983: Figs. 30, 37)

Therefore, we cannot be certain that model D1 from Kamid el-Lōz matches specifically the shape of this local temple. If it did, it matched only an inner part of the temple, while the view from the outside would have been completely different. The selection of an inner part is possible, but questionable. It depends upon many factors, which we cannot weigh accurately. Was access to the temple free, so potters knew the shape of the holy of holies? Yet, potters could also work for a temple workshop. Would a potter "cut out" part of a sacred building? What was the "essence" of the temple, which would be conveyed in clay – was it important to convey the architecture, or a certain sacred vocabulary?

It is not hard to find in the Levant MB, LB and Iron Age temples that use two, four and sometimes more pillars in their halls. Examples from Palestine/Israel (not an exhaustive list) include Hazor area H (Mazar 1987: Figs. 3- 4); Lachish Fosse temple (Mazar 1987: Fig. 22; Ottosson 1980: Figs. 17-18); Lachish, Level VI temple on the Tell (Mazar 1987: Fig. 29); and Beth Shean Levels VII, VI and V temples (Ottosson 1980:44, Fig. 7; Mazar 1987: Figs. 24, 26). The restoration of Beth Shean Temple 1072 of Level VII by Rowe seems to fit closely the shape of rectangular shrine models, but this restoration is doubtful (Mullins 2012: Fig. 6). These temples have various plans and reflect more than one origin (Wimmer 1998; Kamlah 2012). However, these pillars were architectural supports for roofs, that is, functional elements. One could use 'ante'-walls instead of such pillars, as was done in the Hazor Area H temple (Mazar 1987: Fig. 4, middle room) or at Alalakh Level VII (Mazar 1987: Fig. 12). Still, inner pillars were easy to use and enabled the creation of wider spaces not obstructed by walls, making the inside space more spacious and appealing. Pillars inside temples were practical and probably did not carry special symbolic meanings; so perhaps what we see in the clay shrine models is something else.

It is probable that rectangular shrine models match an ideal temple, which varied in details from place to place. This type of temple is the large, monumental temple found in the Levant in the second and first millennia BC. It has a direct access (the holy of holies can be glimpsed from the entrance); a porch or ante, and two pillars before the entrance. The exact inner division did not matter, because the potters 'telescoped' the view, showing just the façade and the holy of holies.

Such temples, defined as Syrian *in antis* temples (also called Megaron or *Migdol*/tower temples), start in the MB period and continue to the LB Age, though they have forerunners already in the third Millennium BC. Examples include Hazor Area H Strata 1; Shechem "Tower Temple"; Megiddo Level VIIb; and Tell Munbāqa in Syria. Possibly add the public building at Hazor Area A (Ottosson 1980: Figs. 5c-d; 9b; Mazar 1987: Figs. 4, 11; Zuckerman 2012: Fig. 2: 2, 6, 11). Such temples existed also in the Iron Age: examples include 'Ain Dara (Fig. 4.81) (Abu Assaf 1990; Monson 2004) and Tell Tayinat (Fig. 4.82) (Haines 1971; Harrison 2012: buildings II, XVI, Figs. 4-6, 8-11; Harrison and Osborne 2012). The recent excavations at Tell Tayinat have not only found a second temple (building XVI), but showed that although the temples have been used and modified in the Neo-Assyrian period, they were established earlier and derive from local traditions (Harrison 2012). The biblical descriptions of Solomon's temple in Jerusalem, even if from a late date, reflect this type of temple (Fig. 4.83-84) (Albright 1942:142-155; Zwickel 1999: Pl. 4b; Hurowitz 2010a; 2010b).

It is difficult to define exactly the role of the entrance pillars in such temples. None of the temples is preserved with intact pillars and roof; we usually find only the stone bases of presumably wooden pillars.[15]

Not every monumental '*in antis*' or tower temple had pillars at the entrance. At Pella, only one out of six consecutive temples had pillars and that only inside the temple (Bourke 2012: Fig. 3). In Emar the two LB 'ante' temples were restored as having pillars in the porch, but there does not seem to be evidence for this (Sakal 2012: Fig. 4). At Tell Afis Temple G there is no evident for pillars (Mazzoni 2012:27, Fig. 3). Tell Tayinat Temple XVI has only one pillar (Harrison 2012: Figs. 8-1).

Smaller temples sometimes had a pair of inside pillars that did not support the roof. Two pillars stood at the entrance to the Tel Kitan MB Temple, Level V (Eisenberg 1993). At the Arad temple Aharoni interpreted two stones as bases for two pillars at the sides of the entrance from the court to the cella, and compared them to Yachin and Boaz (Ottosson 1980: Fig. 25). If these were pillars indeed, their position very close to the wall shows that they did not have an architectural function. However, according to Herzog there were no such pillars, and he does not show the stone bases in plans (Herzog 2002:67-68; Herzog 2010:189).

So far, ante/tower temples have not been found in Philistine cities (but the Yavneh model is perhaps a 'Phoenician' object). Pillars were used inside Philistine temples throughout the Iron Age. Examples include Tell Qasile Level X (Mazar 1980; Mazar 1987: Fig. 28) and Ekron Temple 650 (Gitin 2012). As far as can be judged, the pillars in Philistine temples were practical roof supports, not symbolic pillars in a porch.

[15] The large stone pillar bases found in various temples prove that massive wooden pillars had been used; therefore it is likely that early wooden capitals existed, possibly even voute capitals – contra Lipschits (2009; 2011). On the symbolism of Solomon's Temple see Janowski 2012, with references.

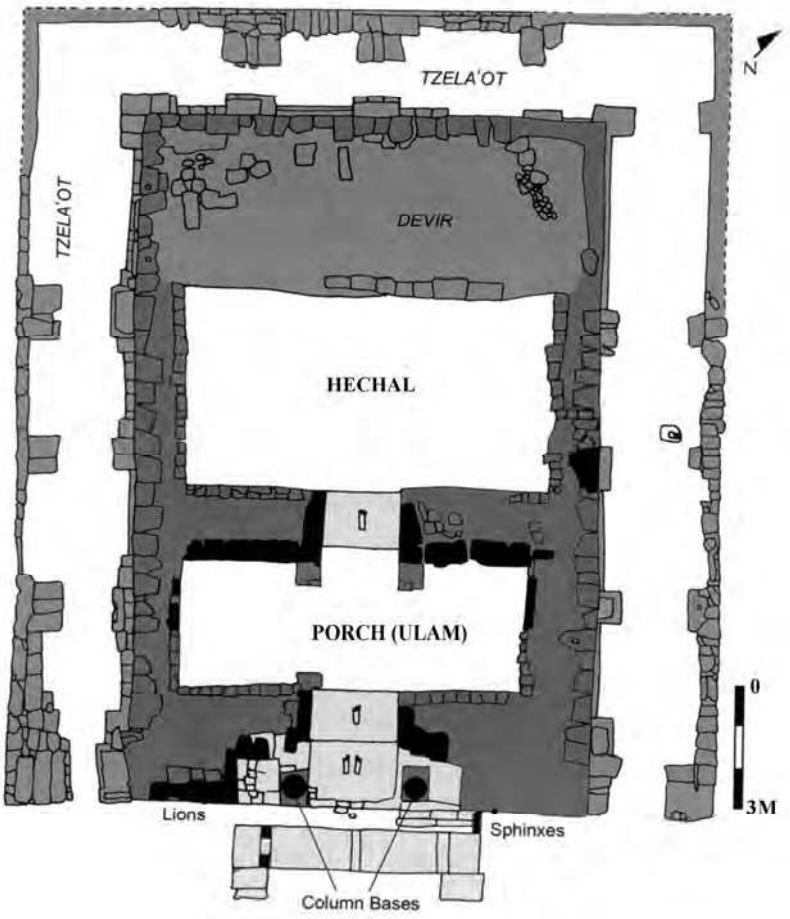


Fig. 4.81. 'Ain Dara
After Hurowitz 2010a: Fig. 9

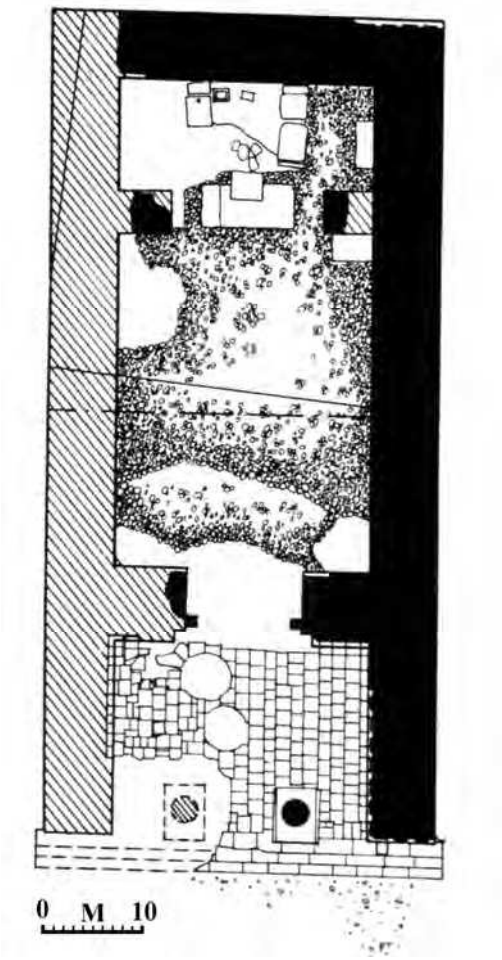


Fig. 4.82: Tell Tayinat
After Hurowitz 2010a: Fig. 8

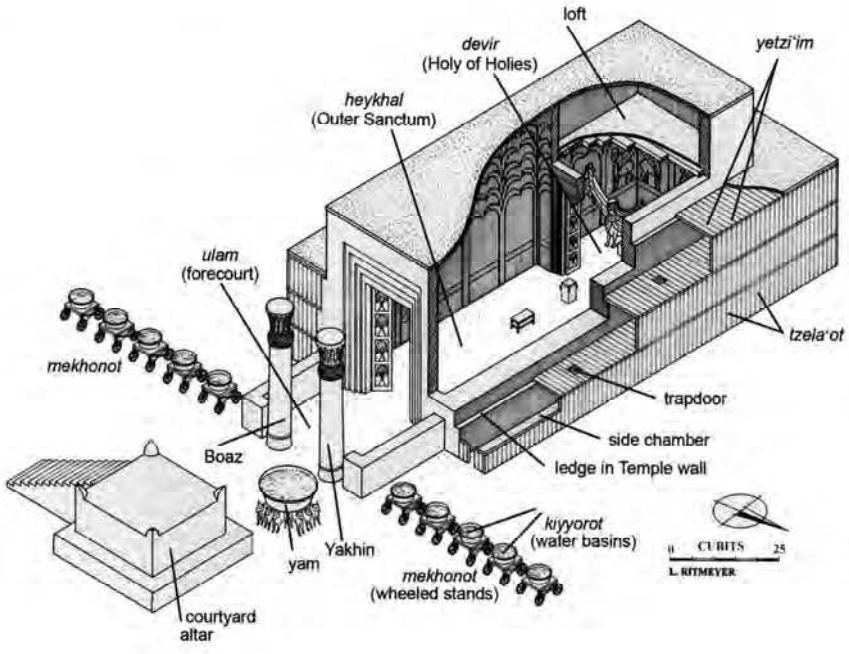


Fig. 4.83: Solomon's temple, reconstruction
Hurowitz 2010a: Fig. 3

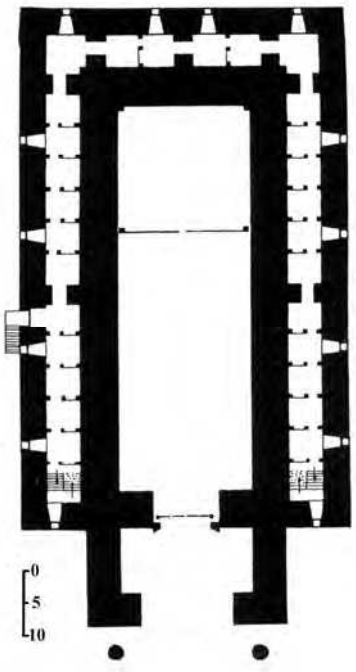


Fig. 4.84: Solomon's temple, plan
Zwickel 1999: Fig. 47

The description of the temple of Gaza in the Samson story (Judges 16:23-30) fits Philistine temples such as Tell Qasile Stratum X and Ekron 650, where collapse of inside supporting pillars could cause structural havoc. It does not help dating the story, since such temples existed throughout the Iron Age. The author could also employ literary imagination rather than depict accurate architectural details.

Quite many models of Types C-D (C1, C3-C9, D1, D3, D5-6[?], D7-D9) evoke "ante"-temples with two entrance pillars; although not with architectural precision. Type B shrine-models reflect stronger Egyptian influences, stressed even more in clay plaques of shrine façades (Ward 1996). Pillars are less common in B Type models (B4, B8-9). Garfinkel and Ganor tried to establish links between model D3 from Kh. Qeiyafa and the Jerusalem Temple. For example, they relate the pillars on the model with Yachin and Boaz. That pillars in shrine-models and cult stands recall Yachin and Boaz is a common view (Yeivin 1958; Hachmann 1983:75; Zwickel 1999:113; Zevit 2001:341; Ziffer 2010:80; etc.).

The pillars could support a small roof above the porch, but their position suggests that they had no real structural role. An example is Hazor Area H Stratum 1 (Ottosson 1980:32, Fig. 5c-d). In the Jerusalem Temple the pillars probably had no architectural role, but symbolic meanings as their names – Yachin and Boaz – hint; however, the symbolism is not well understood (Yeivin 1958; Ottosson 1980:112; Mazar 1987:157; Zwickel 1999:113-125; Hurowitz 2010a:28). As we have stressed (above), shrine models are found in various cultures, and so too are entrance pillars – they are not a marker of Judean/Israelite material culture/ethnicity. They do not specifically echo Solomon's temple, but a temple type found all over the Levant in the MB-Iron Ages.

The lion protomes at the feet of pillars in shrine models C2, C6, C9, and D3 (possibly add D5 and the Tell el-'Umayri fragments, Fig. 4.57) match stone lion-bases for pillars discovered in Levantine temples, such as at Tell Tayinat building II and at Carcemish (Ward 1996:11-12). [16]

We spoke about meanings of shrine models, but a few words are in place concerning their functions. Many shrine models were containers, presumably for small figures of deities (or of attributive animals) made of expensive metals. Type A models were functional containers that did not bear close similarity to the architecture of the temple; they could be closed to prevent the loss of the figure. In most Type B models the figures were permanently attached and therefore the closure was no longer needed. Most of type C models lack closure mechanisms. In Type D some models can be closed and some cannot, fitting a position in between Type A and Type B shrine models. Perhaps some shrine models of Types C-D were empty, suggesting rather than presenting the deities in "flesh and blood".

A clue to the function of shrine models is the finding of several together in the same cultic context (at Kamid el-Lōz and Tell Deir 'Alla). They could house different deities in one temple, or several "replicas" of the same deity. Being portable, they could be used outside, making real the presence of the deity without having to shuffle around and risk large cult statues.

In sum, round shrine models (Type A) do not represent the temple architecturally. Rectangular shrine models (Types B-D) show better the architecture, but are not "architectural models". Type C-D models (and to a lesser extent Type B) evoke the large MB-Iron II temples with direct access, a porch and two pillars before the entrance. These pillars have symbolic meanings, but are not major supports for the roof. These models do not belong to one specific ethnic group or material culture, and should be separated from other categories of cultic objects, such as cult stands. Shrine models focus on the inner space, the holy of holies. Presumably, they served as containers for small figures of deities/attributive animals. In Phoenicia and Cyprus (Type B) the figures were usually built-in. Some models could be empty, evoking rather than showing the deity in 'flesh and blood' – but we have no proof for this assumption. The biblical ark perhaps originated from early rectangular shrine models. If so, the ark was in origin a functional object, a portable abode for a wandering deity lacking a permanent home. Once the permanent home was built for Yahweh in Jerusalem, he did not leave it and had little use for an ark – it sort of 'disappears' from the Jerusalem Temple scene.

Should we restore an early ark of Yahweh as holding a miniature cult image of him, before the appearance of the biblical prohibition of images? This is possible, but it is far from certain or from being the only viable reconstruction. We may make various learnt guesses about the logic of stories told, written, and re-shaped over hundreds of years; but for the reality of the early Iron Age period, we have only "mute" archaeological finds. When interpreting these early finds, we must be cautious and not rush to interpret them only on the basis of the biblical stories.

[16] Yachin and Boaz were adorned with pomegranates; on pomegranates and their symbolism see Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2007; Abram 2009. We must not confuse such pillars with Asherah – whatever we think of the form of the latter.

ADDENDA

A. The study of Berkheij-Dol (2012) became available to me after this chapter was largely completed. Berkheij-Dol (2012:64-121) focused on eight sites with 21 round shrine models in the Lebanese-Jordan rift valley. Out of these models 11 were found in cultic contexts. None has a figure inside and in her view they were always empty, since some were found in destruction layers or have no remains of clay figures. However, if the detached figures were made not of clay but of expensive metals (as in A1), they were likely looted and re-casted, hence their rarity.

B. A fragment of a shrine model or perhaps a cult stand that has a basin with horns at the top was found at Dor, but the exact type is unclear (Stern 2010:21, Fig. 26:3).

C. A limestone *naos*, very similar to the Kh. Qeiyafa stone shrine model though smaller, was found in the old excavations at Gezer (Fig. 4.85) (Macalister 1912:439, Pl. 225:6). Macalister thought it is an Egyptian-style shrine. He dated it to the Hellenistic Period, but there is no secure context and the dating was influenced by the style of two other fragments termed shrines, which are, however, dissimilar to this object. While smaller and simpler (only one recess beside the door), it shares the inside room and the slanting roof shape. Of course, small stone *naoi* are known from later periods especially in Phoenicia (compare an example found in a Temple at Bir an-Sobah[17] in the Hermon Mountain, Dar 1994:220-225, Figs. 180-185).

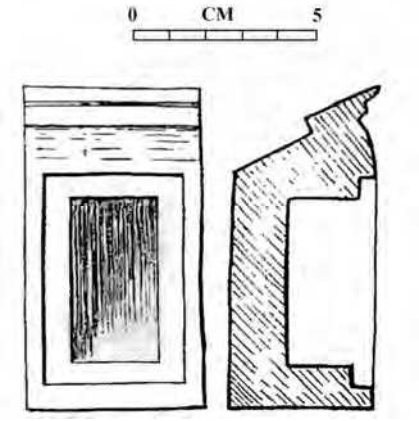


Fig. 4.85: Stone shrine, Gezer
After Macalister 1912: Pl. 225:9

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[17] This is the transliteration of the name given in Dar 1994: epilogue (English abstract).

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CHAPTER 5

ZOOMORPHIC VESSELS

Raz Kletter

Parts of two zoomorphic vessels were found in the Yavneh repository pit. Body fragments of such zoomorphic vessels do not look much different from other pottery fragments. Having to deal with a hundred complete and broken cult stands, we had no time during the excavation to watch carefully 'regular' fragments of pottery. Presumably the zoomorphic vessels were complete when taken to the pit, and more fragments of them exist in baskets of pottery which were not chosen for pottery mending.

5.1. NEARLY COMPLETE ZOOMORPHIC VESSEL

Size: length 14.2+x cm, height 12.2 cm; outer diameter of opening at the top 4.3 cm (Pls. 4:1; 24:1; Fig. 5.1).

Location and registration: the front body (L14 B7286, two fragments) was found in the west part of the pit; the hollow head (L13 B7222) in the north-eastern edge of the pit; the upper part with the filling opening was found during cleaning of the side of the pit (L13 B7456). IAA Number: 2006-1724.

Description: The vessel is made of brown ware with a gray core. Applied parts, such as legs, are hand-made, while the wheel-made body is shaped like a juglet and the neck is wheel-made too. The animal is a bull, based on the head with its large (partly broken) horns. The eyes are marked by incision, but are very worn out. The head spout is extremely minute (c. 2x1 mm; the edge of the muzzle is worn out), so the vessel was perhaps not intended to be used for practical libation (or the amount poured out was small). One front leg is broken, the other widens at the bottom to create a solid base. The surface is covered by white encrustation. There is no depiction of ears.

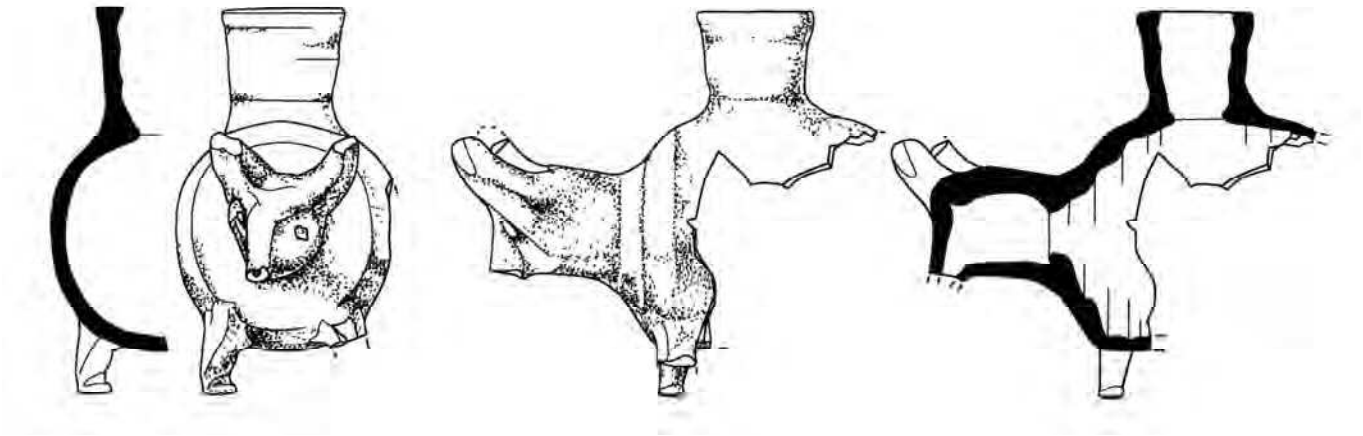

Fig. 5.1: Nearly complete zoomorphic vessel, L14 B7286

5.2. FRAGMENTS OF ZOOMORPHIC VESSELS

Size: front part length c. 9 cm; rear part width 5.4 cm, height 5 cm (Fig. 5.2; Pls. 24:2; 25:1).

Location and registration: front part of body L12 B7121 from the center of the pit (Pl. 22:2 left). Rear part L13 B7217 from the center of the pit (Pl. 23:1). Another small body part with one leg is B7160 L12 (Pl. 22:2 right).

Description: The front part is made as a juglet with beginning of neck and part of two front legs now mostly broken (B7121). The rear part (B7217) is also wheel-made; it shows two legs (one partly broken) and a button-like extension signifying the tail.

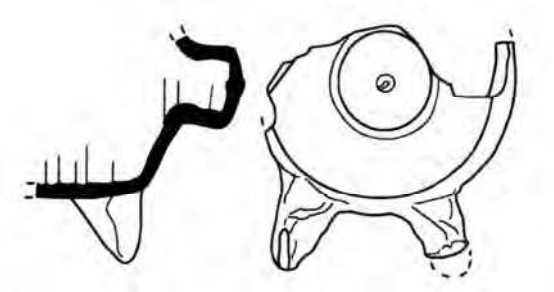

Fig. 5.2: Rear Part L13 B7217

There is no physical connection between the front and the rear fragments, and it is possible that the rear part (B7217) belonged to zoomorphic vessel 1 (above), making it a complete vessel.

It does not seem likely that there were more than two zoomorphic vessels in the repository pit. This is because we have not found more indicative parts (such as legs and heads), which can indicate the existence of a third zoomorphic vessel.

5.3. DISCUSSION

The more complete zoomorphic vessel (Fig. 5.1) portrays a bull with one 'barrel' like, high part on the back serving as a filling hole. The other fragments are of the same general type.

Zoomorphic vessels appear in Iron Age Israel, Judah, and Transjordan (Amr 1980; Holland 1975; Saarelainen and Kletter in press; Yezerski 1997). They seem more common in Iron Age Philistia. Those from Iron I Philistia have been studied in depth by Ben-Shlomo (1999; 2008:25-30). In Iron IIa Philistia some zoomorphic vessels are decorated in the late Philistine style ('Ashdod Ware'; Fig. 5.3); but complete vessels are rare and at least at Ashdod, similar fragments have been dated also to later contexts of the 8th century (Ben-Shlomo 2008:30-31). The Yavneh examples lack decoration and do not belong to this type.

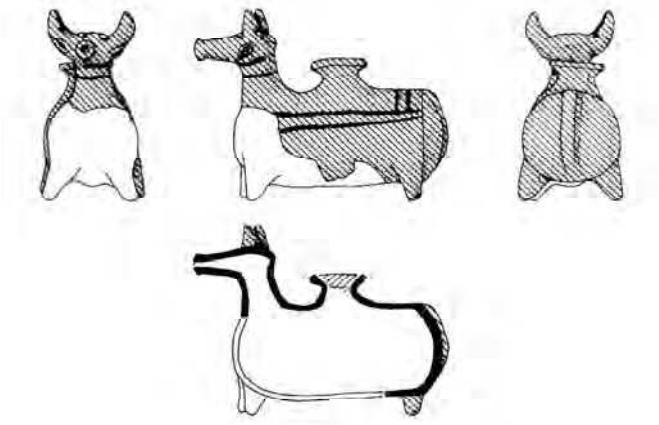

Fig. 5.3: Zoomorphic vessel from Ekron
After Ben-Shlomo 2008: Fig. 5

The Yavneh vessels find good parallels in late Iron Age II zoomorphic vessels from Ekron, dated to the 7th century (Fig. 5.4) (Ben-Shlomo 1999: Fig. 15:1-2; Ben Shlomo 2008:32-33; Figs. 6-7). In similarity with the Yavneh examples, these hollow zoomorphic vessels from Ekron are wheel-made and have juglet-shaped bodies with spouted heads that portray bulls. They also have the same button-like 'tails' and a very high, rounded filling tube at the middle of the back of the animal. At Ekron, these vessels are decorated in red designs, perhaps depicting harnesses (no such design is visible at Yavneh). One of the Ekron vessels was found in Temple 650; others were discovered in olive oil production contexts.

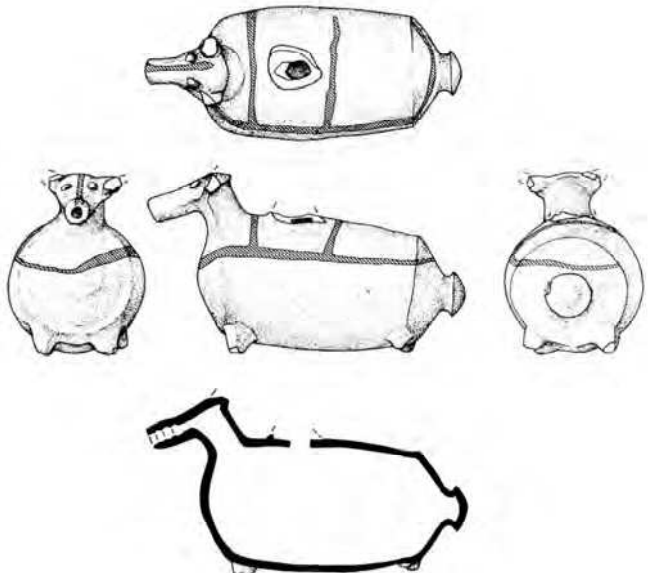

Fig. 5.4: Zoomorphic vessel from Ekron
After Ben-Shlomo 2008: Fig. 7

Ben Shlomo (2008:32-33) lists comparisons for these vessels from Tel Batash, Tel Beer Sheba level II (Kletter In Press: no. 290, Reg. 6358/1), Tell Beit Mirsim level A, Beth Shemesh level II, Lachish levels III-II and perhaps Gezer. He regards a vessel from 8th century Tyre (Bikai 1978: Pls. 6:1, 83:6) as the earliest in this series, and hence suggests that the origin of the type is Phoenician.

The comparisons cited by Ben-Shlomo include clear 8th century examples (Tel Beer Sheba II – a site not occupied during the 7th century– and Lachish Level III). Thus, such vessels appear already in the 8th century much closer to Philistia, and there is no reason to assume a Phoenician origin for them (though it is

possible in theory). In addition, the comparisons come from Judean (Tel Beer Sheba, Lachish, Tell Beit Mirsim), Israelite (Gezer), and Phoenician (Tyre) sites. It is hard to see here an exclusive "Philistine" type. Ben Shlomo (2008:33) writes about these vessels:

> "They are not as uniformly executed or as common as those from Ekron. Thus, the vessels appearing at Ekron may be considered as a local type, possibly representing a late Philistine style of zoomorphic vessels, influenced by the contemporary style of zoomorphic vessels in neighboring regions".

That vessels from one level in one site are more homogeneous than vessels from seven sites, two centuries (at least), and three different kingdoms, is not surprising. Perhaps the Ekron vessels stem from one workshop or even one potter. Yet, if they lack specific features to differentiate them from comparable vessels found over a wider area than Philistia; and if they do not appear earlier than the vessels outside of Philistia, they do not consist of a particular Philistine type.

It is probable that "button" tails appear even earlier in zoomorphic vessels. A zoomorphic vessel from Iron Age IIA (Level Va-IVb) Megiddo exhibits perhaps such a tail. Unfortunately, the pictures do not clarify the exact type, but a drawing suggests a "button" tail (Fig. 5.5) (May 1935: Pl. 38:3016; Lamon and Shipton 1939: Pl. 8:180).[1] Another zoomorphic vessel from Megiddo Level VIA (Iron I) has a "button" tail (Loud 1948: Pl. 248:14, Locus 2068, hand-made).

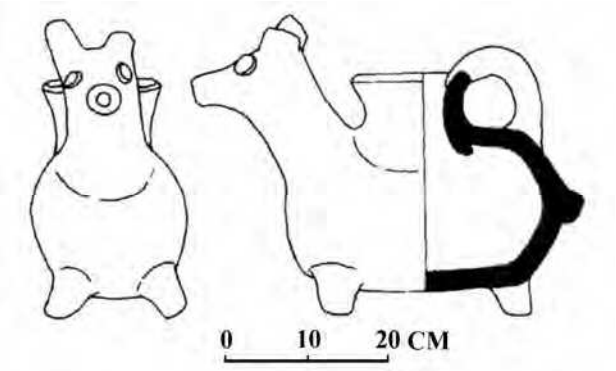

Figure 5.5: Zoomorphic vessel, Megiddo Level V
Lamon and Shipton 1939: Pl. 8:180

No similar vessels have been reported as yet from Ashkelon, despite of the large-scale excavations of the site (see the Ashkelon I report, Cohen 2011; and the studies on the figurines by Press 2007:261; 2013) – save for a few legs (Press 2013: Chapter 5, n. 1). A few zoomorphic vessels from Ashkelon were published in photos, but only from later periods (see http://semiticmuseum.tumblr.com/post/29124971629/two-zoomorphic-vessels-one-in-the-shape-of-a). Perhaps one published item from Ashkelon is a zoomorphic vessel. It is a 7th century BC hollow animal body with one hole at the middle of the back and another at the front. The fragment was identified as a horse-and-rider: the rider (now missing) was according to this suggestion attached by a peg to the hole at the back of the horse (Cohen 2011:461, Cat. no. 65; Reg. no. 44721). However, clay horse-riders in Iron Age Palestine were hand-made and applied onto the back of the horse; they do not have pegs for insertion (Kletter and Saarelainen in press). It seems that his item is part of a zoomorphic vessel, with a spouted head now missing. In any case, it is not similar to the Yavneh vessels.

The Yavneh zoomorphic vessels probably had a cultic function, but we infer this from other evidence concerning the repository pit, not from the vessels themselves. This is because zoomorphic vessels have been found in various contexts, including burials and domestic quarters. In Philistia at least such vessels are found also in clear cultic contexts (for example, Ben-Shlomo 2008:32; Albertz and Schmitt 2012:67).[2] The possible functions assumed for such zoomorphic vessels were listed by Ben-Shlomo (2008:40-42) and need not be repeated here. To the various interpretations mentioned by him one should add the suggestion that zoomorphic vessels were babies' feeding bottles (Tubb 2007:293, Fig. 16). However, we agree with most scholars in viewing these objects as cultic libation vessels (e.g., Stern 2006:391, Fig. 4).

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[1] I thank Eran Arie for data concerning this vessel.

[2] Albertz and Schmitt (2012:67) note that such vessels are not found in cultic contexts in the areas of Israel and Judah – but this can be negative evidence, because the number of undisputed, clear cultic places from Israel and Judah is very low.

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CHAPTER 6

ROUND PAINTED POTTERY STANDS

Raz Kletter

Several wheel-made, decorated round pottery stands have been found in the Yavneh repository pit. Since only a sample of the pottery was mended, the round stands could not be fully restored. We present here seven items (several more small fragments were found, possibly belonging to the same vessels). For each stand we give the complete list of baskets of all registered fragments, of which one is chosen as main registration number.

Two larger, wheel-made fenestrated round stands have already been published in *Yavneh I* (Panitz-Cohen 2010:124; Fig. 7.4:2-3; Pls. 170:4; 171-172), but will be mentioned here again.

6.1. DESCRIPTION OF THE PAINTED STANDS

1. Nearly Complete Stand (Pls. 4:2-3; 25:2-4; Fig. 6.1)
Main Reg. No.: L15 B7315/4 (rim fragment)
Details of other baskets and Loci: L13 B7227/96 (rim); L13 B7230 (side); L14 B7233+7274 (side); L14 B7283/1 (side); L15 B7325 (base); L15 B7325/1 (base and side). Total: 11 fragments.
Size: height 153 mm; outer diameter of rim 93 mm, thickness of walls 6-7 mm.
Ware: brown clay, light gray core, few gray grits; applied band, shaved surfaces, alternating bands of white and red-brown; some gray encrustation.

Description: the stand is nearly complete and hollow inside. The rim is simple, the wall nearly vertical with only a slight turning outside at the upper third part of the stand. The base extends outside and ends in a triangular form which is very similar to bases (and also rims) of wheel-made chalices. An applied horizontal band adorns the stand at roughly 2/3 height, with semi-circular 'petals' attached to it, placed slightly diagonally. The stand is decorated by four horizontal bands of red-brown (probably faded) paint, three below and one above the applied band. The surface between the bands was painted white (it is not encrustation, since it does not appear on the red painted bands).

2. Partially Restored Stand – Base Missing (Fig. 6.2; Pl. 26:1-3)
Main Reg. No.: L14 B7283/17 (rim fragment)
Details of other baskets and Loci: L13 B7218/33; L13 B7218; L14 B7232/10 (rim); L14 B7233 (two side fragments); L15 B7445/5 (two side fragments). Total: 10 fragments.
Size: height 132 mm; outer diameter of rim 99 mm, thickness of walls 6-8 mm.
Ware: brown clay, applied band, alternating bands of white and red-brown; some gray encrustation.
Petrography sample: Yavneh 134.

Description: the stand has a simple, rounded vertical rim. The wall is almost entirely vertical. There is a horizontal applied band with 'petals' similar to Stand 1. The stand is decorated with six bands of dark red paint, four below and two above the applied band. The area between them was painted white.

3. Partially Restored Stand – Base Missing (Fig. 6.3; Pl. 26:4)
Main Reg. No.: L13 B7354/85 (rim fragment)
Details of other baskets and Loci: L13 7230/57 (rim); L13 B7230 (two side fragments); L15 B7325 (side); L15 7326; L15 B7332; L15 B7335/72 (side); L16 B7454 (side). Total: 9 fragments.
Size: height 134 mm; outer diameter of rim 96 mm, thickness of walls 6-7mm.
Ware: brown clay, light gray core, alternating bands of whitewash, brown, and dark red; grooves outside.

Description: the walls of the stand are slightly curved and are carinated near the rim, with an extending upper part. The rim is cut nearly straight. There is no applied band, but at about the middle of the stand there are several horizontal, incised grooves. The outside is decorated with five bands of dark-red paint. In addition there are two white-painted bands (mostly missing now), one very wide near the bottom and one much less wide below the carination. The dark-red bands were painted above or at the edges of three wide, lighter red-brown bands: one at bottom; one at center; one near the top).

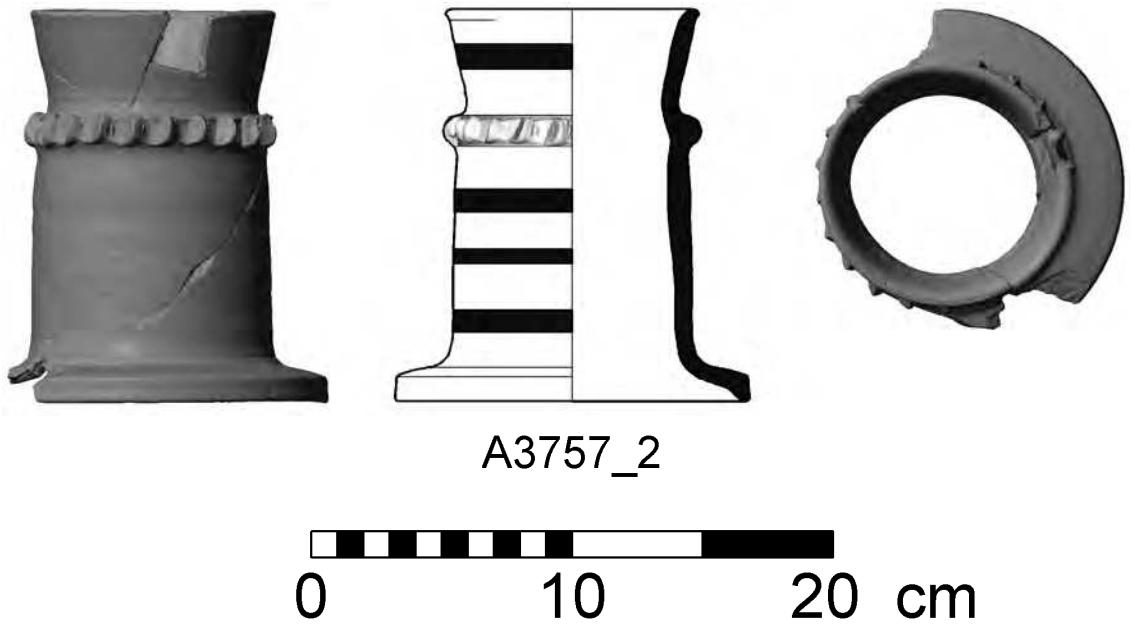


Fig. 6.1: Stand No. 1 (L15 B7315/4)

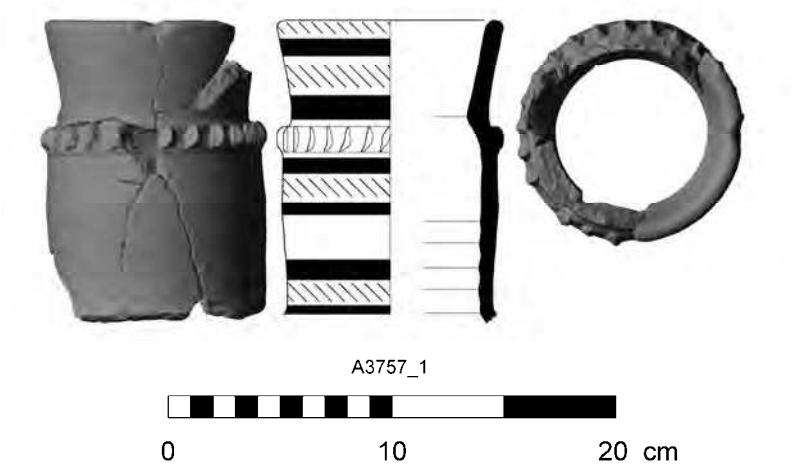


Fig. 6.2: Stand No. 2 (L14 B7283/17)

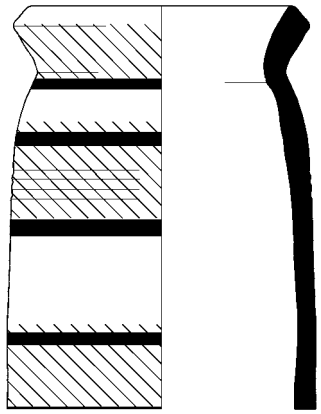


Fig. 6.3: Stand 3 (B7354/85)

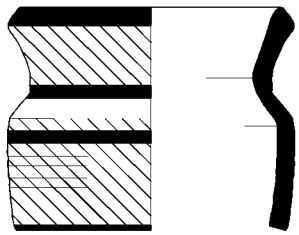


Fig. 6.6: Stand 6 (B7326/2)

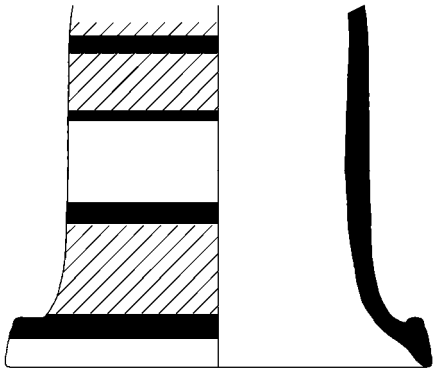


Fig. 6.4: Stand 4 (L15 B7326/1)

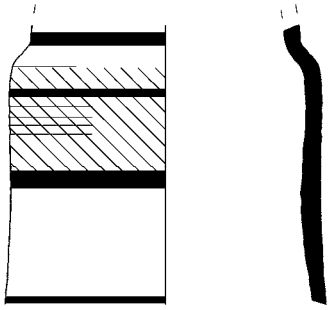


Fig. 6.5: Stand 5 (B7243/81)

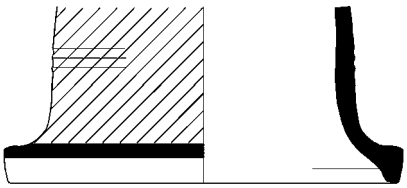


Fig. 6.7: Stand 7 (B7261/67)

4. Partially Restored Stand – Lower Part (Fig. 6.4; Pl. 27:1-2)
Main Reg. No.: L15 B7326/1 (side fragment).
Details of other baskets and Loci: L15 B7309; L15 7325 (three fragments); L15 7326 (two base and two side fragments); L15 B7345 (side); L15 B7370; L15 B7370/12; L15 B7374/85 (side). Total: 14 fragments.
Size: height 118 mm; outer diameter of base 140 (rim missing); thickness of walls 5-6mm.
Ware: brown clay, light gray core, few tiny white grits, bands of dark and red-brown paint, traces of gray encrustation.

Description: the wall is vertical; the base is extended and shaped like chalices' bases/rims. There are four bands of dark-red paint above two wide bands of lighter red paint. If there was white paint it did not survive.

5. Body Part of Stand (Fig. 6.5; Pl. 27:3)
Main Reg. No.: L13 B7243/81
Details of other baskets and Loci: L13 7243; L15 B7345/70; L15 7354/93. Total: 4 fragments.
Size: height 95 mm.
Ware: brown clay, bands of red and brown; grooves outside.

Description: middle part of a stand lacking rim and base. The walls curve near the top. There are three incised horizontal grooves. Four narrow bands of dark-red paint are placed above lighter red wide bands.

6. Body Part of Stand (Fig. 6.6; Pl. 27:5)
Main Reg. No.: L15 B7326/2
Details of other baskets and Loci: L14 7283; L15 B7335/83; L15 7366; L15 B7366/51. Total: 6 fragments.
Size: height 67 mm; diameter of rim c. 7.7 cm
Ware: brown clay, bands of red, white (?) and brown; grooves outside.
Petrography sample: Yavneh 135.

Description: an upper part with a straight, cut rim. The walls are vertical and carinated or curved a few centimeters below the rim. Below the carination there are three horizontal incised grooves. There are traces of 4 dark-red bands of paint; the uppermost is right on the rim. There were placed above wide, lighter red painted areas. On the carination there is probably a white band

7. Base of Stand (Fig. 6.7; Pl. 27:4)
Main Reg. No.: L13 B7261/67
Details of other baskets and Loci: L15 7329. Total: 2 fragments.
Size: height 50 mm.
Ware: brown clay; red and brown paint.

Description: A base fragment. The edge of the base is shaped like bases/rims of chalices. There are two horizontal grooves. There is one narrow band of dark-red paint on the base, above a wide area of lighter red paint.

6.2. DISCUSSION

Two of the stands (Nos. 2 and 6) were chosen for petrographic analysis (see Ben-Shlomo, Chapter 8 in this volume). The results show that both stands were made of clay group 1a, which is the most common at Yavneh. It shows that these round wheel-made stands were locally made.

All the stands were wheel-made and decorated with bands of dark-red, red-brown and white paint (some stands do not show white bands, perhaps due to wear). The dark-red bands are narrow and are often painted over or at the edge of much wider, lighter red painted areas (the lighter red color does not seem to be red-slip, since it does not cover the entire vessel). Two stands have in addition applied bands with semi-circular 'petals' (Stands 1-2) and three stands have delicate grooves (3, 5-7).

The horizontal bands with semi-circular 'petals' (Stands 1-2) recall on the one hand the bands with 'rope'-like decoration on the Yavneh cult stands; but on the other hand may be a much more schematic form of the drooping leaves found in capitals on cult stands (e.g., Ziffer 2010:79-81) and on chalices at Yavneh (Panitz-Cohen 2010:122).

The bases of the stands were harder to retrieve in comparison to other parts, since they resemble in shape and in size the bases of chalices, which exist in very large numbers, and often are also decorated with paint. The walls

of the stands are nearly vertical, while those of chalices slant inward, having a much narrower middle part at the connection to the bowl. Of course, with only a base fragment, the wall position is not always clear.

These round stands are quite sturdy vessels, without parts that protrude much or are applied and can easily be broken (the only application is the decorated row of "leaves"). Yet they were found broken to pieces and dispersed in the pit – in the lower loci (L13-L16).[1] The four more complete stands (Nos. 1-4) had each 9 to 14 fragments. Concerning stands 1-3, fragments of each have been found in three Loci (Stands 1-2: L13-15; Stand 3: L13, 15-16). However, all the registered fragments from Stand 4 were found in one Locus (L15). Even the small parts (Nos. 5-7) with few fragments originated each from two Loci. Although definite proof is lacking, this data suggests that the round stands were broken on purpose before or when thrown into the pit. The same seems true also for the two heavier, fenestrated stands published in *Yavneh I* (Panitz-Cohen 2010:124), which have very thick and strong walls, yet were also found broken. The lack of round stand fragments from Locus 12 – if not random – may relate to its different content (mainly cult stands and chalices, and very few bowls, Panitz-Cohen 2010:111; perhaps the round stands were thrown into the pit at a stage when bowls were also thrown in large numbers, that is, Loci 13 and 15, since both types were related in function).

The only conceivable use of these round painted stands is to hold bowl-like vessels at the top (compare for fenestrated round stands Mazar 1980:95). They are hollow and lack a base, so they cannot serve as containers. For Tell Qasile Mazar (1980:95) suggested that the bowls held offerings of food. At Yavneh the bowls found in the pit carry clear signs of burning and we think that they served for incense offering. None of the round painted/fenestrated stands at Yavneh shows signs of burning, since fire was not burning in them, but in bowls placed above them. Three stands have rims that can indicate the size of the bowls placed on them. Stands 1-2 accommodate a vessel diameter of c. 9.5 cm at the rim while stand No. 6 a slightly smaller vessel. Bowls were placed so that their lower part rested on the stand. The bowl base had to be narrower, being inside (below the rim of) the stand. The Yavneh stands fit well the bowls found in the repository pit. For example, the most common bowl type was c. 15-18 mm wide at the rim and had a small disc base (Panitz-Cohen 2010: Table 7.1, Fig. 7.1:3-15). It fitted perfectly the size of Stands 1-2. Bowls that may be too small or too large to fit the stands are rare in the pit.

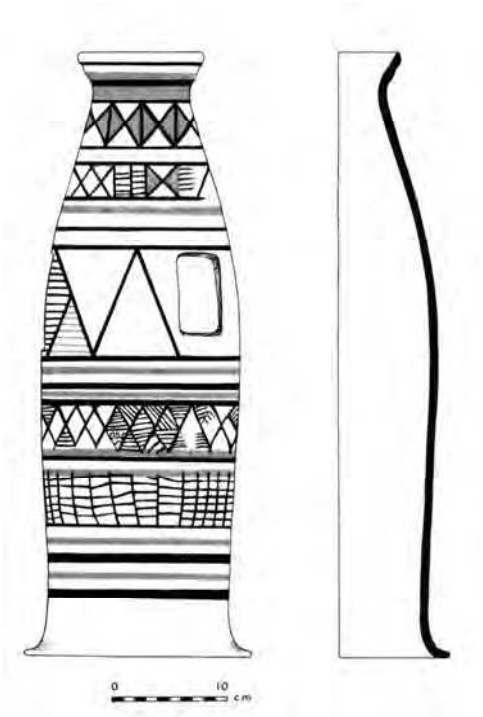
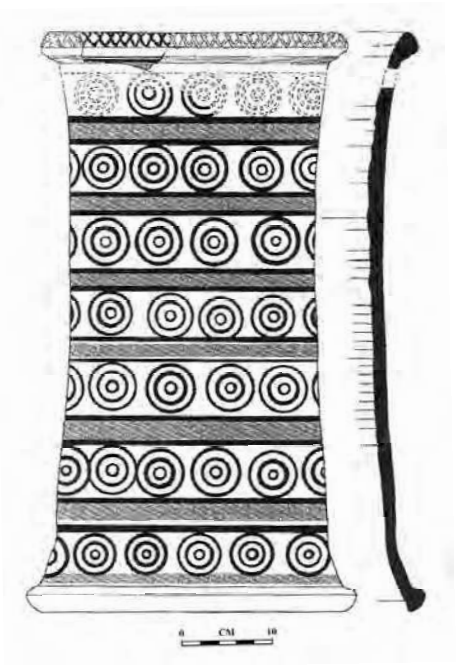


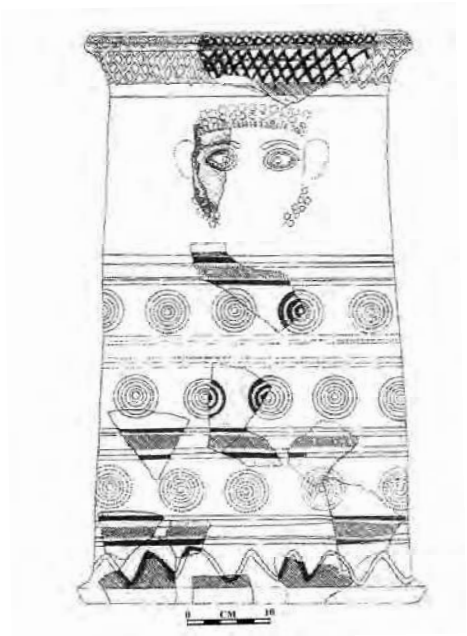
Figure 6.8: Fenestrated Stand, Tell Qasile
After Mazar 1980: Fig. 27

The heavier, hand-made stands with fenestrations often had narrow rims and were used with bowls that had a narrow, 'funnel' like solid leg. Such bowls are sometimes found together with the fenestrated round-stands, in cultic contexts, proving their use together. Examples were found at Lachish Shrine Room 49 (Iron II, Aharoni 1975: Pls. 26; 43:1-6; Zuckerman 2012:60, Fig. 3); at Tel 'Amal (Iron II, Levy and Edelstein 1972: Fig. 16:6-7); at Megiddo (May 1935: Pls. 19-20); at 'En Ḥaṣevah (Ben Arieh 2011:127-131, Fig. 17);[2] and at Tell Qasile (mainly with bird-bowls, Iron I, Mazar 1980:96-100; cf. Morstadt 2008: Pls. 33-34; 63:33-34) (Fig. 6.8). Another early Iron Age fenestrated stand was recently discovered at Tell Abu Kharaz in central Jordan, with one chalice nearby and one chalice inside its top. The top of the stand is broken or worn-out and it was not intended in origin for chalices, but most probably for bowls – the chalice leg had to be cut in order to fit inside the stand. The preliminary reports also mention dark spots on the stand and in the chalice bowl (Bürge 2012; Fischer 2012: 177: Fig. 15). These stands are sometimes painted too, in addition to being fenestrated, and the decoration fits the one used on pottery of the period/area in general (see Mazar 1980: 95, Fig. 27). We do not have narrow-legged bowls at Yavneh, however; and the rim parts of the two fenestrated round stands were not retrieved, so their diameters are unclear.

[1] One should remember that we did not mend all the pottery from the pit. The upper/surface Loci (L7-L11), which were much more damaged, were not chosen for mending. Thus it is possible that a few missing fragments existed in these Loci. Locus 15 is the richest in number of finds and accordingly, many fragments originated from it.

[2] Fenestrated stands can be small, as the many small stands topped by attached bowls from 'En Ḥaṣevah show (Ben Arieh 2011: 132-145, Figs. 20-30). Almost all of them show traces of soot on the bowl rim.





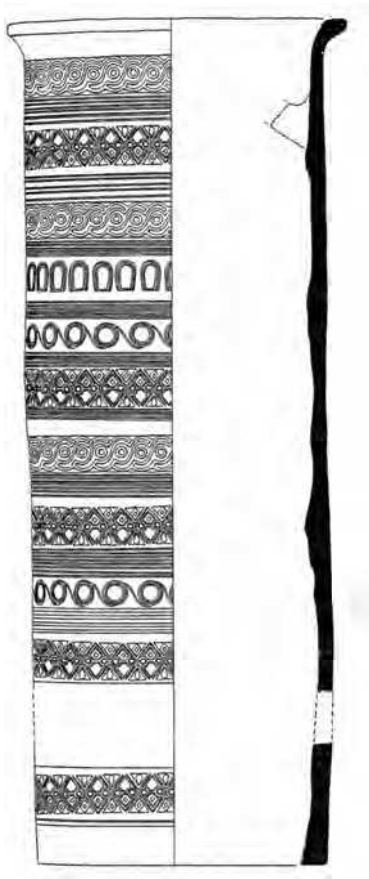


Fig. 6.9 (Left): Stand from Tel Dan, Pakman 2003: Fig. 4
Fig. 6.10 (Middle): Stand from Tel Dan, Pakman 2003: Fig. 7
Fig. 6.11: Stand from Azoria, after Haggis 2004: Fig. 33

Not all the fenestrated stands had narrow rims, see for example a fenestrated round stand from Cave 1 in Jerusalem (Eshel and Prag 1995: Pl. 31:12).[3]

Painted, relatively small round wheel-made stands are much rarer than chalices. There are very beautiful chalices published from Tell eṣ-Ṣafi, similar to those at Yavneh (Shai and Maeir 2012: Pl. 14.21); but painted round stands have not been reported from this site so far. They are also rare in comparison to larger, round fenestrated stands (see Mazar 1980:87-96). In discussing cult stands one tends to focus on stands that have figurative decoration (which can also be round – Ashdod, Tell Qasile). In function stands without figures are not necessarily different from stands that have figures (cf. Frevel 2003:149-154).

At Tel Dan, a complete cylindrical stand (height 65 cm, rim diameter 32 cm) was found the cultic area, dated to the 9th century (Fig. 6.9). It is decorated with horizontal bands of red and black, with alternating bands of concentric black circles; and is much larger than the Yavneh stands (Biran 1992:158, 160, Fig. 134; Pakman 2003:198, Figs. 3-4). Pakman (2003) noticed that such style of decoration appears in Cilicia at roughly the same time, but assumed that the origin is Phoenician. However, close parallel not just in decoration, but in the vessels' shape exists with a stand of the 7th-6th centuries from Azoria in Crete (Fig. 6.11) (Haggis 2004:Fig. 33). Another large, fragmented stand from Tel Dan carried mask-like faces (Fig. 6.10, estimated height 70 cm) (Pakman 2003: Figs. 5-8).

Small (9-20 cm high and 12-18 cm rim diameter) Late Bronze Age, decorated, fenestrated Mycenaean and Minoan stands were found in various contexts. Larger hourglass-shaped stands from the Dodecanese (30-45 cm height and 29-32 cm rim diameter) are decorated with horizontal bands of paint. The stands were probably used to support kraters; one was found with a krater placed on it. Kraters served for mixing wine and water in banquets and rituals (Kountouri 2005; Betancourt et al. 1983).

Tall, rounded incense stands are known from Neo-Assyrian and Achamenid scenes of banquets and libations; they often have lids above the bowls. Similar stands without lids (*pyraeum*) are shown in the Lachish reliefs as booty taken from the Judean City, proving their use in Iron Age II Judah; they too were incense stands (Invernizzi 1997:241-247; Morstadt 2008: Var 1 and Pl. 28). Similar forms of incense stands, but without the lids, thrive in the Hellenistic period all over Asia (Invernizzi 1997:248-257). The use of at least some of these stands as incense burners is proven from depictions that show flames originating from the top.

[3] Two items from Tell Qasile Shrine 300 are wide stands for jars, not similar to the Yavneh painted stands; Mazar 1908:96; Mazar 1985: Pls. Figs. 32:12; 45:1.

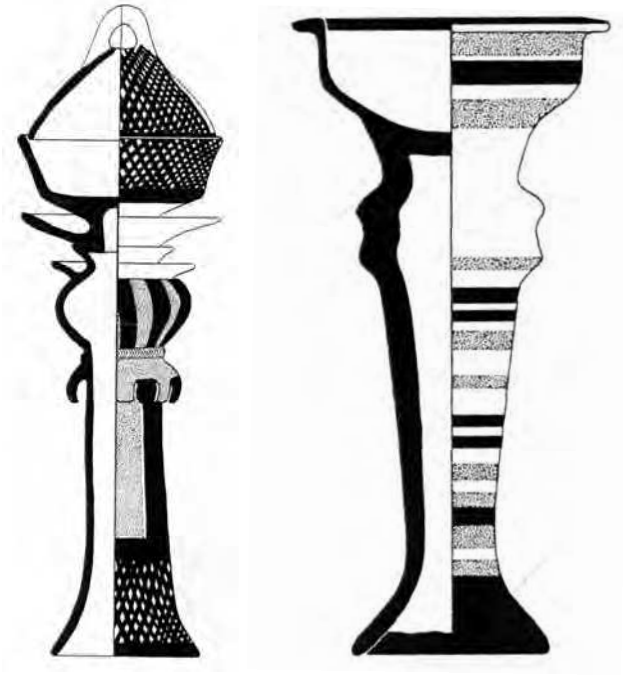


Fig. 6.12 (left): Stand, Karageorghis 1996: Fig. 35
Fig. 6.13 (right): Stand, Karageorghis 1996: Fig. 64

Phoenician round incense burners (*thymiateria*) made of metal, stone and clay are known all over the Mediterranean world throughout the entire first Millennium BC and are often decorated with drooping petals (Figs. 6.12-13). Numerous examples, also from depictions on seals and reliefs, were collected in an updated catalogue by Morstadt (2008; cf. Culican 1980).

We should mention here also the tall incense stand flanked by two naked men in the unique figurative krater from late Iron Age Tell Nimrin (Jordan Valley; Dornemann 1995:625, Fig. 11).

Clay examples of incense burners/stands appear in Cyprus in the Cypro-Archaic period. The Cypriot stands are composed of a round stand topped by a (detachable or built-in) bowl. They are often decorated with drooping leaves and black and red painted patterns (Karageorghis 1996:78-80). Some of these are comparable to the Yavneh stands in having horizontal bands of paint, but they are different in form.

The small, painted Yavneh stands are so far unique in that we have not found exact complete parallels. One finds fragments of painted stands, for example at Megiddo Level V (May 1935: Pl. 35:1, painted with black and red bands), but they are not similar in size and details of paint.

In Jerusalem, fragments of painted round stands have been found in Area W in the Jewish Quarter, some in Iron Age II Loci (8th-7th centuries) and others not *in situ* (de Groot, Geva and Yezerski 2003:14-15; Photo 1.12). Some have bands of grooves and some are also fenestrated; they carry a decoration in black, white and red bands. Similar fragments have been found in Stratum 12, Area E in Shiloh's excavations (8th century; de Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012:96, Fig. 4.10:2-5; Photo 4.85).

At Ashdod, one painted base fragment Area D Stratum 3b may belong to a stand, but seems more likely to be a chalice base (Dothan 1971: Figs 49:10). One also notes that necks of decorated jugs are quite similar in shape, and a few could perhaps be part of stands and not of jugs; however, this cannot be ascertained from the drawings (e.g., Dothan 1967: Fig. 41:19).

Many of the bowls at Yavneh, with their rounded bases and relatively small to medium size, could fit the Yavneh stands. Thus, the stands are a variation on the theme of chalices. Instead of having a one-piece legged-bowl, the stand is the 'leg' on which a separately-made bowl is mounted. The advantage is that the bowls can be replaced while the 'leg' part stands remain functional for use with many bowls. This is an economic benefit, since only the bowl would be disposed of after each use, not the entire vessel; a bowl requires less clay for manufacture and is easier and faster to make than a chalice. In the context of a temple, the differences between the two vessel-types are subtle: worshippers could bring a chalice or a bowl as a one-time offering. The chalice is "self-sufficient"; while the bowl could be placed on the round stands.

Economic reasons were maybe a benefit, but not the main reason for the use of such round stands at Yavneh. Many of the Yavneh bowls have stable bases and can stand independently on a flattened floor. If putting a bowl on the floor or even on a bench was acceptable, the potters could have avoided manufacturing bowls with rounded bases, and there would also be no reason for placing bowls on round stands. There must have been some other reason why the preferred mode of incense burning with bowls was in a high-footed stand. Notice that many other vessels related to incense burning (such as the Yavneh chalices and the various high metal and stone *thymiateria* collected in Morstadt 2008) also have similar high 'leg' parts.[4] Why was a position elevated from the ground preferred for incense burning?

There is no evidence that higher elevation prolongs the time of burning, as the differences of a few dozen centimeters should have no influence here. However, smoke coming from incense is enjoyed by smelling, and smelling is more effective nearer the source of smell (but not too near, when fire is involved). The human nose is located high up in the head, and bending down to a bowl lying on the ground is inconvenient for humans. Presuma-

[4] This is not an absolute rule – there were also relatively low, portable stone incense 'altars', like the one restored and published in Yavneh I (Zwickel 2010).

bly, the enjoyment of deities from incense was conceived in similar ways to that of humans – they were not supposed to bend down ungraciously towards the ground. Humans conceive of deities in anthropomorphic terms, even if they have no definite or visible form.

There are thousands of bowls and chalices at Yavneh, indicating that an offering using these two vessel types was the most common one at Yavneh. Of course, we should remember that offerings could involve perishable materials, leaving behind few material records; and they most likely included also prayers and vows, that is, spoken words, which we cannot trace from the Yavneh pit. Not the bowl (or the chalice) was offered *per se*, but its contents. At Yavneh both chalices and bowls show burning remains and analysis of residues from chalices indicate the use of plants (Namdar et al. 2010). Almost no bones were found in the pit; the few dog bones were not burnt and therefore not related to the chalices/bowls (Horowitz, Chapter 10 in this volume). We conclude that the offering made in the bowls and chalices was of incense.

To sum up this chapter, bowls with incense were placed on the painted wheel-made stands; and on the fenestrated stands too. The stands stood in a temple at Yavneh, which was not found so far. The round stands functioned many times, while the bowls were single-use vessels. Once the incense finished burning in a bowl, it ended its cultic role, was removed from the stand and put in a temporary storage place. The vessels accumulated and the storage space was limited, so periodically the "spent" bowls, together with other remains of offerings kept in the temple, were taken for ritual burial, where we have discovered them nearly 3000 years later.

We leave two questions open at this stage. The first is whether the round stands were part of the temple's paraphernalia, or, perhaps just like bowls, were also votive offerings? The second is whether the relation between the number of the bowls and that of the round stands can teach us something about the time-period of accumulation of vessels represented by the pit? We will treat these questions in the conclusions (Chapter 18, in this volume).

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CHAPTER 7

THE 'PLAIN' POTTERY – TYPOLOGICAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL ASPECTS

Nava Panitz-Cohen

7.1. INTRODUCTION

The present study comprises the second and final stage in the analysis of the 'plain' pottery from the Yavneh 'Temple Hill' *favissa*,[1] joining the results of the initial research published in *Yavneh I* (Panitz-Cohen 2010). This study was undertaken with the goal of presenting a more comprehensive picture of the *favissa*'s 'plain' ceramic contents and to further examine formation processes of this unique context. The results show that the quantitative and qualitative trends identified in the first stage of the study are maintained for the entire body of material. The chronological and regional conclusions remain valid as well. In the present study, technological features were closely examined in order to attempt to identify the level and mode of production, particularly of the numerous chalices found in the *favissa*, which demonstrate a range of unique formation techniques and features. Study of this variability has led to insights concerning production processes and consumption practices of the priests and patrons of the temple, whom we surmise were the main agents in the creation of the *favissa*.

7.2. STRATIGRAPHIC SUMMARY

The full stratigraphic details of the pit are presented in Kletter (2010a:23–24), and a brief summary of the location of loci in the pit and field observations concerning the distribution of the pottery in these loci appears in Panitz-Cohen (2010*:*111). For the readers' convenience, the latter information is repeated here, in order to provide a contextual background for this chapter.

The non-horizontal nature of the deposition, along with the arbitrary sectioning of the pit into two parts, made separation of layers difficult. However, it is clear that the upper layer of the pit included a large amount of cult stands and chalices in reddish soil (Loci 12, 14); under it was a change in soil to a soft gray ashy layer (Loci 13, 15). The upper edge of Loci 13 and 15 sloped down from southwest towards the northeast. In the east Locus 13 reached the bottom of the pit, but in the west a change to reddish earth was noticed below Locus 15, in a shallow area at the bottom of the pit, designated Locus 16. During the excavation it was noted that Loci 12 and 14 contained a huge amount of broken chalices, as well as complete and restorable cult stands. Loci 13 and 15 contained many bowls and fewer chalices, and also many fragments of cult stands, juglets and other vessels. Locus 16, the lowest in the pit, included numerous fragments of cultic stands, but also regular pottery, mainly bowls. During work on the finds, after the excavation, we have noticed that three baskets excavated under L14, just prior to its closure, show the same nature of finds as of L15 and perhaps belonged to it, and not to L14. The 'mix' is probably the result of the hurried, pressured mode of excavation. In order not to blur the distinct layers, we marked these baskets as L14b (B7283, B7287, B7292).

The impression in the field, which was substantiated during the processing of the finds, was that the various Loci and layers do not represent stratified deposition over a considerable time, but the result of the particular formation process of the pit, which entailed deliberate dumping of the objects into the pit, most likely in a single episode (Kletter 2010b:48-54; Panitz-Cohen 2010:128-129).

[1] The term *favissa* is employed in this chapter for the sake of convenience, although the designation "repository" is more apt, see Kletter (2010b:110, no. 1).

7.3. METHODOLOGY

A total of 41 baskets from Loci 12-14, 14b and 15 (12,835 sherds) were examined and counted on a typological basis in the present study (Table 7.1). These join 14 baskets from Loci 14-16 (6102 sherds) published in *Yavneh I* (Panitz-Cohen 2010). Thus, 55 of the total 212 baskets recovered from the pit have been included in our analysis (18,937 sherds). This sample, representing a little over a quarter (26%) of the total amount of baskets, is considered representative of the entire assemblage, as it reflects all the contexts in the pit (except surface loci). The very high degree of homogeneity in almost all aspects of typology and technology between the two stages of this study support the conclusion that this is a representative sample of the entire corpus of 'plain' pottery in the *favissa*.

Table 7.1: Distribution of Baskets per Locus (Total 12,835 Sherds)

Locus	Basket	No. of sherds registered
12	7160	308
	7162	172
	7164	207
	7171	274
	7173	274
	7182	216
	7190	153
	7192	125
	7195	240
	7197	14
13	7206	527
	7218	554
	7227	560
	7230	302
	7232	615
	7253	17
14	7271	345
	7280	226
	7281	437
14b	7283	243
	7287	127
	7292	365
15	7309	460
	7314	351
	7315	633
	7316	381
	7325	502
	7326	128
	7328	303
	7329	340
	7332	192
	7335	196
	7338	216
	7345	479
	7352	558
	7354	976
	7358	407
	7360	412

The sherds from each basket were counted on a typological basis, utilizing the typology formulated for the first stage of the research, to which a few newly defined types or subtypes were added. Surface treatment (slip, burnish, painting) was registered, as was the size of the preserved rim circumference of the bowls and chalices in order to attempt to reconstruct the amount of vessels in the *favissa* (see part 7.4 below). The same registration codes used in the first stage (Panitz-Cohen 2010:135) were used in the present study, with few additions (see Appendix A).

As in the first stage of the analysis, an attempt was made at restoration.[2] However, lack of proper facilities to simultaneously spread out the numerous sherds and especially the sheer quantity of thousands of similar small sherds made restoration extremely difficult and in fact, its yield was very low. This does not necessarily mean that each sherd represents a vessel; but rather points to the high degree of standardization of the pottery and homogeneity of the types, as well as the breakage pattern.

7.4. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Quantitative analysis was conducted on the assemblage in the present study with the goal of attempting to reconstruct the amount of vessels that had been discarded in the *favissa*. A total of 12,835 sherds were counted in the present study, registered in a Microsoft Access Data Base (Table 7.2).[3] Of these, 3572 were rims and only three were complete vessels, 16 were almost complete vessels and six were complete profiles. This indicates the extremely fragmentary nature of the assemblage, identical to the situation in the first stage of the study (Panitz-Cohen 2010:110).

The amount of sherds counted in the first stage of the study was 6102 (Panitz-Cohen 2010:111; Table 7.1). Together with the present count (12,835), a total of 18,937 sherds were counted from the *favissa*.[4] Obviously, this 'raw' number does not reflect the true amount of vessels in the sample, particularly in light of the breakage pattern of the main vessel types, the bowls and chalices, into numerous small pieces. In an assemblage of such a fragmentary nature, where the sherds were often no more than 2-3 cm in size and restoration proved virtually impossible, a raw count reflects the scope of breakage, but certainly not the actual amount of vessels.

In order to refine our estimate of the number of vessels in the *favissa*, we applied a method that was not used in the previous stage of research, namely, the counting of the rim-circumference factor. This method entails measuring each rim sherd against the reconstructed rim circumference of the vessel, which is divided into eighths (Mazar 1985a: 2124; Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2001:10-14). This method allowed us to divide the total rim circumference count of the type by eight and thus to arrive at an estimated minimum number of vessels. The circumference was measured by plotting the rim sherd on a pre-prepared drawing of rim circumference sizes divided into 'slices' of eighths. Thus, for example, if we counted 150 rim sherds of a certain bowl type in one basket, and the rim circumference factor added up to 280 eighths, we can say that these 150 sherds (which theoretically could rep-resent 150 vessels) represent 35 complete bowls. This is a misleading figure, as one assumes that the fragments that add up to 8/8 represent one bowl; however, this is not necessarily the case.

The results of the rim circumference factor count (Table 7.3) show that the 3572 rim sherds (bowls, chalices, jugs, juglets, lamps) represent 652 vessels. This would be c. 18% of the total sherds counted, showing a ratio of one vessel per c. 20 rim sherds. The breakdown (Table 7.3) shows that bowls were indeed dominant in Loci 13 and 15 (and also L14b); and much fewer in Loci 12 and 14, as was already noticed during the excavation. However, chalices were numerous in both Loci 12 and 15.

The figure of 652 vessels culled from the rim circumference count is only a partial indicator of the total amount of vessels in the *favissa*, as it is based on a count of 12,835 items, which comprises 68% of the sample of 18,935 items in the two stages of the pottery study and 19% of the entire 212 baskets recovered in the excavation. If we assume that 652 vessels represent 19% of the entire pottery vessels, theoretically there could have been a total of c. 3250 vessels in

[2] Restoration of almost all the 'plain' pottery was conducted by the late Gabi Gilboa.

[3] This count does not include round decorated stands (Kletter, Chapter 6 in this volume).

[4] While 26% of the Yavneh baskets were subjected to quantitative typological analysis, we cannot say that the 18,937 sherds counted represent 26% of the total sherds, since each basket can contain a variable amount of sherds (see Table 7.1). However, the huge amount of sherds counted within this partial framework can indicate that thousands of additional sherds, and associated amount of vessels, were present in the pit.

the pit. Using the ratio of 53% bowls and 45% chalices in the present count (see below), this means that there were roughly 1720 bowls and 1400 chalices, with the rest of the sherds representing minority types, such as small juglets and lamps.

On the level of class, bowls and chalices comprised the overwhelmingly dominant components of the assemblage (53% and 45% respectively), with a tiny amount of small closed vessels, mostly black juglets (2%), as well as a few lamps (less than 1%). Only one small body sherd of a small closed Cypriot Black-on-Red (B.O.R.) vessel and two small sherds of Cypriot White Painted juglets (possibly belonging to the same vessel: Fig. 7.3:13-14) were identified, since all of the Cypriot imports were extracted from the loci during excavation and were all registered in the database of the first volume. For a discussion of the imports see Smith (Chapter 8, in this volume).

Table 7.2: Quantitative Distribution, Vessel Classes per Locus (all Sherds)

Vessel class	Locus 12		Locus 13		Locus 14		Locus 14b		Locus 15		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bowls	66	3	1893	74	182	19	524	68	4206	64	6871	53
Chalices	1909	96	649	25	787	81	233	30	2243	34	5853	45
Juglets	1	-	24	1	3	-	4	1	60	2	92	2
Jugs	1	-	7	-	-		2	-	12	-	22	-
Amphora/ Storage jar	1	-	1	-	-		1	-	1	-	4	-
Pyxis	-		-		1	-	-		-		1	
Lamps	5	1	-		2	-	5	1	10	-	22	-
Cypriot	-		1	-	-		-		2		3	-
Total	1983		2575		974		769		6534		12,835	

Note: All sherds counted; percentages rounded off; percentages less than 1 not included.

Table 7.3: Quantitative Distribution, Vessel Classes per Locus (Rim Circumference Factor*)

Vessel class	Locus 12		Locus 13		Locus 14		Locus 14b		Locus 15		Total	
	N	Rm/Cf	N	Rm/Cf	N	Rm/Cf	N	Rm/Cf	N	Rm/Cf	N	Rm/Cf
Bowls	66	108/8= 14	682	1042/8= 130	24	37/8= 5	262	382/8= 48	1927	2616/8= 327	2961	525
Chalices	229	483/8= 60	69	151/8= 19	51	95/8= 12	29	64/8= 8	206	364/8= 46	584	145
Jugs	1	4	1	3	-		-		1	1	3	
Juglets	-		1	1	-		-		-		1	
Amphora/ Storage jar	1	1	-		-		-		-		1	
Lamps	5	10/8= 1	-		2	10/8= 1	5	5/8**	10	10/8= 1	22	3
Total	302	*20*	753	*153*	77	*18*	296	*56*	2144	*405*	3572	*652*

Notes: N = registered rim fragments (codes 4, 8, 10, 11); Rm/Cf= rim circumference factor (in eighths).

*Does not include complete, almost complete or complete profiles.

** Not counted as a complete vessel.

7.5. SURFACE TREATMENT

The same trends in surface treatment identified in 2010 held true for the present analysis too (Tables 7.4-5).

Table 7.4: Distribution of Red Slip and Burnish per Type (Indicative and Body Sherds)

Slip & Burnish type*/Type	1a	1b	1c	1d	2a	2b	2c	2d	3	3a	3b	3c	3d	4	Total
BL	580	85	3	66	140	31	-	46	1	187	97	3	160	1	1400
BL1	4	11	-	9	1	13	1	2	-	-	5	1	2	-	49
BL2	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	5
BL3	36	323	12	93	2	115	2	54	1	12	73	1	23	-	747
BL3a	5	118	2	42	2	77	-	11	-	1	28	-	12	-	296
BL5	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
BL6a	13	10	-	16	-	12	-	7	-	-	5	-	6	-	69
BL6b	3	17	1	12	2	15	2	4	-	2	6	1	4	-	69
BL7	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
BL8	-	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	9
BL9	2	26	-	1	-	7	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	37
CH	47	58	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	108
CH1a	-	2	-	-	1	7	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	12
CH1b	1	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
CH1c	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
CH1d	1	10	-	-	3	15	1	1	-	-	3	-	1	-	35
CH2	1	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	7
CH4	3	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
JG	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
JT	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4
Total	699	674	22	241	156	300	8	125	3	206	225	6	209	2	2874

*Codes for slip/burnish type: 1a- red inside; 1b- red inside and outside; 1c- red outside; 1d- red inside and partially outside; 2a- red and horizontal hand burnish inside; 2b- red and horizontal hand burnish inside and outside; 2c- red and horizontal hand burnish outside; 2d- red and horizontal hand burnish inside and partially outside; 3- red and irregular burnish outside; 3a- red and irregular burnish inside; 3b- red and irregular burnish inside and outside; 3c- red and irregular burnish outside; 3d- red and irregular burnish inside and partially outside; 4- red and wheel burnish.

Table 7.5: Distribution of Painted Decoration per Type

Paint/ Type	Black lines	Red lines	Red and Black design	Red hatches on rim	Black hatches on rim	Red band on rim
BL	4	2	1	-	-	-
BL1	1	-	-	-	-	1
BL3	2	-	-	-	-	2
CH	1	-	3	-	-	-
CH1a	-	-	-	1	-	1
CH1b	-	-	1	1	-	-
CH1c	-	-	1	-	-	-
CH1d	-	-	-	-	1	1
CH2	2	-	2	-	-	-
JT	2					
JG	1					
PX	-	-	1	-	-	-

Red slip was the most common surface treatment on the bowls, comprising 39% of all the bowls, with 37% of these also burnished. Horizontal hand burnish was the most common (21%), followed by irregular burnish (16%), while wheel burnish was negligible, found on only one bowl sherd and one juglet sherd (Table 7.4). Only 3% of the chalices were red-slipped, but not burnished.

The chalices also followed the same decorative patterns as in the initial study, with 52% covered with a chalky white slip and a miniscule amount also painted in red and black on the white slip (Table 7.5; Fig. 7.3). Another painted vessel is a body fragment of a pyxis (Fig. 7.3:11).

7.6. PATTERNS OF BURNING

One of the parameters examined in the present study was the pattern of burning on the bowls and chalices, with the aim of exploring possible deliberate acts that reflect either usage or deposition rites. This examination shows that 26% of the sherds (3254 out of 12,835) are burnt. When breaking this down between bowls and chalices, we see that 35.8% of the bowls are burnt (2460 of 6871) and 13.5% of the chalices are burnt (794 of 5853 chalices).

Table 7.6: Location of Burning per Type (Bowls and Chalices)

Type/ Location	Inside	Outside	Inside & outside	Inside & outer rim	Under inner rim	Inner & outer rim	Total
BL*	582	8	611	-	-	-	1201
BL1	18	-	23	9	-	1	51
BL2	1	-	2	-	-	-	3
BL3	130	9	602	15	-	5	761
BL3a	48	8	168	-	-	4	228
BL4	-	-	6	1	1	2	10
BL5	-	-	5	-	-	-	5
BL6a	22	5	82	1	-	-	110
BL6b	16	1	19	1	-	1	38
BL7	1	-	3	-	-	-	4
BL8	1	-	6	-	-	-	7
BL9	8	-	33	-	-	1	42
CH*	442	22	48	-	-	-	512
CH1a	18	-	2	1	-	-	21
CH1b	41	4	24	-	5	-	74
CH1c	50	1	8	1	7	-	67
CH1d	15	21	-	-	-	-	36
CH2	38	3	12	5	-	-	58
CH3	9	-	1	-	-	-	10
CH4	8	-	7	1	-	-	16
Total	1448	82	1662	35	13	14	3254

*Typologically unindicative body sherds

Looking at the patterns relating to the location of the burning on the bowls, it can be seen that 33.6% (827 of the 2460 burnt bowls) are burnt inside only, 63.4% are burnt inside and outside (1560 of 2460), 1.3% (31 of 2460) are burnt outside only, and only 1.1% (27 of 2460) are burnt on the inside and on the outer rim. Negligible amounts are burnt on the rim top only. This conclusion is limited by the fact that the examined sherds are mostly small body or rim sherds and do not necessary reflect the true pattern that would be obtained if complete vessels were being examined. However, it seems that this data can point to a general trend. Thus, it can be said that most of the bowls are burnt on both the inside and the outside, while half that amount are burnt only on the inside. Looking at the patterns relating to the location of the burning on the chalice bowls, it can be seen that most (78%) of the burnt chalices bear

traces of soot on the inside of the bowl (621 of the 794 burnt chalices), 3.9% are burnt on the outside of the bowl (31 of 794), 12.8% are burnt on the inside and the outside (102 of 794) and negligible amounts are burnt on the inside and on the rim of the bowl, or just on the rim (inside and outside).[5] Twelve chalice bowls of Types CH1b and CH1c bore burning on the interior just under the rim, a pattern that was caused by some deliberate action and not random burning. According to Namdar, Neumann and Weiner (2010:169), this action would have involved the slow burning of plant oil or tallow mixed with fragrant substances, leaving traces only on the rim.

7.7. TYPOLOGY

All of the types that were defined in the first stage of this study were identified in the present analysis too, and will not be discussed again here (see Panitz-Cohen 2010:115–121). Only two new bowl types (BL8, BL9) and two new chalice bowl-types (CH3, CH4) were added to the corpus in the present analysis. A small number of variations of existing types were identified, particularly related to the shape of the chalice foot (CHC). However, these new types were not frequent and do not basically change the picture obtained in the previous stage of the analysis. All in all, the corpus remains highly standardized and typologically homogeneous.

7.7.1. BOWLS

The bowl component of the assemblage remains the same as in the previous study, both in quantity and in quality. Only two new bowl types (BL8 and BL9) were identified in this stage of the analysis; in fact, both were already noted in the first stage of the study, but were represented there by only one or two examples each. In the present study, although more were identified, these types remain relatively rare. These two types are described here. For the other bowl types see Panitz-Cohen 2010:115-120).

The pattern of breakage is also very similar to that identified in the first stage of analysis, with most of the bowls shattered into small pieces and body sherds outnumbering the indicative rim sherds. A relatively large amount of bowl sherds were burnt, mostly inside or inside and outside (see Table 7.6).

The most common bowl type is BL3 and its subtype, BL3a, is the second most common type (Table 7.7). Together, they comprise the overwhelming majority of the bowls in the present sample (82% of all the bowls), as they did in the assemblage of the first stage of this pottery study (Panitz-Cohen 2010: Table 7.3). Other bowl types were found in relatively miniscule amounts, with BL6a and BL 6b together being the next most common types, followed closely by BL1. However, these were not nearly as frequent as BL3 and BL3a. It thus can be concluded that there was one dominant type of bowl used as an offering in the *favissa* (BL3 and its subtype BL3a), be it for its contents or for itself.

Bowl Type 8 (Fig. 7.1:1)

This is a shallow small to medium-sized bowl (12-15 cm rim diameter) with a carination just at or below mid-body. The walls are thin and relatively delicate. The rim is plain, either round-topped or slightly tapering. The only complete example (Fig. 7.1:1) has a wide rounded base, although parallels show that such a type could also have had a small ring or disc base (i.e., Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2001: Pl. 5:16; Shai and Maeir 2012: Pl. 14.2:7-8). The complete example has irregular hand burnish inside and outside.

BL8 can be compared to the bowl shown in Panitz-Cohen 2010: Fig. 7.2:6, where it was designated as 'varia', since only one such bowl was found. Only 15 examples of BL8 were found in the present study and thus, it remains a very rare type in the assemblage. Comparisons cited in Panitz-Cohen (2010:119), point to a 9th-early 8th century BCE date range (Arad Stratum XI, Gezer Stratum VI, Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath Stratum A3, Lachish Locus 4421).

Bowl Type 9 (Fig. 7.1:2)

This is a medium-sized bowl (15-19 cm diameter) with a thickened hammer-head rim, either horizontal or slightly angled in. This type was designated as varia in the first stage of the analysis (Panitz-Cohen 2010: Fig. 7.2:9-10), as only two examples were found. The present analysis identified 72 rim sherds that belong to this type.

[5] In their residue analysis of the chalices, Namdar, Neumann and Weiner (2010:169) state that "no burning signs appear on the items' bases or body parts, however, soot remains were detected close to the rims, both in their inner and outer parts." The present study identified a high number of burnt bowl interiors too.

Comparisons to this type of bowl, cited in Panitz-Cohen (2010:120), point to a 10th-9th/early 8th century BCE date range (Lachish Strata V-IV and Locus 4421, Tel Batash/Timnah Stratum IV, Ashdod Strata X-IX, Gezer Stratum VII, Kuntillat 'Ajrud).

Table 7.7: Quantitative Distribution of Bowl Types per Locus*

Locus / Type	Locus 12	Locus 13	Locus 14	Locus 14b	Locus 15	Total N	%**
BL1	10	56	13	1	85	165	5
BL2	3	6	-	1	8	18	-
BL3	19	607	11	182	1222	2041	64
BL3a	11	167	7	30	366	581	18
BL4	1	6	-	2	14	23	-
BL5	-	2	-	-	5	7	-
BL6a	1	41	2	21	110	175	5
BL6b	5	37	3	11	55	111	4
BL7	-	5	-	-	2	7	-
BL8	4	2	1	-	8	15	-
BL9	3	11	-	5	53	72	2
Total	57	940	37	253	1928	3215	

Notes: *includes typologically indicative body sherds (code 12); **percentages rounded off; less than 1% not included.

Bowl Type 3 – Decorated (Fig. 7.1:3)[6]
One example of BL3 was red-slipped and painted with horizontal black bands on the exterior. This kind of decoration (or the type termed "Ashdod Ware" or "Late Philistine Decorated Ware") was not found in the 'plain'-pottery assemblage in the *favissa*, aside from this one sherd, which might belong to this group (Panitz-Cohen 2010:114).

Bowl Varia (Fig. 7.1:4)
This is a wide round base and vertical sides of a small bowl that lacks its rim. It has red slip and horizontal hand burnish inside. It may be compared to a similarly shaped complete bowl found in the first stage of this study (Panitz-Cohen 2010: Fig. 7.2:5); only several such profiles were found in the *favissa* altogether. Comparisons to this shape (cited in Panitz-Cohen 2010:119) include Ashdod Strata X–IX, Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath, Stratum A3[7] and possibly an 8th-century BCE context at Beer Sheba.

Bowl Bases (Fig. 7.1:5-12)
The bowl bases found in the present sample were the same as those in the first stage of this study (Panitz-Cohen 2010: Fig. 7.1). They were mostly finely formed narrow ring bases, which demonstrated a small amount of variation, being either low or high (i.e., Fig. 7.1:8-9), and in the shape of the edge, being either tapering (i.e., Fig. 7.1:10) or rounded (i.e., Fig. 7.1:8-9). In about one quarter of the bowls with ring bases, the base had a sunken interior (i.e., Fig. 7.1:5-6). Disc bases were the second most common base type (i.e., Fig. 7.1:7). A small amount of bases had both the depression in the interior, as well as a pronounced convex base bottom (i.e., Fig. 7.1.L10-11). Several bases showed a technological feature that somewhat recalled that found on some chalices (see below): a round-contoured thin layer of clay was added to the base interior, as though meant to reinforce the base. This layer was often smeared on to the interior. In a few cases, this layer of clay contained a large amount of small sandy inclusions, making it rough. Another technical feature identified in a few bowl base interiors was scraping; this was probably done in order to thin extra clay left when the bowl was formed. For some reason, in these bowls, the traces of scraping were not smoothed over and remained visible in the bowl's interior.

6 This sherd was found without a number, although it apparently should be attributed to basket 7309, Locus 15.

7 See also Shai and Maier 2012: Fig. 14.4:2, bowl Type 5, with a narrow ring base; only one example of such a bowl was found in Stratum A3 at Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath.

Fig. 7.1:5: A narrow low ring base with a deeply depressed interior, making the bottom very thin.
Fig. 7.1:6: A narrow disc base with a depressed interior; s-crack in base interior.
Fig. 7.1:7: A wide low disc base; red slip and irregular hand burnish inside.
Fig. 7.1:8: A narrow high ring base of a large bowl.
Fig. 7.1:9: A narrow low ring base.
Fig. 7.1:10: A narrow ring base with a deep interior depression and convex base bottom.
Fig. 7.1:11: As 7.1:10, narrower and thicker.
Fig. 7.1:12: A rounded base with red slip and horizontal hand burnish inside (see Panitz-Cohen 2010: Fig. 7.2:8 for a possible comparison).

7.7.2. CHALICES

A somewhat wider range of variation was noted for the chalices as opposed to the bowls (Table 7.8). Two new types were determined (CH3 and CH4), along with a number of minor variations in the formation of the foot (CHB3 and CHC), and one bowl variation type. Only these new types are presented here (for the typological range of chalice bowls and bases, see Panitz-Cohen 2010:121-123).

Table 7.8: Quantitative Distribution of Chalice Types per Locus*

Locus/ Type	Locus 12	Locus 13	Locus 14	Locus 14b	Locus 15	Total N	%**
CH1a	21	15	14	1	24	75	4
CH1b	53	12	20	12	36	133	8
CH1c	100	15	11	9	25	160	9
CH1d	3	12	5	-	72	92	5
CH2	51	6	32	4	35	128	7
CH3	27	8	2	-	2	39	2
CH4	8	6	-	-	32	46	3
CHA1	197	55	52	35	133	472	27
CHA2	124	35	40	-	147	346	20
CHA3	25	2	5	4	20	56	3
CHA4	5	-	-	-	-	5	-
CHB1	28	-	39	33	59	159	9
CHB2	9	2	3	-	8	22	1
CHB3	-	-	-	-	4	4	-
CHC	3	-	-	-	-	3	-
Total	651	168	223	98	597	1740	

*includes typologically indicative body sherds (codes 12, 13, 16, 18, 19)
**percentages rounded off; percentages less than 1 not included.

As in the first stage of this analysis, the pattern of breakage of the chalices was such that almost no complete profiles were preserved and most of the chalice types are of the base and foot rather than of the rim (Table 7.7), since the former apparently broke into more pieces. Most of the chalices bore traces of white chalky slip, a feature typical of these vessels at other Iron IIA contexts as well (Panitz-Cohen 2010:114, examples from Ashdod Strata X–IX, Tel Batash/Timnah Stratum IV, Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath Stratum A3, the City of David Stratum 14; see also Azor, Ben-Shlomo 2012:128, Fig. 5.7:3). A few also bore traces of painted decoration in red and black (see further below). The burn pattern on the chalice bowls shows that it is mostly located on the interior (Table 7.6).

Chalice Type 3 (CH3) (Fig.7.2:1)

The rim of the bowl has a slightly concave interior, with an inner protrusion on its top. Some examples of this type rim appear similar to the base of Type CHB1 and their assignation to CH3 was based on traces of burning and/or white slip on the bowl interior, since the base interior was generally not slipped nor burnt. The bowl of Fig. 7.2:1 has a sharp pinched carination at its bottom, above the join to the foot; this feature was found on only two such chalices. Such a carination is found on several examples of CH2 (i.e., Panitz-Cohen 2010: Fig. 7.2:19). CH3 is not common and only 39 examples were found.

Chalice Type 4 (CH4) (Fig. 7.2:2)
The bowl of this chalice type has a low carination and an everted stance above; the rim top is rounded. It is similar to BL2 in its general shape and to the upper part of CH2, although it differs in its lower bowl shape, lacking the stepped profile of CH2. The only complete example has a unique foot in that it lacks the flaring, trumpet-shaped bottom (Fig. 7.2:2). Apparently, the other chalice bowls attributed to this type do not have such a foot, as no other similar shapes were found. CH4 is not common and only 46 examples were found.[8]

Chalice Type 1d (CH1d) (Fig. 7.2:3)
CH1d was identified and well represented in the first stage of this analysis (Panitz-Cohen 2010:122); this example is included here as it bears unique incisions on its exterior.

Chalice Bowl Varia (Fig. 7.2:4-5)
Two chalice bowls are defined as varia, as they are the only representatives of this type, which is, in fact, a variation of CH1a. Instead of a flaring shelf rim, the rim has a gentle s-shaped flare and is a continuation of the body's wall. The bowl is relatively deep. One of these (Fig. 7.2:4) is exceptionally thick-walled and heavy, while the other is more delicately made, with prominent wheel-marks on the exterior. Neither bears traces of white slip.

Chalice Base (CHC) (Fig. 7.2:6)
One new type of chalice base was identified in the present study: CHC, characterized by a thick ridge at the join of the foot to the bowl. Only three examples of such a feature were found.

Fenestrated Chalices/Stands
Five cylindrical fragments that bear traces of triangular windows were found and identified as fenestrated chalice bases or stands (see discussion in Panitz-Cohen 2010:123-124; Fig. 7.4). Both medium and large-sized examples were found in the first stage of our study, while the five examples in the present study are not of the very large type. Comparisons to such chalices were cited from Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath Stratum A3[9] and 'En Hazeva (Panitz-Cohen 2010:123).

Painted Chalices
Ten chalice fragments that bore clear traces of red and black painted decoration on top of a white slip were found in the present stage of analysis (Fig. 7.3:1-10). A small amount of chalice fragments bearing this type of decoration were found in the first stage of the *favissa* pottery analysis as well (Panitz-Cohen 2010:114; Fig. 7.2:21-23, 26-27). The white slip is patchy and the paint is rubbed away and barely discernible in many cases. It is most likely that there were more such decorated chalices, but the paint did not survive, possibly due to it having been applied after firing (Maier and Shai 2006:362), or due to the nature of the pigments.

The red and black color on a white-slipped background is a continuation of the Iron I Philistine Bichrome decorative tradition (Shai and Maeir 2012:352) and the particular motifs on the Yavneh chalices reflect this as well. One example of CH1c (Fig. 7.3.3) and one of CH1a (Fig. 7.3:1) have what might be the top of a lozenge pattern under the rim exterior, although the triangles on the rim exterior of Fig. 3.3 suggests the possibility that these were triangles and not lozenges.

Hatched lozenges are well known in the Iron I Philistine Bichrome repertoire (Dothan 1982:212-214). A comparison to a connected-lozenge pattern below a chalice bowl rim exterior (filled with cross-hatching) can be found on a complete chalice from Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath, Stratum A3 (Shai and Maier 2012: Fig. 14.14:12). The fill in the lozenges (or triangles) under the rim exterior of the Yavneh chalices is solid and not hatched. No comparisons were found for the triangle pattern.

Two chalice bowls bear roughly executed checkerboard patterns (Fig. 7.3.1-2) on Chalice Type 2. The checkerboard motif is well known in the Iron I Philistine Bichrome tradition (i.e., Dothan 1982: 214; cf. Mazar 1985a: Figs. 31.1, 32:7, 51:1; Ben-Shlomo 2012: Figs. 4.38:1; 4.72:2) and is also found on the aforesaid chalice from Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath Stratum A3. The other painted chalice fragments (Fig. 7.3:5-10) show that the foot and base were decorated (with extant horizontal bands on the lower base). This feature was identified in only one base during the first stage of this analysis. However, it is known on other painted chalices of the Iron II period in Philistia

[8] Although it might be considered that examples of Chalice Type 4 were registered as Bowl Type 2 due to the similarity of the bowl profile, this can for the most part be overruled, since the bowls are mainly red slipped and often burnished, and are generally somewhat smaller than the chalice profiles. The chalice fragments often bore tell-tale traces of white slip.
[9] See also Maier and Shai 2012: Fig. 14.10, Chalice Type 3.1.

and the south (i.e., Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath Stratum A3: Shai and Maier 2009:362; 2012:352; Tel Batash/Timnah Stratum II: Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2001:57; Tel Miqneh/Ekron Stratum IB: Gitin 1993:253, Fig. 5a; 1995: Fig. 4.5:19; Ashdod Stratum VIII: Dothan 1971: Fig. 51:7).

Although they recall the early Philistine motifs and color scheme, the execution of these designs on the Yavneh chalices are far from the quality of the earlier vessels. The red and black pigments painted on white slip that is typical of Iron I Philistine pottery is usually much better preserved, suggesting that the latter was applied with a different technique, probably pre-firing, than that used in the present assemblage. It is notable that the Yavneh potters or artists chose to apply this retroactive mode of decoration that had been so typical on the Iron I Philistine pottery types to the chalice, which is a shape of Canaanite origin; notably, most of the painted chalices are of the type of chalice that developed in Philistia in Iron II (our CH2).

As Maier and Shai note (2006:363; see also Shai 2011:129; Shai and Maier 2012:353), this is a reflection of the eclectic nature of Iron IIA Philistine culture, which, in fact, continued the same cultural pattern as in Iron I, when different elements (Aegean and Levantine) were amalgamated in the Philistine Bichrome ware. It is most likely due to symbolic and ideological reasons that the choice to repeat this decoration was made, despite the apparent loss of technological and artistic knowledge over the years.

In the discussion of painted chalices in the Philistine tradition, related to the 7th century BCE chalice found at Tel Batash/Timnah, it was claimed that:

> "Though it may be proposed that they are a continuation of the painted chalice tradition of Philistia, there is a 'missing link' between the latest examples of the latter (10th century) and the 7th century chalices" (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2001:58).

The painted chalices in the Yavneh *favissa* fill this gap between the common chalices of the Iron I – early Iron IIA Canaanite tradition, and those that were adopted into the late Iron IIB Philistine tradition, showing that this was a continuous, albeit small-scale, phenomenon (see also Maeir and Shai 2006:352).

7.7.3. VARIA

The following figures show various other items:

Fig. 7.3.11: Body fragment of a box-shaped pyxis, painted with red and black horizontal bands; see Panitz-Cohen 2010:127; Fig. 7.5:23.

Fig. 7.3.12: A wide rounded base with a slight button-like protrusion on the bottom; possibly a storage jar base.

Fig. 7.3.13: A thick short spout, painted with narrow black bands on its base.

Fig. 7.3.14: A re-worked bowl-base that appears to have been used as a lid.

7.8. TECHNOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE YAVNEH CHALICES

A striking feature of the numerous chalices in the Yavneh *favissa* is the special formation techniques[10] with which they were made. This parameter was examined in the present study in order to determine whether production was a homogeneous and centralized act, as well as whether the process demonstrates specialization and standardization, both criteria that point to the level of production and from this, to social and economic aspects of the people involved with the Yavneh *favissa*.

7.8.1. FORMATION TECHNIQUES AS SOCIAL IDENTITY

Formation techniques are a critical component of the pottery-making process. They are:

> "One of the most responsive reflectors of cultural identity and of the production process as a whole, even more so than the shape of a vessel" (Dessel 1991:42).

The way that forming techniques and the accompanying motor habits are deeply embedded in the cultural identity of the producers and are persistent over time has been demonstrated in numerous ethnographic studies, showing this to be a cross-cultural feature (i.e., Foster 1965:47-52; Nicklin 1971:25-26; Balfet 1965, 1984; Arnold 1981:37-

[10] These techniques are also called "fashioning" or "fabrication".

38; Roux 1989; Sillar 1997:1-5; Bowser 2000; Arnold 2000:113; Gosselain 1998; 2000). While forming techniques are essentially techno-functional and economically determined, they are also a symbolic feature that both creates and enforces social practices and group identity (Franken 1974:16-17; Sillar 1997; Hegmon 1998; Stark 1999; Gosselain 2000).

A forming technique is initially selected due to individual experience, which entails trial and error, imitation of successful individuals, personal skill and a propensity to innovate, among other factors (Rice 1989:111). This choice is then negotiated within the group framework, based on pragmatic variables of available raw materials and technologies, function and economic feasibility, as well as on social identity, when the technique becomes the hallmark of the group (Graves 1991; van der Leeuw 1993).

Once a technique is adopted and positively reinforced, it becomes deeply ingrained and the only way to do things for the producing group. Deviation could mean economic failure (Foster 1965: 49; Arnold 1985; Schiffer and Skibo 1987:598), as well as social ostracism (Nicklin 1971:31-32; Rice 1987:457). Sillar (1997:8) noted that ceramic forming skill and knowledge is sometimes "as much a localized resource as the raw materials," and that in some areas in the Peruvian Andes there was a "cultural prohibition" against passing on technical knowledge to other communities, or even for a potter to continue to use certain formation techniques if he/she moved to another region. Ethnographic data points to situations in which technological knowledge, especially formation techniques and clay recipes, is deliberately kept from others due to social boundaries (Hodder 1979).

The way in which technological features comprise social signaling is also termed "technological style" (Lechtman 1977; Lemonnier 1993), wherein not only the shape of a vessel or its decoration conveys style, but each of the technical acts involved in making pottery can be viewed as a style-bearing factor. Each of these acts entails choice on the part of the makers and thus reflects the particular style of the individual or group (van der Leeuw 1991:23-24; Schiffer 1992:10-12; Stark 1998:6; Pool and Bey 2007:21-24). Even the purely functional aspect of an artifact is socially and culturally embedded, so that the same object in different societies may not only be used differently, but also perceived differently (i.e., van Wijngaarden 2002:28).

Ethnoarchaeological studies have shown how technological style is a viable and recognizable factor in pottery exchange, as well as production and use (Costin 2000). Potters themselves, as well as consumers, have stated that what allows them to differentiate each other's work, or the work of an individual or a group of potters, was not the decoration, but rather technological nuances between products (Foster 1965:45; Hodder 1979; 1982:1-2; Longacre 1991:102-103; Kramer 1997; Deal 1998:33; Stark 1999:37-40). This feature has implications for the use of non-decorated ceramics to identify social groups and boundaries.

7.8.2. CHALICE FORMATION TECHNIQUES

Chalices are defined as high-footed bowls and a typological variety of such vessels is known in Canaan from the Chalcolithic to the Iron Age II (Amiran 1969; Grutz 2005; Maier and Shai 2006:358-359). Various explanations have been offered for their function, the two most common being incense burning within a ritual context or illumination, with a minority opinion postulating drinking (Grutz 2005:8-9). Chalices have been found in numerous contexts, including domestic, cultic, funerary and industrial. They are relatively common in the Late Bronze Age, peak in the Iron Age I and continue in ample quantities until the end of Iron Age IIA, when they wane in Israelite and Judean assemblages.

The composition of a bowl and a pedestal-like base or foot can be formed in two basic ways: as one unit from base to rim or as two units, with the bowl and foot made separately and joined. Most of the Iron Age II chalices from various sites that were personally examined by the author, as well as perusal of a selection of published chalices from southern Iron Age sites,[11] show that the most common technique was the latter, with the bowl and foot made separately. This is often evidenced by this join being the breaking point. Not only is this a weak mechanical point in the vessel, but it is possible that different drying rates of the bowl and foot caused them to separate more frequently. No examples that were personally examined showed that the chalice was made on the wheel as one unit; it is possible that some were, but this was not easily defined.

[11] The chalices that were personally examined were from Tel Rehov, Tel Batash/Timnah and Tel Beth Shean. Published chalices include: Tell Qasile (Mazar 1985:48–49), Azor cemetery (Ben-Shlomo 2012:127); Ashdod (Ben-Shlomo 2005: Figs. 3.69:22, 3.83:7-9; Dothan 1971: Figs. 51:7, 58:7, 10-11); Lachish (Aharoni 1975: Pl. 42:14-21); City of David (Bernick-Greenberg 2012: Fig. 5.5:2-3); Tell Beit Mirsim tombs (Ben-Arieh 2004: Fig. 2.74:92-93). Examination of Middle/Late Bronze Age chalices in order to determine continuity or change in formation techniques is beyond its scope of the present study.

Most published discussions of chalices focus on typology and rarely is the technological aspect addressed. An exception is Maier and Shai (2006:359-360, n. 5), who concur that chalices are made in two parts; they briefly summarize two basic formation techniques that they identified for the joining of the bowl and the foot in the chalices from Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath:

1) The bowl has a protrusion (short or long) at its bottom that was inserted into the hollow foot (i.e., Maier and Shai 2006: Fig. 7:4);
2) The two parts were attached without such a protrusion by simply placing the bowl on the foot (i.e., Maier and Shai 2006: Fig. 7:9).

In some cases of the first technique, the peg-like protrusion is narrow and is distinctly separated from the walls of the foot into which it was inserted (i.e., Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath Stratum A3 – Maier and Shai 2006: Fig. 7:4-5; Ashdod Stratum X-IX – Ben-Shlomo 2005: Fig. 3.83:8; Lachish Stratum V – Aharoni 1975: Pl. 42:15, 17; City of David, Jerusalem – Bernick-Greenberg 2012: Fig. 5.5:2-3; Tell Beit Mirsim Tomb 1 – Ben-Arieh 2004: Fig. 2.74:93). In other cases, the protrusion was so thick that it merged with the walls of the upper foot. Many published drawings of Iron Age chalices show a thick join between the bowl and the hollow foot (i.e., Tell Qasile Strata X-IX – Mazar 1985a: Figs. 43:22; 52:15; Kh. Qeiyafa – Kang and Garfinkel 2009: Fig. 6.8:1). It is possible that this represents such a wide peg in the bowl bottom. It must be stressed, however, that only personal examination of the formation technique used for these chalices can substantiate this; it is possible that other techniques were used that created this thick solid join. The breaking point between the bowl and the foot frequently takes place at the bottom of the protrusion, when the bowl and its protrusion break apart separately from the hollow foot.

The second technique, where bowl and foot are simply joined, lacking a protrusion, is common. In these cases, the break between the two parts usually takes place at the bottom of the bowl/top of the foot.

In addition to the observation of the basic and most commonly found formation techniques just described, several technological features of the examined Iron Age chalices may be cited:

1) The foot often shows distinct spiral-like or horizontal coils on the interior, suggesting that this part was wheel-thrown;
2) Examined chalice bowls show that they were either wheel-thrown or wheel-coiled;
3) Clay was often added to the exterior of the join of bowl to foot and vertically smeared (in rare cases, horizontally smeared) in order to reinforce the join;
4) The attachment of the bowl to the foot is sometimes lopsided, i.e., the bowl rim does not lie on a horizontal axis, but rather a diagonal one.

7.8.3. FORMATION TECHNIQUES OF THE YAVNEH CHALICES

In light of the above observations, the formation techniques used to make the chalices found in the Yavneh *favissa* were examined. All evidence pointed to the vast majority of them having been made in two parts and in fact, only one chalice profile (Fig. 7.9:5) was possibly wheel-thrown in one part.

The two main techniques identified in numerous other chalices from various sites (as described above) were also identified in the Yavneh chalices: rarely, a protrusion on the bottom of the bowl inserted into the hollow foot (i.e., Fig. 7.4:1–4) and, more commonly, a simple join of bowl to foot (i.e., Figs. 7.4:5–6; 9:1–6). However, almost half of the chalices[12] were made with several uncommon formation techniques related mostly to the join of the bowl to the foot (below).

A. Foot-Peg Attachment

Among the special formation techniques identified, the more common was the attachment of the bowl and foot by way of a short, solid, peg-like protrusion on top of the hollow foot (Pl. 28:1-4; Figs. 7.5-6). This peg, some 3 cm long, is slightly narrower than the largest diameter of the foot and the bowl was set on top of it. The bowl bottom had only a thin veneer of clay (Pl. 28:5-6; Figs. 7.6:5-7; 7), or rarely, was left open to accommodate the top of the peg. The bottom of the bowl was often shaped so as to accommodate the peg in the latter case (Pl. 28:5-6). Often, an additional thin layer of clay was smeared into the bowl bottom interior, apparently meant to thicken and reinforce the thin bottom; finger smear marks are generally visible in this layer (Pl. 29:1-2; Fig. 7:3-4). This layer of clay sometimes contained sand and was distinctly different from the clay composition around it. This phenomenon was noted inside some of the bowls as well. Since the bottom of the bowl was so thin, the pressure of the bowl onto the peg during their join left a rounded contour in the center of the bowl's interior and this often was also the line of breakage, as it was a weak point in the vessel (i.e., Pl. 28:3-4; Fig. 7.5:1-3).

[12] This count was made from those chalice fragments that included the join (Appendix A: codes 13, 16, 18-20).

It thus seems that the basic order of actions, or *la chaîne opératoire* (see below for discussion of this concept and a replication), when forming the chalices with the peg on top of the foot was: 1) forming the foot and bowl separately on a fast wheel; the bowl was made with a thin or open bottom and the foot was hollow up to the solid top 2) attaching the bowl to the top of the foot by pressing down on the peg; just a thin layer was left at the bowl's bottom at the point of contact or the bowl bottom was left open; 3) in some cases, adding extra clay to the bowl bottom interior, then smearing it with fingers; 4) adding clay around the external join of the bowl and the foot to reinforce the join and to bring the narrower peg back to the same diameter as the rest of the upper foot (i.e., Pl. 28:2; 5) drying and firing.

B. Inserted-Disc Attachment

A less common mode of joining the bowl to the foot was the insertion of a thick small disc into the opening at the top of the hollow foot, which in turn, was inserted into the bottom of the bowl (Pl. 30:1-4; Fig. 5:4). Clay was then added around the disc to fill in the gap between it and the top of the hollow foot (Pl. 30:2). The bottom of the disc, which is visible inside the top of the hollow foot, was sometimes pressed in and smoothed (Pl. 30:4). This must have been done before the foot was attached, since a finger could not have reached this point after the attachment of the long foot was done. Thus, it seems that the order of actions (*la chaîne opératoire*) was:

1) The bowl and foot were made separately on the fast wheel; the bowl was made with an opening on its bottom and the foot was hollow;
2) The disc was inserted into the opening in the bowl bottom and pressed on one or both ends;
3) The foot was attached and reinforced around the disc with clay;
4) Clay was rarely added to the bowl interior to cover the disc;
5) Drying and firing.

C. Perforation between Bowl and Foot

A notable feature found on only 40 chalices[13] was a perforation in the bottom of the bowl that penetrated through the join to the hollow part of the foot. Two types of perforation were identified: narrow and wide. The chalices that had the small holes were made with different formation techniques: simple join, foot-peg join and disc join; while the chalices with the wide holes were made with the simple join technique. There is no correspondence between any particular chalice type and the holes.

The narrow hole was usually very small, with a diameter ranging from 0.2-0.4 cm, and was punched before firing, from the bowl towards the foot (Pls. 30:5-32:2; Figs. 7.8; 7.9:1). Two chalices had partially perforated holes. In some cases, the hole was not centered (i.e., Pl. 30:5-6). Twenty of the chalices with a narrow hole had a small plug made of fired clay inserted into the opening (Pl. 32:3-4). In most cases, this plug was inserted and fired together with the vessel, so that it was an integral part of it. In a few cases, it could be seen that the fired clay plug was inserted after firing. In fact, three such plugs were found when examining the contents of the baskets registered (see Panitz-Cohen 2010: Pl. 167:1-2, 5). This suggests that there had been plugs for all the chalices with narrow holes, which would have made their use as closed bowls possible, despite the perforation. This might indicate that the chalices could have been used with a liquid content, since if they held just coals or other dry substances for burning, the hole would not have mattered.

Twenty-three chalices had a wide hole, ranging 0.6-0.9 cm in diameter (Pl. 32:5-6; Fig. 7.9:2-6). In most cases, this hole was formed before firing, but in two chalices, the hole was drilled after firing (Fig. 7.9:2). This hole effectively prevented any liquid content to be poured into the chalice bowl, as it would have simply flowed right through the opening. This size of hole suggests that if coals were placed in the bowl (on top of which the incense was placed), they would have been larger than the hole. The purpose of these holes is not clear, although they certainly must have affected the use of the chalice. It was thought that the purpose of the small hole might have been to improve the firing of the thick join between bowl and foot, but this does not seem viable, as only a portion of the thick joins are so punctured and, in any event, such a hole certainly affected the use of the chalice as opposed to those that were not punctured. Since it was a pre-meditated feature, the perforation cannot be viewed as a way to annul or invalidate the vessel. It is possible that it served as a kind of marker, perhaps related to a function that differed from the other chalices.

[13] This count was made from those fragments that included the join, cf. note 12.

D. General Technological Observations

For the most part, there is no correlation between the formation techniques and the bowl or foot type and they were interchangeable for all types. It seems that both the foot and the bowl were wheel-thrown and both were made of the same clay fabric.

An interesting feature noted in many cases is that the rim of the bowl is virtually identical to the 'rim' of the base of the foot. For example, the rim of types CH1c and CH3 is very similar to bases of type CHA2 and the rim of type CH1a is similar to the edge of base types CHA1, CHA3 and CHB1. The diameter of the base and the rim is identical and often, the criterion for determining it as a bowl rather than a base was the presence of white slip and/or burning on the interior; base interiors were not burnt and usually, lacked white slip as well. This trait points to a large degree of production modularity and regularity, as well as economical mass production. Studies have shown that specialized potters in antiquity had an accurate sense of proportion when making standardized vessels and were able to achieve a high degree of homogeneity in matters such as the rim and base similarity, without using sophisticated measuring devices or precisely pre-measured or pre-weighed amounts of clay (Longacre 1999). As Kramer (1997:77) noted, although professional potters in Rajasthan, India, do not use measuring devices, the resulting vessels vary by no more than one centimeter. This is due to the "conceptualization of vessel volumes – by both the potters and the users of pots – as standardized."

E. Reconstruction of La Chaîne Opératoire

A key methodological concept used in the attempt to recreate the organization of production and its relationship to ceramic variability (both temporally and spatially), was adopted from the French 'techniques et culture' school into archaeological analysis by Lemonnier (1993) – "*la chaîne opératoire*" – or, the manufacturing sequence. This may be defined as the series of operations that transform raw material into a finished product, either a consumption object or a tool (Creswell 1983).

The concept of *la chaîne opératoire* contends that while each step in the production sequence is inherently material, technical and economic (i.e. choice of raw materials, location of workshops, distribution of labor, etc.), it is also culturally conditioned (i.e. learning and transmission of the technology, beliefs surrounding production, etc.). Each technical step in the production process is open to several possible alternatives that are guided by human choice ("decision-making behavior"; van der Leeuw 1984, 1993; Schiffer and Skibo 1997:31-32; M. Stark 1998:2; Pool and Bey 2007:22-24). Thus, identifying the technological choices made for each individual production step, and then as parts of the entire process as a whole, can potentially provide valuable information about cultural affiliations, ranging from economic organization to behavior and beliefs (Lemonnier 1993; Stark 1998:8-9). In fact, it is deemed important not only to identify the choices that were made, but also the alternatives that were rejected (Torrence and van der Leeuw 1989:8; van der Leeuw 1993; Crown 2000; Killick 2004:571).

In order to better understand these manufacturing steps, the chalices made with a simple bowl-foot attachment and those made with peg attachments on the top of the foot were reconstructed by a professional potter, Daphna Zuckerman.[14] Experimental replication allows us to explore the relationships between behavior and potentially observable material traces of that behavior, and thus to test beliefs about past cultural behavior (Ascher 1961; Saraydar 2008).

The aims of this replication were to corroborate whether the conclusions reached concerning formation techniques based on visual examination of the chalices are viable, to assess how labor intensive they are, and to explore whether there was any particular advantage to the foot-peg formation technique chosen by many of the Yavneh potters when making these chalices.

The reconstruction did not attempt to emulate the original clay recipe used for the chalices (Ben-Shlomo 2010), nor did it entail the initial steps of clay procurement and preparation or the final steps of drying and firing. It focused on the actual motor patterns and actions used to form the chalice.

No attempt was made to recreate the size or exact shape of the original chalices, although the general proportions between bowl and foot size were adhered to. The operations that were replicated include: formation of the bowl, formation of the foot with a peg and without a peg, attachment of the bowl to the foot; perforation between the bowl and the foot (narrow and wide).

[14] The replication was conducted in Daphna Zuckerman's private studio in Jerusalem. The photographs of the process were made by Medad Socholovsky.

F. Formation of the Bowl
The bowl was manufactured on the fast wheel from a hump of clay (Pl. 33:1-4) and set aside during the manufacture of the foot.[15]

G. Formation of the Foot – with and without Peg Attachment
The foot was also made on the fast wheel from a hump of clay, formed by opening the hump from the top, pressing fingers in to form the hollow and leaving the bottom solid. The piece was then removed from the wheel and turned over to rest on its base (Pl. 34:1-2). The solid top was then trimmed while the wheel turned to narrow it to a peg (Pls. 34:3-4). The same process of throwing the foot from a hump on the fast wheel was followed to form the foot without the peg, but lacking the stages of turning upside down and of trimming the top, which was left straight (Pl. 36).

H. Attachment of the Bowl to the Foot with Peg
Following the formation of the foot with the peg on top, the bowl was attached to the foot (Pls. 37-38). The bottom of the bowl and the top of the peg were etched and covered with wet slip to enhance adhesion (Pl. 37:1). The bowl was then placed on the peg and light pressure was applied (Pl. 38:2-4). It should be noted that in one of the trials, the pressure of the bowl on the foot caused the foot to collapse (Pl. 37:5); this implies that a certain drying time was perhaps necessary after the foot was made to ensure that it would be sturdy enough to bear the pressure.[16] This could have been easily achieved in an assembly line set up involvement, when each component sits for a short while until they are joined, allowing some drying time.

Comparison of the replica to a peg-footed chalice from the *favissa* (Pl. 38:1) shows how the faint circle often seen inside the bowl was formed by the pressure of the thin bowl bottom onto the peg. Attachment of the bowl to the foot without the peg attachment (simple join) was done in the same manner, with etching, slip and light pressure.

I. Reinforcement of the Join between Bowl and Foot
The next and final phase of formation in the replica (aside from those instances where a hole was perforated between bowl and foot; see below) was the reinforcement of the join by adding clay on the exterior, done when the chalice was turned upside down to rest on the bowl rim (Pl. 38:1).

Daphna Zuckerman chose to add a ring of clay around the join and to smear it horizontally (Pls. 38:2-6); vertical smearing is more commonly seen on the exterior of chalice joins in the Yavneh assemblage.

J. Puncturing a Hole between Bowl and Foot
A small perforation between the bowl and the foot was replicated by puncturing the bowl bottom down towards the foot through the peg, using a small sharp instrument (the pointed end of a paintbrush) (Pl. 39). The same process was carried out for the wide hole, conducted on a chalice replica with a simple bowl-foot join rather than a peg (Pl. 40), since this is the type of most of the chalices that have wide holes. The wide hole needed to be perforated during several trials, as opposed to the narrow perforation with a sharp instrument that went right through.

7.9. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

7.9.1. TYPOLOGY, REGIONALITY AND CHRONOLOGY

The contribution of this second phase of the study of the 'plain' pottery in the Yavneh *favissa* is mainly in its corroboration of the results of the first phase, emphasizing the homogeneous nature of the assemblage and substantiating the huge amount of shattered pottery that was deposited into this pit. At the end of the first stage of our analysis, we stated that "we hope to be able to study a much larger sample of pottery in the next stage of research, which

[15] It stands to reason that in a mass-production set-up such as we surmise existed for the production of the Yavneh chalices, there was one production line making the bowl and another making the foot simultaneously. This would have ensured a more homogeneous drying rate and thus, a better suitability between the two joined parts of the vessel.

[16] Although only a few samples were made, it should be noted that it was a pegged foot that collapsed when the bowl was attached, while a flat-topped foot did not. It is possible that the peg made the foot less sturdy during manufacture, being narrower than the rest of the foot and thus, possibly a point of weakness.

may provide more accurate results" (Panitz-Cohen 2010:130). The results of the second stage, obtained from the typological quantification, as well as from comparison to a major assemblage that has since been published, that of Stratum A3 at Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath (Shai and Maier 2012), support the chronological and regional conclusions reached in the first stage of this study (Panitz-Cohen 2010:127-131).

The Yavneh assemblage most likely dates to the mid-9th to early 8th centuries BCE, the transition between Iron IIA and Iron IIB. It is typical of the southern coastal plain (Philistia) at that time, with a lesser affinity to Iron IIA pottery from the Judean Shephelah and Negev. Comparisons of the bowls and chalices, the main vessel types in the *favissa*, to other such types in assemblages at nearby sites, show that the secure parallels come from Ashdod Strata X-VIII, Tell Qasile Strata X-VIII, Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath Stratum A3, Tel Batash/ Timnah Strata IV-III and Tel Miqneh/Ekron Strata III-II, while fewer comparisons come from Judean sites, such as Beth Shemesh Stratum IIb and Lachish Strata V-IV (Panitz-Cohen 2010:130).

The conclusions reached concerning depositional patterns and formation processes were based on the nature of the finds in the repository pit, including quantities, breakage patterns and distribution of types per Locus (Panitz-Cohen 2010:127-129). The present study corroborated those conclusions. It seems likely that the episode of deposition was relatively short-lived and intentional, based both on the stratigraphic picture and on the limited chronological and typological range of the pottery. It is more difficult to determine formation processes that would have created the extremely fragmentary nature and sheer abundance of the sherds. This abundance can be explained either by a long period of use of the temple, during which these numerous offerings were accumulated, or by a large temple, in which many worshippers and officials collected so many objects over a short period of time. The very small sherds into which the bowls and most of the chalices had been broken may be understood as having what Orton, Tyers and Vince (1993:168) called "the same post-depositional history", indicating archaeological homogeneity. This is borne out by the typological homogeneity of the assemblage as well, again serving to support the scenario of deliberate breakage and casting into the pit during a short period of time.

The people who made, used and discarded these vessels obviously did so for reasons related to the function of the temple, but the precise scenario remains obscure, as does the scope and nature of the temple itself. The huge volume of pottery, along with the numerous special cult stands (Kletter 2010a-b; Ziffer 2010) and other objects, such as the fire pans, point to this having been an institution with a major impact on the community it served, both on the level of ritual consumption and on the level of production.

7.9.2. TECHNOLOGICAL FEATURES – PRODUCTION LEVEL, GROUP IDENTITY, AND PHILISTINE CULTURE

The technological study of the chalices, focusing on their formation techniques, has shown that there was a very specialized and centralized mode of production that most likely had catered exclusively to the needs of the temple. In the first stage of the ceramic analysis, it had been suggested (Panitz-Cohen 2010:112-113) that the vessels reached the temple in two different ways: either selected from a typical household repertoire and brought as offerings or receptacles for offerings, or specially made for the temple in a centralized and controlled workshop (or a combination of both). The results of the present technological study of the chalices support the latter scenario of a specialized workshop that operated under the close supervision of the temple authorities.[17]

The formation techniques of the chalices[18] (as seen in the bowl and foot attachments, as well as in the perforated joins, which would have also affected the chalices' use), along with the overwhelming homogeneity of clay fabric, firing temperature and surface treatment (white slip), point to a high level of centralization and specialization. Various types of specialization have been defined for pottery production, including site, producer and resource specialization (Rice 1989:110). Site specialization entails

> "Areas of limited or intensive activity, in which certain goods were produced, generally in large amounts, and mainly for the self-consumption of the producing group" (Costin 1991:3).

[17] It is possible that the bowls were also made in such premises, but more in-dept study is needed of their formation techniques to say so.

[18] Six chalices (one almost complete, the others fragments) from Iron IIB Tel Hadid were made with techniques similar to Yavneh – with a peg on top of the foot. Their fabric is totally different, though. I thank Debi Ben-Ami, Curator of the Iron Age, IAA, for this reference and for her help in examining these chalices. Another possible analogy is a chalice foot from Ashdod Stratum VIII (Dothan 1971: Fig. 44:5), with a solid narrow peg on its top. The description of its fabric – "brown clay, gray core, white grits" – does not help to compare it to the fabric of the Yavneh chalices.

Producer specialization entails the amount of time, skill and training invested in producing goods, assuming that specialists make pottery year-round and that it is their main source of income (Arnold 1985:18; Rice 1989). Resource specialization entails the selection of particular clays and tempers for special functions. It can be concluded that the potters who supplied the *favissa* related temple with the chalices were operating according to all three types of specialization. This fact points to a high level of economic and social complexity.

A key concept in the perception of craft specialization is the definition of the social and economic association of the producer, along with the scale of production; this is designated 'attached or independent specialists' (or craftsmen) (Rice 1987:186, 1989:110; Stein 1996; Earle 2002:128-130). Attached specialists/craftsmen entail some central authority/institution or interest group (i.e., elite entrepreneurs, temples, local governors) that exercises some control, sponsorship or patronage over production and in some way is able to manipulate production and demand (Costin 1996; Sillar 1997). These elites supply the specialists with raw materials, work facilities and "return payment" in the form of goods (Stein 1996:25). This control creates a dependency of the specialists on the elites, granting the former monopolizing power that is an integral part of their rule. Such control allows the elites to generate income to finance institutional projects, to enhance political and economic ascendancy, and to dominate the symbols used to legitimize their power (Costin 1996:210; Schortman and Urban 2004).

Costin (1996:211-212), noting the diversity of attached specialization, further sub-divided it into modes: "individual retainers" (individual artisans working full-time within an elite/government setting, i.e. palace or temple), "nucleated corvée" (part-time labor that is commissioned by an elite/ government institution working in a specialized facility) or "retainer workshops" (large-scale operations with full-time artisans working for an elite or official institution within a highly specialized facility).

It seems that the most likely scenario for the production of the Yavneh chalices was the "retainer workshop" mode, with a technical tradition that developed specifically within the framework of production for the temple's needs and under its strict auspices. Although made of different formation techniques (and hence probably in a different workshop, certainly by different craftsmen), the cult stands from the *favissa* are part of this intense high-level specialization controlled by a central authority. Both modes of production were part of a well-developed artistic, ritual and cultural tradition that operated on an industrial (and profitable) level, within a well-integrated society.

The potters who made the chalices were aware of the accepted formation techniques used to make chalices and used them for a portion of the chalices. However, they also adopted formation techniques that differed from these well-known methods, which points to a separatist identity of the producers (and consumers). It is possible that the uncommon methods (foot-peg and disc attachments) were used concurrently with the simple-attachment technique, or it is possible that there is a chronological difference (with all finding their way together discarded into the pit). In any event, the different methods that these potters adopted and used were not necessarily advantageous compared to other known methods, as the replication proved. In other words, this is a case *par excellence* of technological style, wherein the choices made by the potters became the defining feature of their group and were meant to individualize their production and to dissimilate it from other producing groups.

This attitude may be contextualized within the realia of late 9th-early 8th century BCE Philistia, which is understood to have been characterized by a process of hybridization or "creolization", intertwining various aspects of both the Western source of Philistine culture and the local Levantine culture (Ben-Shlomo et al 2004; Shai 2011; Maeir, Hitchcock and Horowitz 2013). The complex situation in Iron II Philistia shows that the Philistine identity known from their heyday in Iron I was constantly being negotiated *vis-à-vis* this cultural spectrum, affected by political developments as well, such as the question of Judean dominance versus Philistine autonomy (Shai 2011).

The chalice is a vessel closely identified with Canaanite and then Israelite society, having a long life and great popularity within these cultures (Amiran 1969; Grutz 2005). As noted above, the popularity of the chalice waned at the end of Iron IIA in Judah and Israel, which is just the time it was introduced into the late Philistine cultural and ritual realm, where it is found in such abundance in the Yavneh *favissa*. This could have been the result of the long-term process of ceramic hybridization that began at an early stage (Mazar 1985b), but also could be understood as a deliberate symbolic act. Was this the product of cultural and social amalgamation, perhaps due to intermarriage or living in joint settlements? Or, by adopting a typical Canaanite/Israelite ceramic form into their ritual world, were the Philistines making a statement about identity or dominance?

A related question is whether the chalice was used in the Philistine realm as it was in the Levantine realm. Since it is most likely that the chalice was used as a ritual vessel, what process took place when this vessel was adopted into the Philistine ritual at the Yavneh temple and elsewhere (i.e., a cultic corner at Tel eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath: Shai 2011:124)? It is possible that it underwent "recontextualization" (van Wijngaarden 2002:28), wherein a vessel or object is imported and new meanings are added on by the recipient society, as opposed to a locally-made object,

whose meaning is culturally built-in (Appadurai 1986; Lemonnier 1993:4-6; Steel 2002; Sherratt and Sherratt [2001] call this "meaningful consumption").

This cultural process is best reflected in the assemblage of cult stands found in the Yavneh *favissa*, incorporating a wide range of cultural elements into ritual objects used in a specific context (Ziffer 2010). When examining this question, the technological style of the Yavneh chalices is pertinent. It is possible that some of the Philistine potters did not know or could not master the most commonly used formation technique used by Canaanite and Israelite potters when joining the bowl to the foot and thus, invented one of their own. However, since the simple-join technique was used too, it seems that they were aware of the existing technology, but deliberately chose to develop an alternative method so as to dissimilate themselves – and thus perhaps also the function of the vessel within the ritual – from their Israelite and Judean counterparts. Even if the function of the vessel remained the same, which it most likely did, differentiation through technological style was a statement that was initiated by the producer and could have been acknowledged by the consumer.

Discussions of chalices in Iron Age II Philistia have focused mainly on stylistic features, particularly on the employment of typical Iron I Philistine painted motifs and their development (Maier and Shai 205; Maier, Hitchcock and Horwitz 2013:15). The glimpse 'behind the scenes' into the technology employed to make the Yavneh chalices adds another dimension to our analysis and attempts to understand the intricate cultural processes that the Philistines underwent.

Note: Two pottery items are added here. One is a foot and lower bowl of a chalice from L15, B7148/4 (Pl. 63:1-2). The unusual feature is the three additional crude perforations, made from the outside of the bowl to its inside before firing. The reason for these perforations is unknown. There might be an affinity to the perforated fire pans, although in chalices, such perforations are unique. The second item is a quite large wheel-made bowl-like fragment with a round central perforation made before firing in its 'base' (Pl. 63:3). Apparently it is not a bowl of a chalice, since there are no traces that indicate such joins. It seems that it was not related to the wheel-made round stands too; since we do not have a stand that can fit this item. Perhaps it was made to be used as a funnel.

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APPENDIX A:

ABBREVIATIONS AND REGISTRATION CODES OF THE DATABASE

Abbreviations (in alphabetical order)
BKJT- black juglet; BL- bowl; BOR- Black on Red (juglet); BT- bottle; CH- chalice; FL- flask; JG- jug; JT- juglet; PX- pyxis; SJ- storage jar; ST- fenestrated stand/chalice; PFL- white painted barrel flask. WPJT- white painted juglet.

Quantitative Registration Codes
1 – complete
2 – complete profile
3 – almost complete
4 – rim and body
5 – base and body
6 – base
7 – handle
8 – rim
9 – neck and handle
10 - rim, neck and handle
11 – rim and neck
12 – body sherd
13 – chalice join
14 – chalice foot with base
15 – chalice semi-circle foot
16 – chalice join and almost complete foot
17 – chalice foot, no base
18 – chalice join and bowl bottom
19 – chalice foot and bowl bottom
20 – complete chalice foot up until join to bowl
21 – join and most of bowl
22 – join and complete bowl

Slip
1a – red inside
1b – red inside and outside
1c – red outside
1d – red inside and partially out
2a – red and horizontal hand burnish inside
2b – red and horizontal hand burnish inside and outside
2c – red and horizontal hand burnish outside
2d – red and horizontal hand burnish inside and partially out
3 – red and irregular burnish
3a – red and irregular burnish inside
3b – red and irregular burnish inside and outside

Slip (continued)
3c – red and irregular burnish outside
3d – red and irregular burnish inside and partially outside
4 – red and wheel burnish inside and outside
4a – red and polished burnish inside and outside
4b – red and polished burnish inside
4c – red and polished burnish outside
5 – black and vertical burnish outside
6 – black and polished burnish outside
7 – black and irregular burnish outside
8 – black with no burnish outside
9 – white
10 – self slip
10a – self slip and irregular burnish inside and outside

Painting
1 – black horizontal line
2 – Cypriot Black on Red
3 – Cypriot White Painted
4 – black design
5 – red lines
6 – black and red

Plastic Decoration
1 – knobs
2 – petals

Burnt
1 – inside
2 – outside
3 – inside and outside
4 – inside and rim exterior
5 – under rim interior
6 – inner and outer rim

Fig. 7.1: Bowls

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Locus	Comments	IAA No./location
1	BL8	7283/2	14b	Red slip and irregular hand burnish inside and outside	
2	BL9	7283/55	14b		
3	BL3	No number		Red slip on interior and exterior and black painted lines on exterior	
4	BL	7309/55	15	Red slip and horizontal hand burnish inside	
5	BL base	7332/1	15		
6	BL base	7332/3	15	S-crack in base interior	
7	BL base	7315/17	15	Red slip and irregular hand burnish inside	
8	BL base	7243/60	13		
9	BL base	7309/61	15		
10	BL base	7358/48	15		
11	BL base	7358	15	Red slip and irregular hand burnish inside and partially outside	
12	BL base	7309/55	15	Red slip and horizontal hand burnish inside	

Fig. 7.1: Bowls

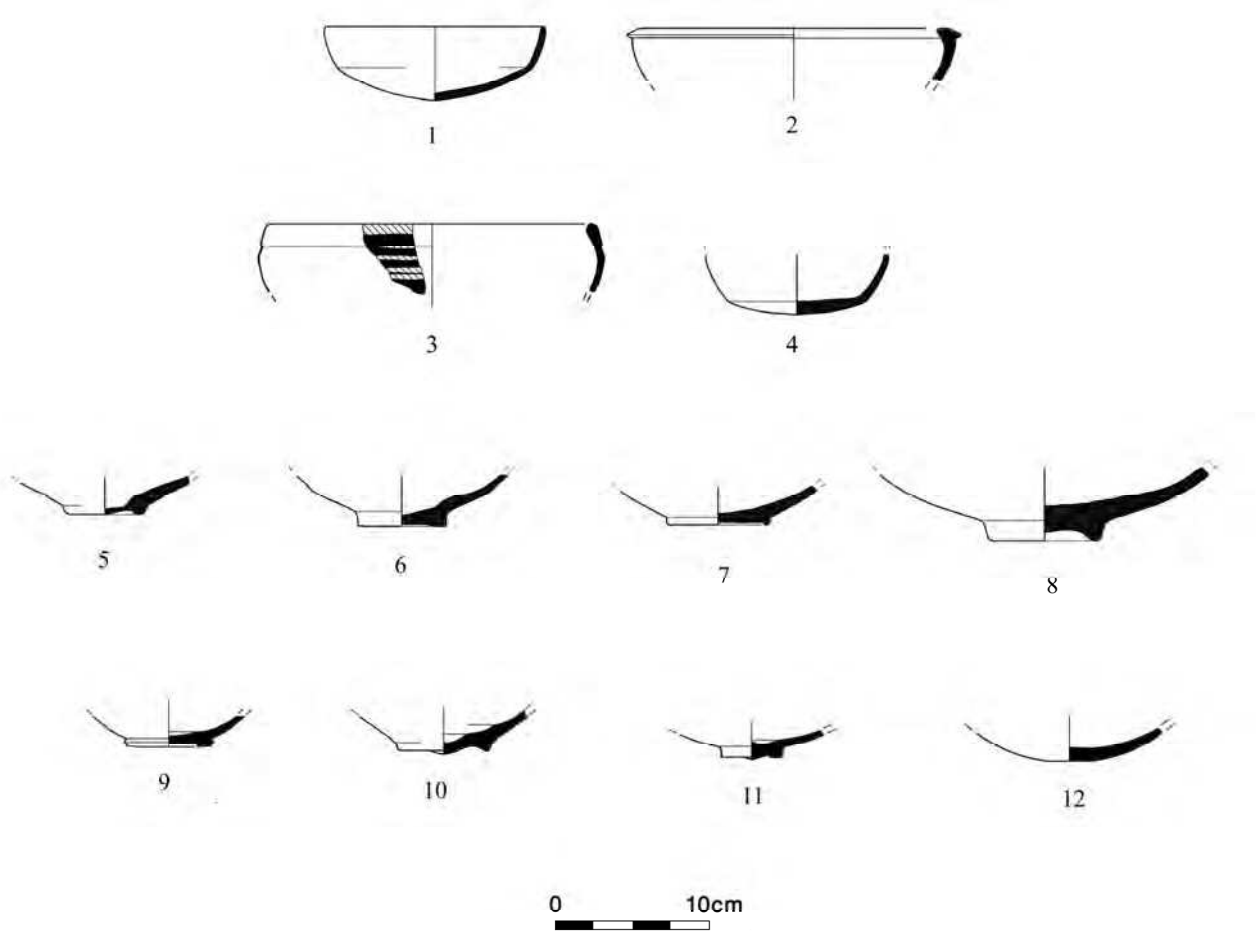


Fig. 7.2: Chalices

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Locus	Comments	IAA No./location
1	CH3	7192/23	12		
2	CH4	7171/50	12		
3	CH1d	7292/61	14	Incised lines on exterior	
4	CH	7173/513	12	Large, heavy	
5	CH	7160/97	12	Prominent ribbing on exterior	
6	CHC	7190/2	12		
7	Fenestrated chalice	7219/1	12	Not in database	
8	Fenestrated chalice	7410/6	15	Not in database	
9	Fenestrated chalice	7280/6	14	Not in database	
10	Fenestrated chalice	7410/8	15	Not in database	
11	Fenestrated chalice	7410/7	15	Not in database	

Fig. 7.2: Chalices

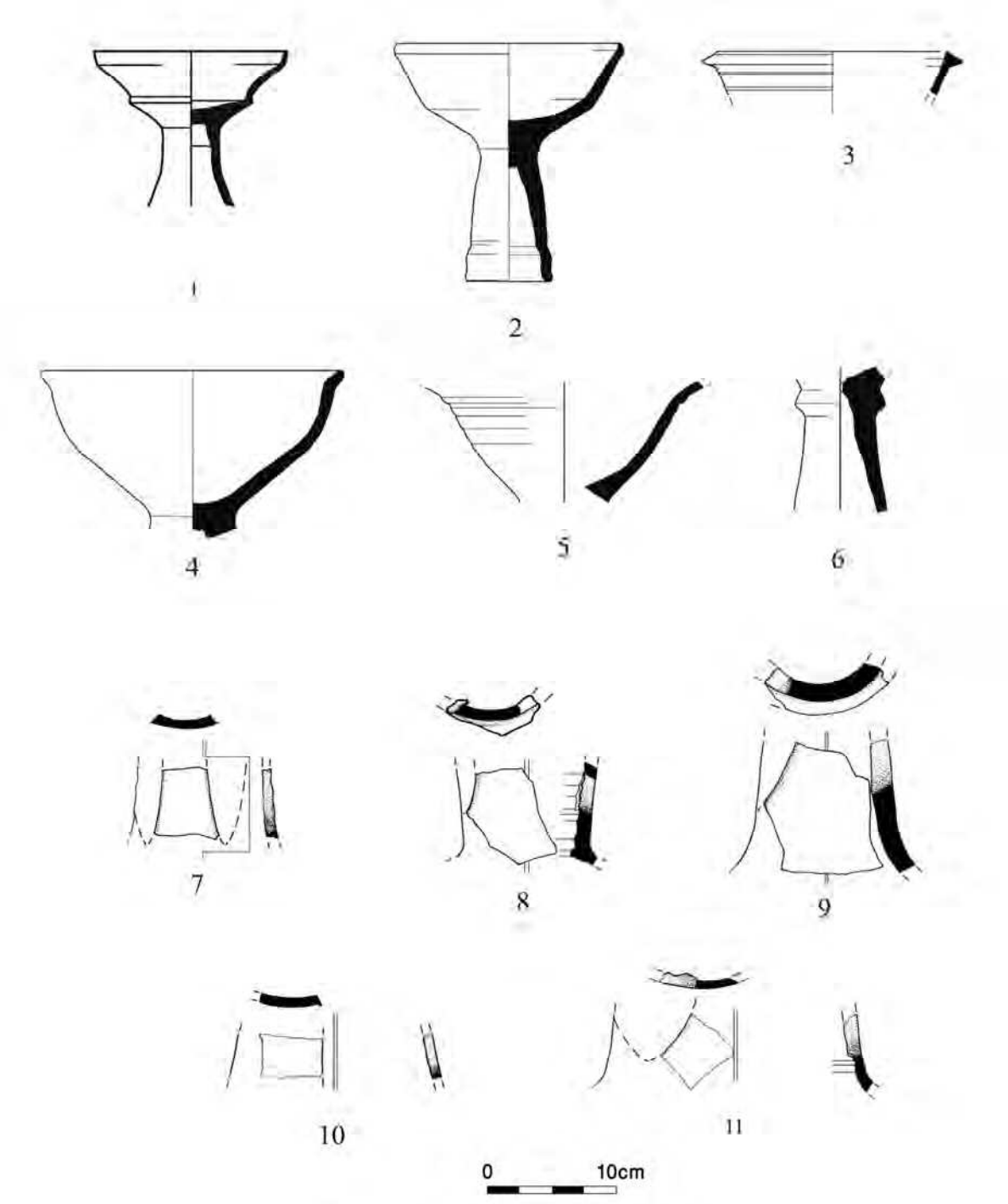


Fig. 7.3: Decorated Chalices and Varia

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Locus	Comments	IAA No./location
1	CH2	7280/8	14		
2	CH2?	7280/7	14		
3	CH1c	7280/10	14		
4	CH1d	7328/3	15		
5	CH2	7370	15		
6	CHB2	7446/1	15		
7	CHA1	7338	15		
8	CHA1	7332/29	15		
9	CHA1	7446/3	15		
10	CHA4	7326/4	15		
11	Pyxis	7380/9	14		
12	Storage jar base?	7283/16	14		
13	Spout	7195	12		
14	Lid	7195/22	12	Reworked bowl base	

Fig. 7.3: Decorated Chalices and Varia

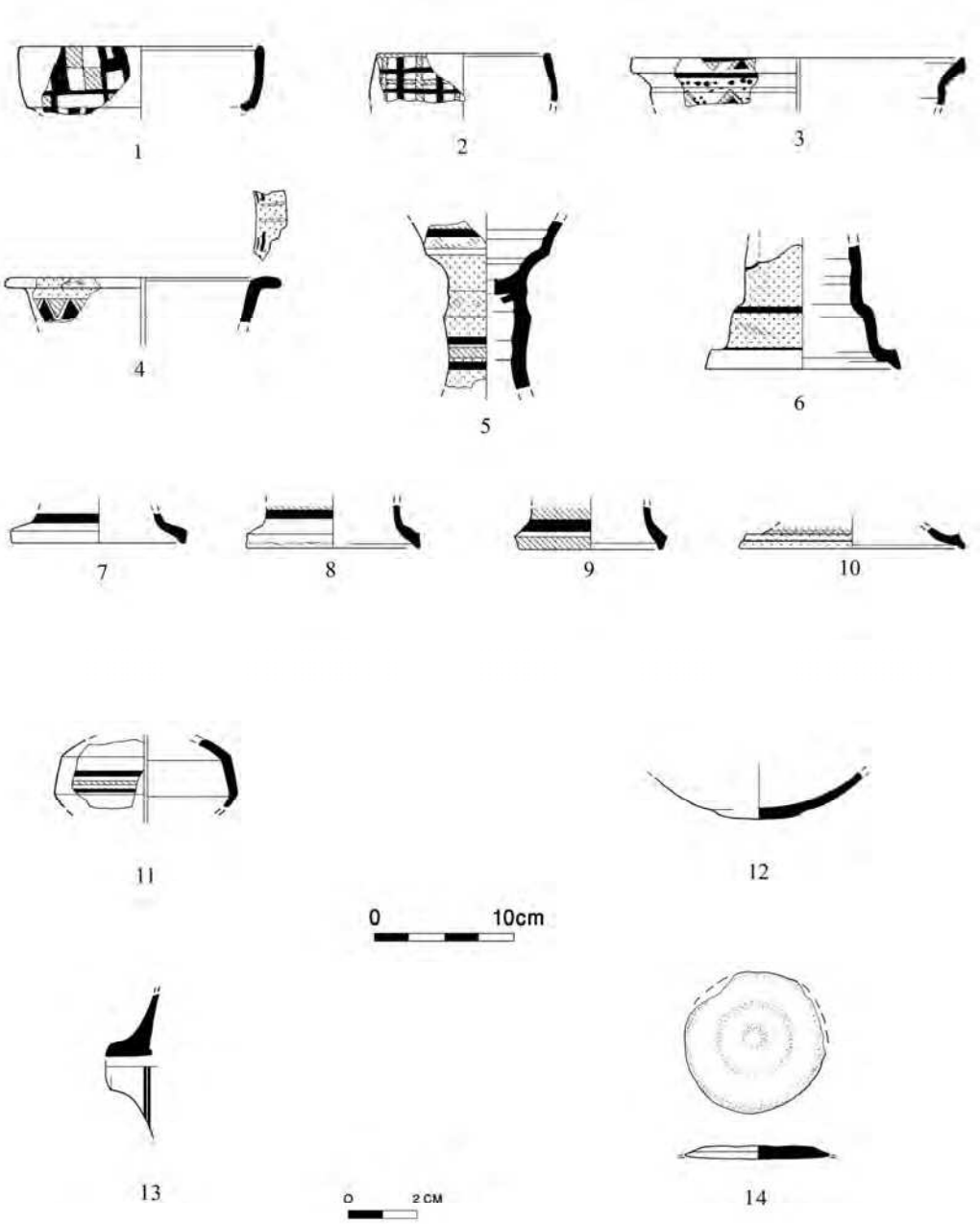


Fig. 7.4: Chalices – Bowls with Pegs and Simple Bowl-Foot Attachments

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Locus	Comments	IAA No./location
1	-	7192/110	12	Bowl with inserted peg	
2	CH1c	7197/2	12	Bowl with inserted peg	
3	-	7218/75	13	Bowl with inserted peg	
4	-	7206/5	14	Bowl with inserted peg	
5	-	7162/5	12	Bowl-foot simple attachment	
6	CH3	7192/23	12	Bowl-foot simple attachment; see Fig. 2:1	

Fig. 7.4: Chalices – Bowls with Pegs and Simple Bowl-Foot Attachments

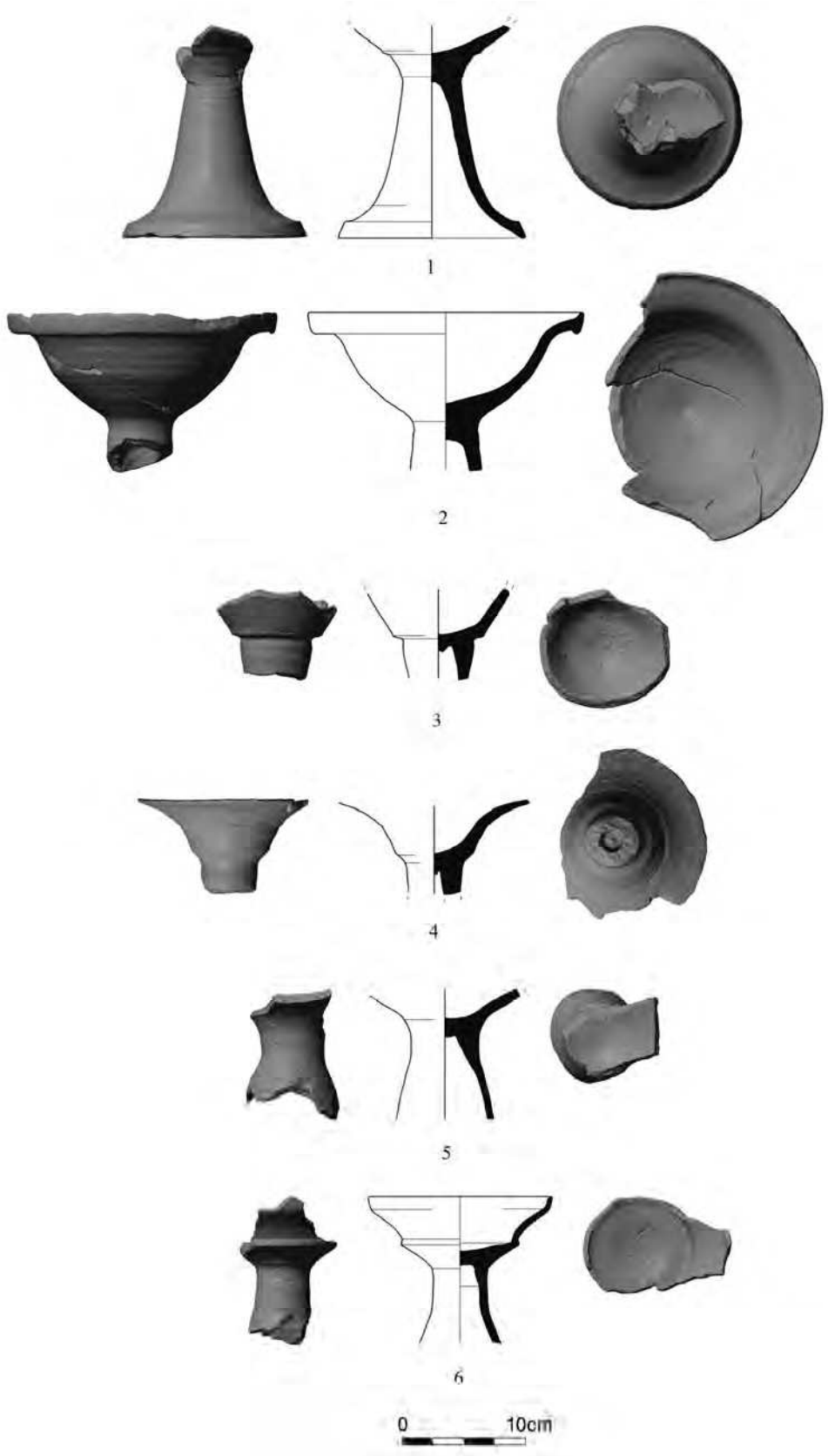


Fig. 7.5: Chalices – Foot Peg

	Type	Reg. No.	Locus	Comments	IAA No./location
1	CHA1	7173/6	12	Pl. 27:1-2	
2	CHB2	7172/1	12		
3	CH4	7171/50	12	See Fig. 7.2:2	
4	CHB1	7162/1	12		

Fig. 7.5: Chalices – Foot Peg

Fig. 7.6: Chalices – Foot Peg Attachment: 1–5; Inserted Disc: 6–7

	Type	Reg. No.	Locus	Comments	IAA No./location
1	CHB1	7160/9	12		
2	CHB1	7192/25	12		
3	CHA1	7160/15	12		
4	CH1b	7173/10	12		
5	CH1b	7173/513	12		
6	-	7160/28	12	Pl. 29:1-2	
7	CHA1	7160/10	12		

Fig. 7.6: Chalices – Foot Peg Attachment: 1–5; Inserted Disc: 6–7

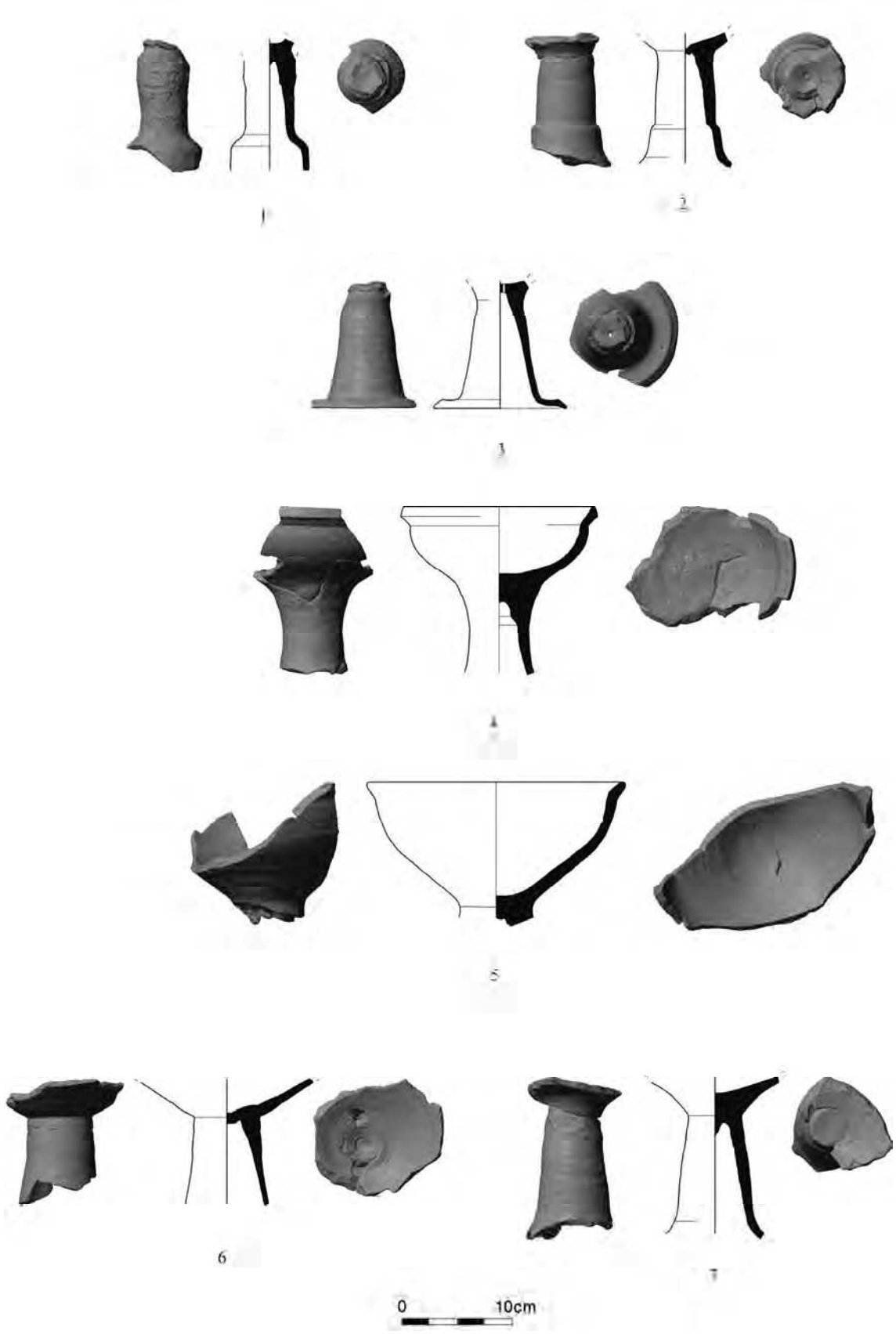


Fig. 7.7: Chalices – Foot Peg Attachment, Smeared Interior

	Type	Reg. No.	Locus	Comments	IAA No./location
1	-	7218/76	13		
2	-	7230/73	13		
3	CH1c	7206/6	14		
4	CH2	7171/2	12		

Fig. 7.7: Chalices – Foot Peg Attachment, Smeared Interior

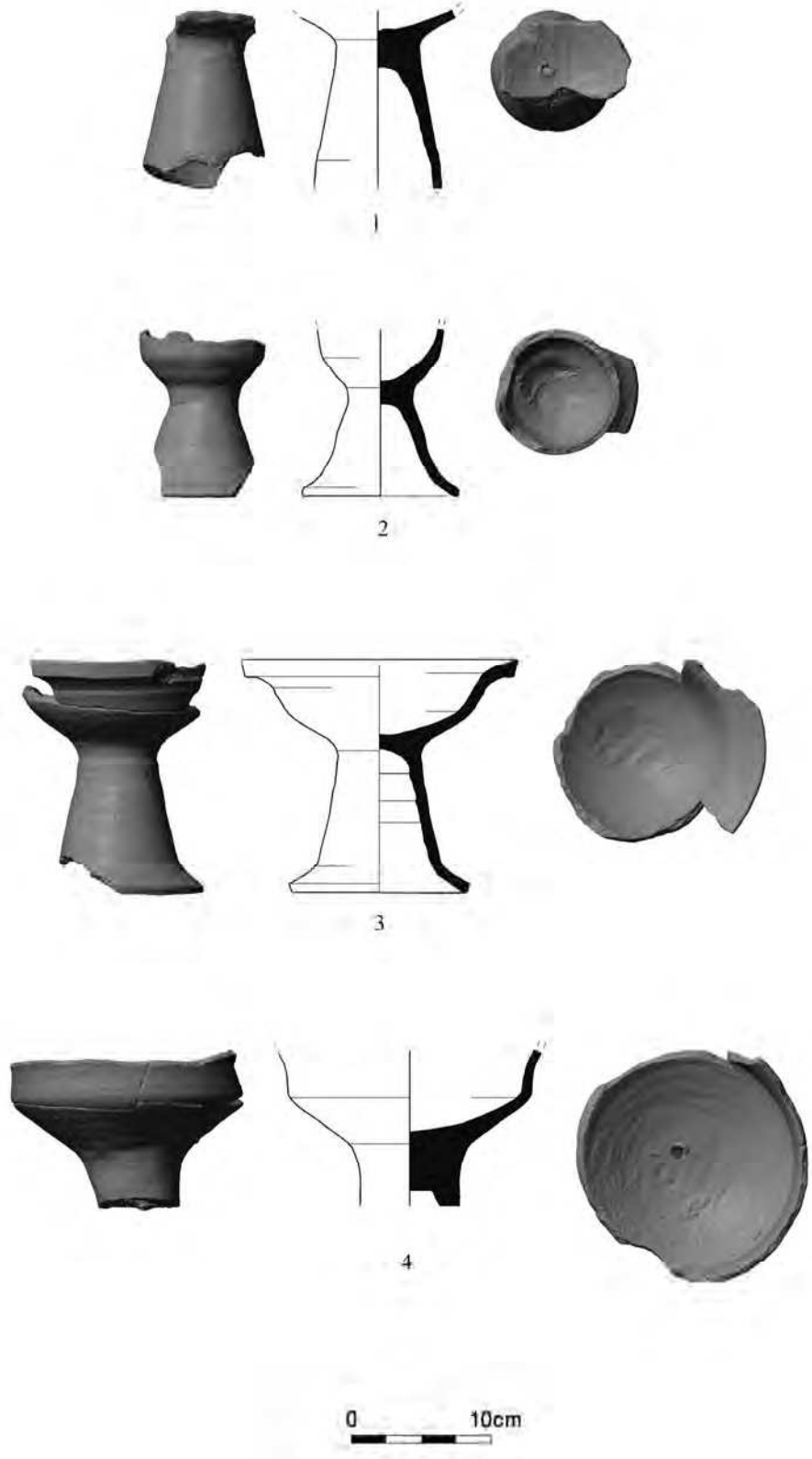


Fig. 7.8: Chalices – Foot Peg and Simple Attachment with Hole

	Type	Reg. No.	Locus	Comments	IAA No./location
1	CHB2	7197/8	12		
2	CHC	7190/2	12		
3	CHC	7162/512	12		
4	CHA1	7192/27	12		
5	CHA1	7182/6	12		
6	CHA1	7160/15	12		

Fig. 7.8: Chalices – Foot Peg and Simple Attachment with Hole

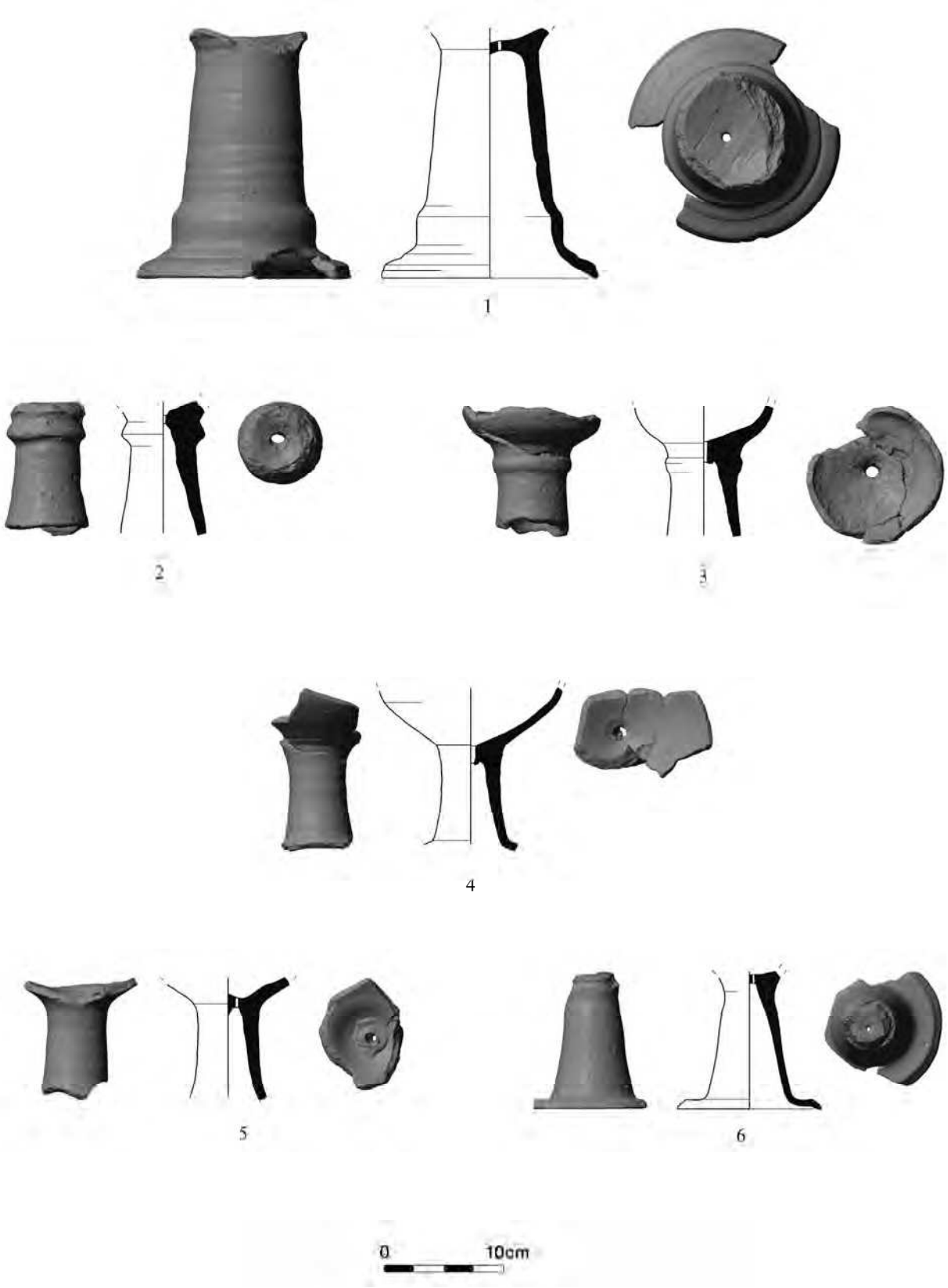
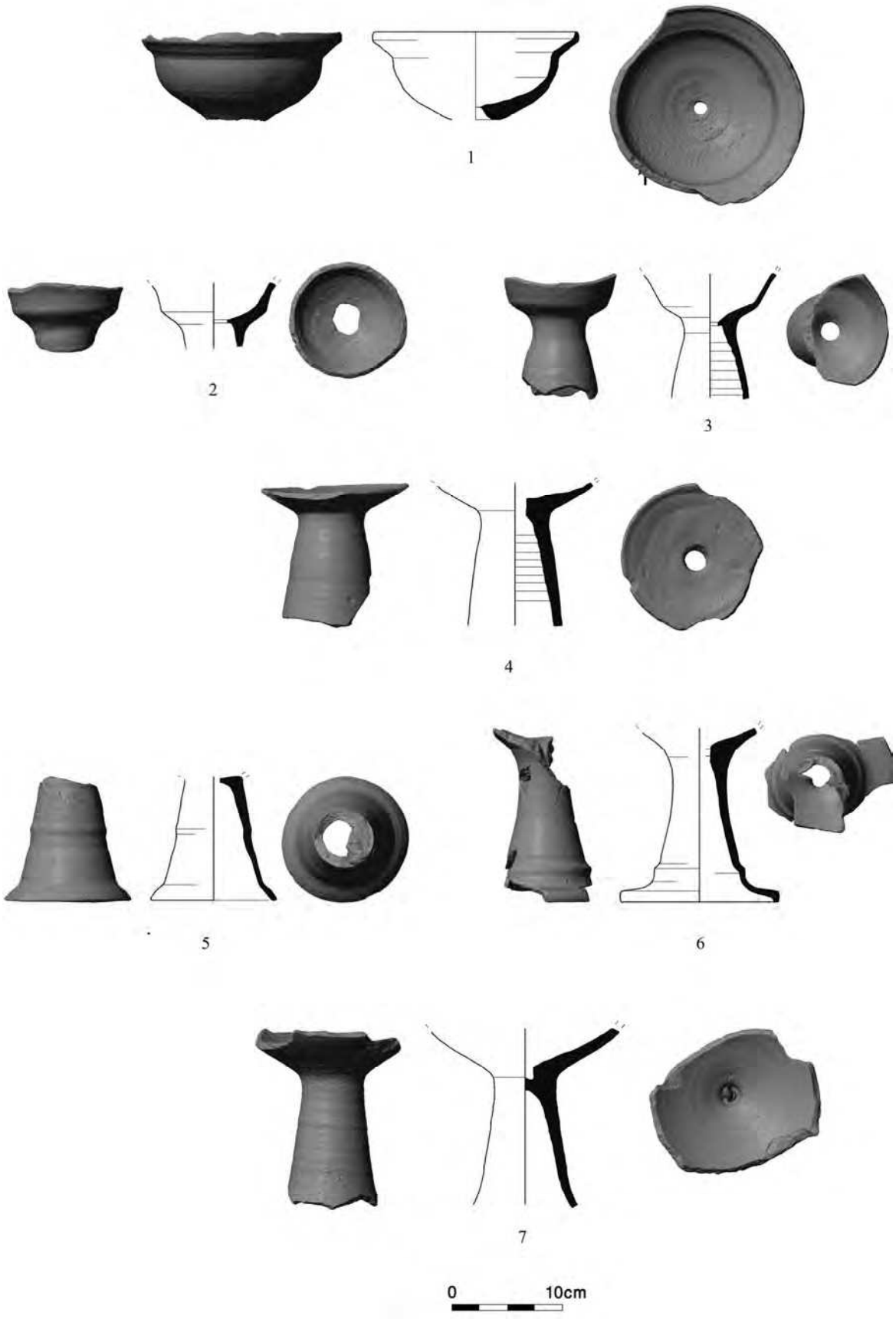


Fig. 7.9: Chalices – Simple Attachment with Hole

	Type	Reg. No.	Locus	Comments	IAA No./location
1	CH1b	7190/4	12		
2	CH2	7160/7	12		
3	CH2	7195/52	12		
4	-	7190/3	12		
5	CHA3	7162/34	12		
6	CHB1	7195/28	12		
7	-	7172/5	12		

Fig. 7.9: Chalices – Simple Attachment with Hole



CHAPTER 8

ADDITIONAL PETROGRAPHICAL SAMPLES

David Ben-Shlomo

Three additional samples were analyzed by thin section petrographic analysis (Table 8.1 below) – two round stands and a bowl with an inscription (sample Yavneh 134, round stand, Basket 7283/17; sample Yavneh 135, round stand, Basket 7326/2; and Sample Yavneh 136, inscribed bowl, Basket 7326).

All three samples belong to Petrographic Group 1a (Ben-Shlomo and Gorzalczany 2010:144). Thin fabric is characterized by a bimodal quartzic texture including coastal quartz sand, and some fine silty angular grains, as well as few grains of limestone and opaque minerals, and rare feldspar. Although the quantity of quartz grains (mostly sandy sub-rounded to rounded grains) is somewhat smaller in these samples than the average in Group 1a (20-25% of the slide area), these samples can be still included within this group. This is the major petrographic group in the Yavneh favissa ceramic assemblage that represents clay derived from local *Hamra* soil.

Table 8.1: Petrographic Description

Sample	Matrix	Inclusions
Yavneh 134	dark-OP, s-ds, 20% voids	QZ: 25% bimodal, 30-80 a, 150-450 sr-r; LS: 1% 60-250 sa-sr; Rare: feldspar 30-40 elongated
Yavneh 135	slightly active, s, 15% voids	QZ: 25% bimodal 20-60 a-sr, 80-280 a-r; Several: LS 40-350 sa-sr, OP 30-80 sr-r; Rare: feldspar 30-60 sa, FR 30-50 r
Yavneh 136	slightly active, s-ds, 10% voids	QZ: 20% bimodal 30-70 a, 100-350 sr-r; Several: LS 30-150 sr-sa, OP 30-80 sr

Legend: s = single spaced, ds = double spaced; OP = opaque; QZ = quartz; LS = limestone; sr = subrounded, r = rounded, a = angular, sa = subangular;

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CHAPTER 9

CYPRIOT POTTERY

Joanna S. Smith

9.1. INTRODUCTION

The discovery of 21 nearly whole or fragments of Cypriot juglets in the Yavneh *favissa* advances our understanding of the chronology of Cypriot pottery in the Iron Age. The deposit appears to be from a single period, which, judging from the local ceramics is best-placed in the late ninth to early eighth centuries BC. Nava Panitz-Cohen's study of the local pottery demonstrates the absence of later pottery in the repository pit.

The ceramics found at Yavneh include Type III, transitional Type III-IV, and a few likely Type IV pieces. Type IV in Cyprus is normally dated no earlier than 750 BC. A forthcoming study of Cypriot pottery from Tel Rehov indicates that Type IV ceramics were consistently found in contexts predating this traditional date. The Yavneh finds provide further confirmation for an earlier dating of Type IV. The presence of earlier Cypriot wares of Type III and transitional Type III-IV indicate that some pieces may have been kept or circulated over a long period of time before being deposited in the repository pit. Indeed, the latest Cypriot pottery is likely, on the whole, to be somewhat earlier than the latest local pottery, when one accounts for the time involved in its exchange from the point of origin in a Cypriot polity to the deposition at Yavneh. Unfortunately, we have no Carbon-14 dating for this material.

All the juglets are small, in some cases less than ten centimeters high and never more than 12 cm high. They probably contained oil, possibly perfumed oil. Almost all the examples come from Loci 13 and 15, which correspond to a layer of soft gray ash. This layer of ash does not stem from a burning inside the pit, but probably from the contents of other pottery vessels (chalices, bowls) thrown into the pit. Oil or perfumed oil may have been an important part of the local rituals. Several vessels show signs of burning, supporting the idea that they were exposed directly to fire. However, there is no proof that fire was kindled inside the pit. One vessel (item 10) was found Locus 16, a shallow depression at the bottom of the pit. No examples were found in the upper part of the pit (Loci 12 and 14) or in the surface Loci (Loci 7-11).

9.2. WHITE PAINTED ITEMS (ITEMS 1-8, 16, and 20)

The Cypriot White Painted vessels from Yavneh are well levigated with few voids in their fabrics – with the exception of item 8, which has more voids than the others.

9.2.1 BARREL JUGLETS

Item 1 (Fig. 9.1:1; Pl. 41). B.11-11/1 (Locus 13), c. 4 cm high. Rim, neck, and shoulder fragment. Number of fragments: 1. Condition: Good, slightly burnt. Burnishing: no. Rim diameter 2.4 cm, body thickness 0.2 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: interior and core – 5YR 7/6; exterior – 10YR 8/3; paint: 7.5YR 2/0. Inclusions: very few small and medium white. Type III. Thick painted horizontal bands around the top of the rim and bottom of the neck. Two narrow painted horizontal bands below the rim. On the shoulder a thick band next to the neck flanks up to four lines, all encircling either side of the body.

Item 2 (Fig. 9.1:2; Pl. 41). 11-11/2 (Locus 13), c. 6.8 cm high. Nearly complete, rim missing. Number of fragments: 6, restored. Condition: good, slightly encrusted. Burnishing: no. Body diameter not clear (since one side is missing), body thickness 0.3 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: interior and core – 5YR 7/6; exterior – 10YR 8/3; paint: 7.5YR 2/0. Inclusions: few small and medium white. Type III. Thick painted horizontal band around base of the neck and along the full length of the exterior of the handle. Around the intact side of the body are a group of five lines next to the neck and a thick band encircling a central dot around which are three encircling lines. Similarly on the broken side there are a group of four lines next to the neck and part of a thick band.

Item 3 (Fig. 9.1:3). Reg. No. 999/7, c. 3.9 cm long. Handle with fragment of body. Number of fragments: 1. Condition: burnt. Burnishing: no. Munsell readings: fabric: interior, exterior and core – 2.5Y 7/3; paint: 7.5YR 2/0. Inclusions: few small and medium white. Type III? Narrow, long, flat-sectioned. Paint along the exterior of the handle and horizontally on its interior next to the body. Two narrow black bands vertically next to the handle on the body.

All three barrel-shaped juglets are truly miniature in that they nestle easily in a single hand. The examples at Yavneh are best compared with Type III examples in the traditional typology set out by Einar Gjerstad. See, for example, a miniature White Painted barrel juglet with the same features as items 1 and 2 from Tomb 14 at Amathus excavated by the British Museum (Gjerstad 1948: Fig. XIX.2). In Bichrome there is an example from the Swedish excavations at Lapithos in Tomb 403 (Gjerstad 1948: Fig. XXII.6). The single handle (item 3) is likely to be from the same kind of vessel. Miniature barrel juglets are better understood through examples in the Levant, because the examples on Cyprus come from mixed burials or otherwise disturbed tomb contexts. Ayelet Gilboa has discussed this shape in detail (2012). She suggests that earlier rounded vessels with prominent nipples and funnel-shaped rims date to the Cypro-Geometric IB/II period, equating them with vessels of Types I and II. She includes the example from Lapithos cited above (Gilboa 2012:7) in this group. While she includes item 2 from Yavneh (Gilboa 2012:12) in the later more fully barrel-shaped group that have splayed rims and less prominent nipples, she also considers it to be an early shape (Gilboa 2012:12). It is unfortunate that item 1 with its narrowly splayed rather than strictly funnel-shaped rim does not preserve a body. Item 2 preserves the body, but not the rim. It has one flattened and one rounded shoulder and a body that is squatter than it is round. Each may be early in the Type III sequence.

9.2.2. JUGLET

Item 4 (Pl. 41). B.7218/8 (Locus 13), c. 9.4 cm high. Nearly complete, restored. Number of fragments: 5. Condition: good, burnt and encrusted, dark stain on lower body. Burnishing: no. Rim diameter 3 cm (? – most of the rim is missing), body thickness 0.35-0.4 cm, 0.6 cm at upper edge of base. Munsell readings: fabric: exterior – 7.5 7/4; interior and core burnt; paint: faded, but probably 7.5YR 2/0. Inclusions: few tiny black. Type III. Thick painted band below the rim and two narrow bands around the neck, just above the join with the handle. Four narrow bands around the body just above its widest point.

The wide funnel rim, wide and flat base, and squat body of this juglet compare with Type III juglets in the standard typology (see two Bichrome juglets from early excavations at Idalion, Gjerstad 1948: Fig. XXII.10; and a less close parallel ibid, Fig. XXII.9). The same shape is also found among ridge-neck juglets at Amathus (see a Black-on-Red example from the Swedish excavations, Tomb 9 no. 171, Gjerstad 1948: Fig. XXV.9) and Kition (from Kition Area II, Bothros 10, Karageorghis 1999: Pl. CXXIII.2170; Smith 2009:205, Fig. VI.2a). The weight of the body of item 4 is low, more similar to the examples from Idalion and Amathus than to the one from Kition.

9.2.3. RIDGED-NECK JUGLETS

Item 5 (Fig. 9.1:4; Pl. 41). B.7241/1 (Locus 13), c. 8.3 cm high. Nearly complete, restored. Number of fragments: 1. Condition: good, burnt. Burnishing: faint traces. Rim diameter 3 cm, body diameter 5.5 cm, body thickness 0.2-0.3 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: interior, exterior and core – 7.5YR 7/4, but burnt; paint: faded and burnt, but probably 7.5YR 2/0. Inclusions: none visible. Type III-IV. Painted bands at the rim and between the rim and the ridge of the neck. Narrower bands around either side of the ridge and at the base of the neck.

Item 6 (Pl. 41). B.7380/7 (Locus 15), c. 2.6 cm high. Rim and upper neck. Number of fragments: 1. Condition: good, slightly burnt and encrusted. Burnishing: no. Rim diameter 3 cm, body thickness at the neck 0.3 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: interior, exterior and core – 7.5YR 7/3; paint: 10YR 3/2. Inclusions: none. Type III. Painted bands at the rim and between the rim and the ridge of the neck. Narrower band above the ridge and two narrower bands below it.

Item 7 (Pl. 41). B.7447 (Locus 15), c. 3.7 cm high. Rim, neck, handle stub, and top of shoulder. Number of fragments: 1. Condition: good, slightly burnt and encrusted. Burnishing: no. Rim diameter 3 cm, body thickness 0.2 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: interior, exterior and core – 7.5YR 7/3; paint: 7.5YR 2/0. Inclusions: none. Type III-IV. Painted bands at the rim and between the rim and the ridge at the neck. Narrower band above the ridge and two below it.

Ridged-neck juglets are a prominent part of the Cypriot ceramic assemblage from Type III onwards and Black-on-Red examples first appear in the Levant in the latter half of the tenth century BCE (Schreiber 2003:182). At Yavneh there are parts of five different White Painted examples. The body of item 5 is globular with some

greater weight towards the upper part of the body. In this way it is neither the perfectly rounded body of Type IV (Gjerstad 1960:115), nor the prominently weighted body of Type III, as appears frequently among the juglets found in Bothros 10 on Floor 3 at Kition-Kathari (Smith 2009:205–206). The neck and rim are not the simple funnel-shape of Type III, but retain the funnel-shaped profile without the full flattening of the rim as in Type IV. The base is flat as in many Type III vessels. Item 6 appears to retain a funnel-shaped profile and, therefore, compares best with Type III. Item 7 has a slightly more rounded rim that recalls that of item 5. Therefore, it is likely that it is from a similar Type III-IV vessel. Similarly, items 16 and 20 are rims of Type III-IV.

9.2.4. SACK-SHAPED JUGLET

Item 8 (Fig. 9.1:5). B.7482/94 (Locus 13), 5.3 cm high. Base and lower body. Number of fragments: 1. Condition: good, slightly burnt and encrusted. Burnishing: partly polished. Body diameter 5.3 cm, body thickness 0.3 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: interior and exterior – 7.5YR 7/3; core – 5PB 6/1; paint: faded, 7.5YR 3/2. Inclusions: very few tiny black. Type III-IV or IV. Four bands around the body, above its widest point.

This squat juglet shape is normally considered to be no earlier than Type IV (Gjerstad 1960:115). However, a slightly more carinated example and a sharply carinated example from Kh. Rosh Zayit, found together with Cypriot Type III ridged-neck juglets, suggest that the shape has a longer period of manufacture. This example, with the slightly raised base, is less tapered than the pieces classified as Type IV (e.g. Swedish excavations at Amathus Tomb 16 no. 43, Gjerstad 1948: Fig. XXVIII.21); instead, the volume of its body is more similar to that from Kh. Rosh Zayit (Gal and Alexandre 2000: Fig. III.74:6). It might well be at the earlier end of the spectrum of manufacture, Type III-IV.

9.3. BLACK ON RED (ITEMS 9-13, 17–19, 21)

The Cypriot Black-on-Red vessels from Yavneh are well levigated with few voids in their fabrics.

9.3.1. RIDGED-NECK JUGLETS

Item 9 (Fig. 9.1:6; Color Pl. 7:1; Pl. 41). B7440 (Locus 15), c. 9 cm high. Nearly complete. Number of fragments: 1. Since the juglet was exhibited at the time of study and writing, its details could not be verified. Type III. Bands around the rim, between the rim and ridge at the neck, above and below the ridge, and at the base of the neck. Thick band down the exterior of the handle. Four narrow bands horizontally around the midpoint of the body. Three small concentric circles on the shoulder, each made up of three circles.

Item 10 (Fig. 9.1:7; Color Pl. 7:2; Pl. 41). B7476 (Locus 16), c. 8.4 cm high. Nearly complete, restored. Number of fragments: 7. Condition: good, slightly encrusted. Burnishing: lower body with some scraping. Rim diameter 2.9 cm, body thickness 0.2-0.3 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: interior, exterior and core – 2.5YR 6/6; paint: 7.5YR 2/0. Inclusions: very few tiny black. Type III-IV. Bands at the rim, between the rim and ridge at the neck, and below the ridge. Narrower bands above the ridge and at the base of the neck. Thick band down the exterior of the handle. Four narrower bands around the body, just above its midpoint. One concentric circle made up of four circles on the shoulder opposite the handle.

Item 11 (Pl. 41). B7380/4 (Locus 15), c. 3.6 cm high. Rim and neck. Number of fragments: 1. Condition: good, encrusted. Burnishing: no. Rim diameter 2.9 cm, body thickness 0.2 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: interior and exterior – 5YR 7/6; core – 10R 6/6; paint: 7.5YR 2/0. Inclusions: none. Type III-IV. Painted horizontal bands at the rim, between the rim and the ridge at the neck, and at the base of the neck. Narrower bands above and below the ridge.

Item 12 (Fig. 9.1:8; Color Pl. 7:3; Pl. 41). B7237/1 (Locus 15), c. 11.8 cm high. Nearly complete, restored. Number of fragments: 12. Condition: good, burnt and encrusted. Burnishing: partly. Rim diameter 4 cm, body thickness 0.4-0.5 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: interior – encrusted and not visible; exterior – 2.5YR 4/8 to 2.5YR 4/2 and 3/2; core – burnt; paint: 7.5YR 2/0. Inclusions: very few tiny black. Type III-IV or IV. Traces of painted bands around the neck. Two narrow bands flanking five horizontal lines around the body above the midpoint. One concentric circle made up of four circles on the shoulder on the side opposite the handle.

Item 13 (Fig. 9.1:9; Pl. 41). 14-11-2002 (Locus 15), c. 8.4 cm high. Rim to middle body fragment. Number of fragments: 1. Condition: good, slightly burnt and encrusted. Burnishing: body partly. Rim diameter 3.7 cm, body

thickness 0.3 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: interior, exterior and core – 7.5YR 5/4; paint: 7.5YR 2/0. Inclusions: few tiny and very few medium white. Type III-IV or IV. Painted bands at the rim, slightly above the ridge at the neck, on either side of the ridge, and around the base of the neck. Thick band down the exterior of the handle. Two narrow bands flanking a group of seven horizontal lines around the body below the handle and above the midpoint. A thick horizontal band around the body below the midpoint.

Item 14 (Pl. 41). B7447 (L15), c. 3.4 cm high. Rim, upper neck, and stub of handle. Number of fragments: 1. Condition: good, burnt and encrusted. Burnishing: No. Rim diameter 2.7 cm, body thickness at neck 0.3 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: interior and exterior – 5YR 7/4; core – 5YR 7/6; paint: 7.5YR 2/0. Inclusions: none. Possibly White Painted rather than Black-on-Red. Type III, III-IV, or IV. Painted bands at the rim, slightly above the ridge at the neck, on either side of the neck, and at the base of the neck.

Item 15 (Pl. 41). B.7384/11 (L15), c. 2.5 cm high. Neck. Number of fragments: 1. Condition: good, burnt, slightly encrusted. Burnishing: no. Body thickness 0.3 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: interior and exterior – 5YR 7/6, core – 10R 6/6; paint: 5YR 3/1. Inclusions: none. Type III, III-IV, or IV. Painted bands between the rim and ridge at the neck, above the ridge, and slightly above the base of the neck.

There are eight Black-on-Red ridged neck juglets (three fully reconstructed juglets, one nearly complete profile, three neck and rim fragments, one neck, one rim, and one handle). Together with the five White Painted ridged-neck juglets (see section 9.2, above) there are in total 13 ridged-neck juglets, making them the most common Cypriot juglet shape found in the Yavneh *favissa*. Their shapes recall aspects of the White Painted examples described above. Two Black-on-Red items have flat bases typical of Type III (nos. 9-10), whereas the largest item (no. 12) has a raised base more typical of Type IV (Smith 2009: 205). Item 9 also has a splayed funnel-shaped rim and a globular body with weight toward the top, suggesting that it is Type III. By contrast, item 10 has a more perfectly globular body typical of Type IV, even though it retains some of the funnel-shape in its shorter, slightly everted rim. With its flat base, it is best placed at Type III-IV. Two fragments (items 11 and 21) have a similar rim.

One juglet (item 12) has the raised base and perfectly globular body of Type IV, but its rim retains much of the funnel-shaped rim and does not have a flattened upper edge in profile. Therefore, it is either Type III-IV or Type IV. Unfortunately, the base of item 13 is not preserved. Its surviving profile suggests that its body was more ovoid than globular. It is unclear whether it was weighted toward the top. Its rim is a high funnel, but with a rounded everted top that flattens out in as in Type IV. Two remaining fragments (items 14-15) could either be Type III, Type III-IV, or Type IV.

Many examples of ridged-neck jugs on Cyprus come from tombs, the contents of which are mixed. A non-funerary deposit containing some vessels that compare well with the shapes of the vessels from the Yavneh *favissa* was found on Floor 3 of Temple 1 in Area II at Kition. Although the deposit was not in a pit, it is called Bothros 10. It is early in the sequence of deposits related to Floor 3 (for further references and a discussion of its contents and revisions to its ceramic chronology see Smith 2009:200–208).

Note: six small additional fragments were found during the second pottery mending:

Item 16. B7463/99; Locus 16, 2.8 cm high. White Painted ridged-neck juglet. Rim and upper ridged neck. Number of fragments: 1. Condition: burnt, slightly encrusted. Burnishing: no. Rim diameter 2.6 cm, body thickness 0.2 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: interior, exterior and core – 7.5YR 7/3. Type III-IV or IV. Black-painted bands at the rim, between the rim and the ridge at the neck, and on either side of the ridge.

Item 17. B11.11/98; Locus 13, 3 cm high. Black-on-Red juglet of uncertain shape. Handle. Number of fragments: 1. Condition: encrusted. Burnishing: no. Body thickness 0.2 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: interior, exterior and core – 5YR 6/8. Type III, III-IV, or IV. Thick black-painted band of on the exterior of the handle.

Item 18. B11.11/99; Locus 13. Black-on-Red juglet of uncertain shape. Body sherd. Number of fragments: 1. Condition: good, encrusted. Burnishing: lightly, body partly scraped. Body thickness 0.2 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: exterior – 2.5YR 6/8; interior and core – 2.5YR 6/6. Type III, III-IV, or IV. Four black-painted bands horizontally around the body.

Item 19. B999/99. Locus unknown. Black-on-Red juglet of uncertain shape. Body sherd with imprint of handle attachment. Number of fragments: 1. Condition: good, encrusted. Burnishing: lightly, body partly scraped. Body thickness 0.3 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: exterior – 2.5YR 6/8, interior and core – 2.5YR 6/6. In section the clay appears as two thin layers. Type III, III-IV, or IV. Four black-painted bands horizontally around the body.

Item 20. B7218 L13. White Painted (?) juglet of uncertain shape. Rim fragment. Number of fragments: 1. Condition: burnt. Burnishing: no. Rim diameter 4.2 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: interior – 10YR 6/3, exterior and core – 7.5YR 7/3. Type III-IV or IV. No painted decoration.

Item 21 (Pl. 41). L13. Black-on-Red ridged-neck juglet. Rim, neck, handle, and part of shoulder. Number of fragments: 1. Condition: good, encrusted. Burnishing: no. Rim diameter 2.9 cm. Munsell readings: fabric: exterior and core – 2.5YR 6/6; interior – encrusted. Type III-IV or IV. Black-painted bands at the rim, slightly above the ridge at the neck, above and below the ridge, and at the base of the neck. Thick band along the exterior of the handle.

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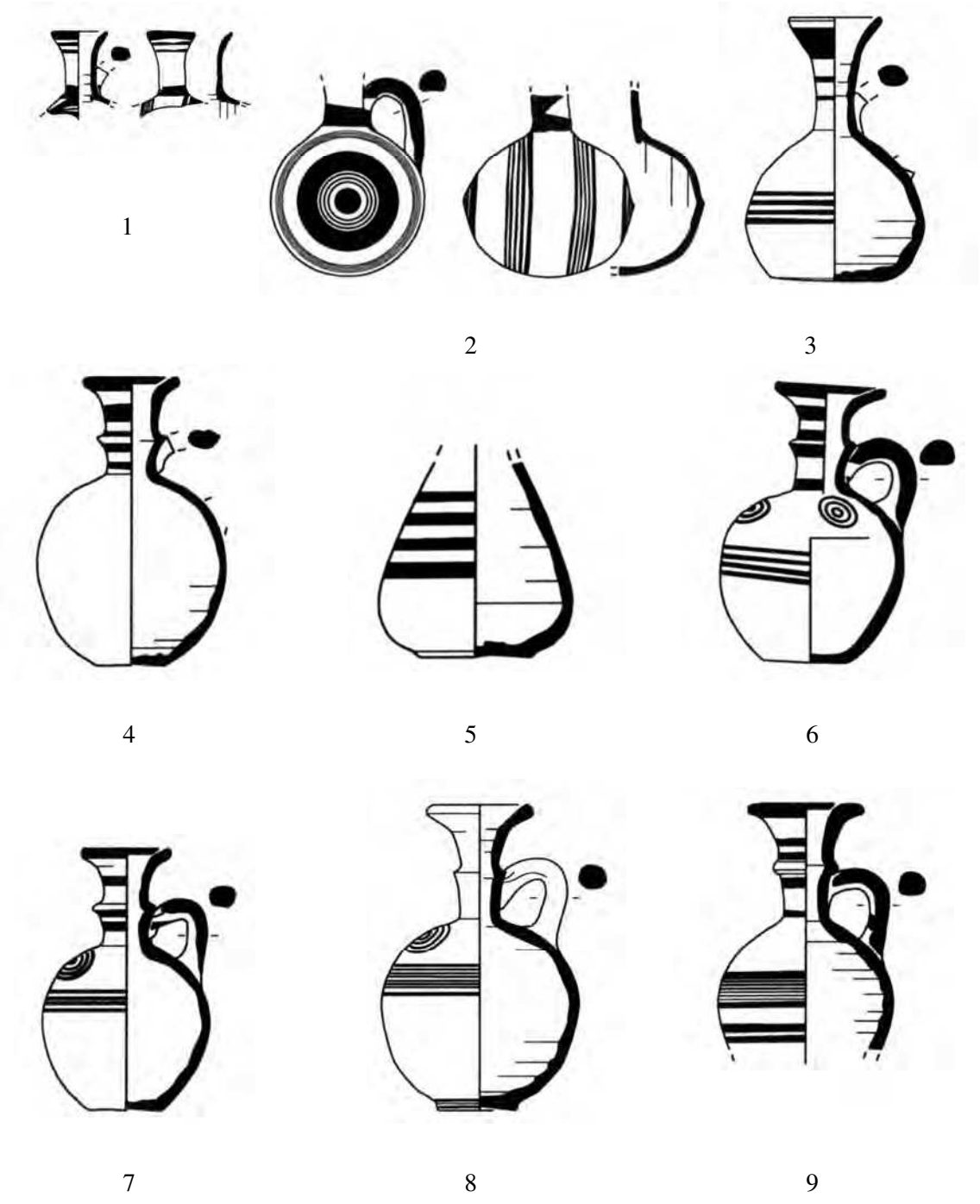

Fig. 9.1: Left to right, top row – items 1, 2, 4
Middle row – items 5, 8, 9
Bottom row – items 10, 12, 13
Not in scale (measures for each item are given in the text)

CHAPTER 10

DOG REMAINS

Liora Kolska Horwitz

10.1. INTRODUCTION

A small pit (2m wide x 1.5m deep) containing Iron Age II (ca. 9th century BC) ceramic vessels and decorated cult stands was discovered during salvage excavations at the town of Yavneh. The pit has been interpreted as the repository (*favissa* or *genizah*) of a neighboring Philistine temple (Kletter, Ziffer and Zwickel 2006; 2010; Ziffer and Kletter 2007). This paper describes remains of a dog (*Canis familiaris*) that were recovered from inside the pit. These remains are discussed in relation to Iron Age and Persian period dog "burials" from the Levant (Wapnish and Hesse 1993; Edrey 2008; Sapir-Hen 2011; Çakirlar et al. in press).

10.2. DOG REMAINS

At Yavneh, nine fragmented animal bones were recovered from the same excavation basket, B7350, retrieved from Locus 15, close to the bottom of the *favissa* pit, on its eastern part, between L14 and L16. All the bones belong to a domestic dog (*Canis familiaris*).

The bones represented are (Pl. 42:1): 1 Coronoid process of a right lower jaw, 1 fragment of the lateral process of a cervical vertebra, 1 caudal (tail) vertebra, 1 proximal portion of a left ulna, 1 proximal left radius, 1 complete left 2nd metacarpal (lower forelimb), complete right 4th and 5th metatarsals and a shaft fragment of the 3rd metatarsal (lower hindlimb). The 3rd-5th metatarsals are in anatomical relation (Pl. 42:2) and the ulna and radius articulate together as a pair (Pl. 42:3).

All the bones are heavily weathered and some were broken in antiquity, indicating that they have been interred for some time. Both their state of preservation and the fact that the metatarsals were still in anatomical association while the radius-ulna represent a pair, supports these finds as being *in situ* and undisturbed Iron Age II remains rather than recent or accidental intrusions in the pit. Since the remains represent different parts of the skeleton – from the cranial, trunk and limbs, and both sides of the skeleton – it raises the possibility that the animal was more complete when interred, and that the rest of the bones disintegrated. This is unlikely as no other bone fragments were found in the pit, also all the dog bones were found close together at one place. A more feasible explanation is that only a group of bones was selected for internment (discussed below).

Based on bone measurements (Table 10.1), the Yavneh dog most closely resembles a modern female Pariah dog ('Batsheba') from the Suez region, though the Yavneh specimen appears to have been slightly more gracile. 'Batsheba', and by analogy the Yavneh specimen, has an estimated shoulder height of 51.4 cm and a weight of 12.7 kg. Both then fall within the lower size range of the over 400 Ashkelon Persian dogs analyzed by Wapnish and Hesse (1993), which exhibit a very wide size range; shoulder height ranging from 48.3 to 60.8 cm (with a mean of 52.6 cm) and weight ranging from 10.5 to 19.6 kg. This variability matches that seen in modern Pariah dogs from the region (Wapnish and Hesse 1993).

A single Persian dog from Tel Batash is also thought to "compare favorably with the Ashkelon material", though like the Yavneh dog, "it is at the small end of the range in height" (Wapnish and Hesse 1993:69). According to these researchers the Tel Batash skull form is similar to that of the Ashkelon dogs. The Tel Batash dog has an estimated shoulder height of 48.5, which is 2.9 cm shorter than 'Batsheba', but is slightly heavier in build with an estimated weight of 15.7 kg (Wapnish and Hesse 1993:67). It is possible that the smaller size of the Yavneh and Tel Batash dogs is due to gender, namely that both were female. It is interesting to note that at Ashkelon, there was no evidence for preferential selection of dogs based on gender, with both sexes interred (Wapnish and Hesse 1993: 59). Irrespective of the gender of the Yavneh and Tel Batash specimens, both conform in terms of size and shape to the Persian dogs from the Ashkelon cemetery, and all compare favorably to modern Pariah dogs from the region.

Since all the Yavneh bones, including the vertebra, have fused ends, it is concluded that they belong to an adult animal. Similarly, the three partial dog skeletons discovered outside the cemetery at Ashkelon also represent-

ed adult animals (Wapnish and Hesse 1993:55). In contrast, the age profile of the Ashkelon dog population demonstrates that the majority of animals inside the cemetery were immature: 62% comprised puppies, 5% were subadults and only 33% adults. According to the researchers, this demographic profile resembles that of an unmanaged urban dog population.

Table 10.1: Bone Measurements (mm) of Yavneh Dog compared to Ashdod and Modern Dogs

	Yavneh	Ashdod *	Modern Pariahs Male, N=5 (Fang, Bernard, ?, Stripe, Buck)	Modern Pariah Female (Batsheba)	Modern Saluki Male M3973
Estimated Height (cm) #			58.2, 54.0, ?, 57.8, 59.2	48.5	68.3
Estimated Weight (kg) #			15.7, 14.5, ?, 13.2, 16.2	15.7	16.9
Bone/Measurement ***Mandible coronoid process***					
Basal width	22.8	-	24.5, 22.4, 22.2, 26.7, 25.9	20.3	30.0
Ulna					
Breadth articular process (BPC)	(11.7)	-	17.1, 16.3, 16.3, (16.8), 17.1	16.2	19.6
Breadth of articular process (DPA)	(24.2)	25.4	27.6, (25.7), 27.2, (26.1), 27.6	23.7	30.5
Articular height	23.0	-	24.5, 26.7, 23.5, 23.2, 24.9	22.9	25.0
Radius					
Breadth prox end (Bp)	16.4	22.2	18.5, 18.5, 18.7, (17.6), 18.9	16.8	20.3
Depth prox end (Dp)	11.3	-	13.2, 12.4, 12.2, (13.7), 12.8	11.6	14.0
2nd metacarpal					
Greatest length (GL)	(63.0)	-		62.2	78.0
Shaft breadth (B-B)	5.9	-		5.5	6.6
Breadth dist end (Bd)	7.7	-		9.9	10.1
Depth dist end (Dd)	7.2	-		8.7	9.6
4th metatarsal					
Greatest length (GL)	(69.0)	71.6	69.1, - , 68.1	70.0	85.9
Shaft breadth (B-B)	-	-	6.5, - , 6.3	6.4	6.6
Breadth dist end (Bd)	8.0	7.8	9.5, - , 9.1	9.5	10.8
Depth dist end (Dd)	7.7	-	8.5, - , 8.4	8.5	9.5
5th metatarsal					
Greatest length (GL)	(67.5)	71.0	69.5, 65.2, 67.1	69.9	85.4
Shaft breadth (B-B)	5.4	-	5.6, 5.5, 5.6	5.8	5.8
Breadth dist end (Bd)	7.4	8.0	8.9, 8.6, 8.9	8.5	9.6
Depth dist end (Dd)	7.3	-	8.4, 8.1, 7.9	8.4	8.2

Key: Measurements follow von den Driesch (1976) with some additions. ( ) indicate estimated measurement of incomplete bones. *Ashdod dog (9th-8th centuries BC; from Maher 2005). Saluki/Pariah dogs – from comparative mammal collection of The Hebrew University, Jerusalem. The Pariah dogs are all originally from Suez area and died of heat stroke aged ca. 22 months. # Estimates from Wapnish and Hesse (1993:67).

10.3. OTHER DOG 'BURIALS'

Interred dogs are documented from numerous Iron Age II and Persian period sites in the Levant including Tell el-Burak, Tel Dor, Tel Megadim, Gezer, (Stern 2001:487; Sapir-Hen 2011; Çakirlar et al. in press), Tell Hesban (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1995:73-74), Ashdod (Stern 2001:487; Maher 2005), Shoham (Nadelman 1998; Nadelman and Torgë 2000), Tell el-Hesi (Bennett and Schwartz 1989:65, 262), Tel Batash (Wapnish and Hesse 1993), Tel Miqneh (Dothan 2002), and possibly also Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath (Lev-Tov 2012:597; see Edrey 2008 for a more comprehensive list). The dogs range from individual animals to multiples, while in most instances each animal is buried separately in a pit. The dogs also vary from partial to complete skeletons. Their identification as intentional burials rather than the disposal of unwanted dog carcasses is unclear in many of the published examples, especially

when isolated interments are found or those comprising only a few bones. Researchers cite the absence of consumption modifications, such as butchery marks or burning on the bones, to support claims of ritual interment (Sapir-Hen 2011); while the presence of several interred dogs in the same period at a site, offers a convincing argument for intentional burial. In this regard the most important site is undoubtedly Ashkelon where a 4th-5th century BC Persian period dog 'cemetery' was discovered (mainly in Grids 50 and 57) that has yielded to date some 1,400 animals (Stager 1991; Wapnish and Hesse 1993; Edrey 2008). Here, the dogs represent a range of age groups – primarily puppies but also adults – that were interred singly in unlined, unmarked shallow pits and without other burial offerings. The skeletons were usually complete with the animals having been laid on their sides' with their tails' carefully arranged so that they were curled between the hindlimbs. The interred dogs found at Dor (Sapir-Hen 2011) and Ashdod (Dothan and Porath 1982) appear to have been buried in a similar fashion. However, other canids at Ashkelon appear to have been buried when trussed, as manifest by their tightly drawn together legs while at Tel Miqneh/Ekron, a puppy was found with the post-cranial skeleton articulated and the skull placed between its legs (Dothan 2002).

From the Ashkelon cemetery, Wapnish and Hesse (1993:55, 59) also report the presence of partial but articulated skeletons and interments with only a few bones from locations distant from the 'cemetery'. Although the researchers interpreted these instances as probably representing disturbed complete skeletons, it is also possible that in some instances only selected bones were interred to begin with and that not all incomplete dogs represent disturbed primary burials. This idea finds support in the isolated Persian period (Stratum V) finds from Tell el-Hesi where a small collection of post-cranial remains of what may represent the same but incomplete, juvenile dog were retrieved from a pit (Bennett and Schwartz 1989), or the isolated remains recovered from the Yavneh pit.

The dog remains discovered in Iron Age/Persian period sites do not derive only from shallow individual graves but from a variety of contexts or example some of the Ashkelon dogs (especially from Grid 38) were buried under streets and in alleyways, at Dor, ten articulated dog burials were found in one small area of the site, D5 (Sapir-Hen 2011), while at Tell el-Hesi an articulated skeleton was excavated from a Late Persian/Hellenistic silo (Bennett and Schwartz 1989:65). The Persian period dog from Tel Batash was found under a ceramic vessel, but was in articulation and complete (Wapnish and Hesse 1993:69), while in at least one case, a dog burial from Ashkelon (Phase 18) was interred in a cooking amphora (Stager 2006:15).

10.4. CONCLUSIONS

While it is apparent that the Iron Age/Persian dogs recovered to date show some intra and inter-site variation in context, number and completeness, there are several markedly consistent patterns to these finds:

1) The buried dogs are time constrained – they are rare in the Iron Age I (currently only from Tel Miqneh/Ekron), markedly more common in Iron Age II contexts, and peak in the Persian period; but in sites attributed to different cultures – Philistine, Phoenician, Israelite, etc.
2) Commonly, more than one such interment is found per site, but all researchers agree that in the "cemetery" at Ashkelon, the dogs had been interred over a period of time, rather than in a single catastrophic event. It is not clear if this holds true for other concentrations of dogs, for example, from Dor, Tel Megadim, and Shoham.
3) The majority of burials represent complete skeletons but partial skeletons also occur. Complete, as well as most partial skeletons, are found in anatomical articulation reflecting rapid burial of a whole, or part, of an animal. This pattern is particularly striking given the relative paucity of articulated complete or partial skeletons of other more common species – such as sheep, goat, cattle, pigs – from the same sites and periods.
4) The predominant manner of burial in simple shallow pits is universal between sites. It also reflects intentional and rapid interment of the dogs.
5) At several sites, the dog burials were found in clear association with cultic contexts – at Yavneh in the *favissa* pit, at Tel Miqneh/Ekron a burial was found in proximity to a cultic installation (Dothan 2002), at Ashdod a dog burial was located in a separate room in what may be a cultic precinct (Maher 2005), while at Dor some of the Persian period dog burials were found next to *favissa* pits containing cultic vessels (Stern and Gilboa 1993; Stern et al. 1995).
6) There are only two examples of cut-marked Iron Age dog burials; the Iron Age I puppy from Tel Miqneh/ Ekron (Dothan 2002:17) and the remains of two puppies buried in pots from Philistine Ashkelon (Edrey 2008:275). As such, the overwhelming majority of dog remains, including those from the Ashkelon cemetery (Wapnish and Hesse 1993; Edry 2008; Sapir-Hen 2011) bear no osteological evidence for inten-

tional slaughter or consumption (butchery or burning). It should however be stressed that the killing of an animal does not necessarily leave evidence of how they were killed. Such methods may range from poisoning, drowning, choking, slitting of the animals throat or even breaking their neck, as stated in the passage from Isaiah (66:3; New RSV) cited by Stager (1991):

> "Whoever slaughters an ox is like who kills a human being; whoever sacrifices a lamb, like one who breaks a dog's neck; whoever presents a grain offering, like one who offers swine's blood; whoever makes a memorial offering of frankincense, like one who blesses an idol."

Contra Wapnish and Hesse (1993), I concur with several other scholars, that the unusual and almost universally consistent features listed above offer strong evidence that the dogs were intentionally killed and interred in accordance with a rite. As noted by Edrey (2008:269), "A ritual by definition is a sequence of actions performed in exactly the same manner and repeated whenever called for or on a predetermined date over a period of time."

The exclusive representation of dog remains in a clearly ritual context at Yavneh attests to the cultic nature of this interment and sheds light on the other dog interments from the Iron Age II. The origin of this rite does not necessary link to earlier, local dog burials in the Levant as documented for the Natufian (Eynan – Tchernov and Valla 1997), the Chalcolithic (Gilat – Grigson 2006), the Early Bronze I (Nesher-Ramla Quarry – Horwitz 2012), or the Middle Bronze II (Tel Haror – Klenck 2002) periods, since these cover a lengthy time span as well as a wide variety of geographic regions, communities and cultures. Moreover, there are gaps in the chronological sequence, since currently there are no examples from the Levant dating to the Neolithic, Early Bronze Age II, or Middle Bronze Age I, and only one (as yet uncorroborated by archaeozoological analysis) Late Bronze Age example from Tel eṣ-Ṣafi (Itzhak Shai, pers. comm.). Ritual acts, like objects, are imbued with different qualities by different cultures, and these may vary both temporally and diachronically. In other words, *there is no reason for there to have been a single, continuous tradition of dog interments in the southern Levant.*

Stager (1991) suggested that the sacred nature of dogs in Iron Age and Persian period communities was linked to worship of a (Phoenician?) deity of healing. Subsequently, Heltzer (1998) also pointed to a Phoenician source, while Halpern (2000) looked to the Mesopotamian goddess of healing Gula. Most recently Edrey (2008) suggested a link to Zoroastrian rituals. A link to Hittite and Ugaritic rituals has also been discussed by Fink (2003), based on textual sources.

Given the chronological and cultural attribution of the Yavneh pit contents as clearly Philistine in character, evident in the iconography of the cult stands (Ziffer 2010) as well as the fact that at this time Yavneh was under Philistine control (Fischer and Taxel 2007; Kletter et al. 2010:2-3), an Aegean origin should also be considered. As suggested by Maeir et al. (2013), it is possible that ritual dog burials were another feature of the Philistine cultural repertoire introduced into the southern Levant along with Mycenaean IIIC pottery, notched scapulae, bronze tubular stands and clay hearths. This concept is supported by the presence of dog burials in sites in mainland Greece and on Crete dating to the Late Helladic II-III A1 (ca. 1435/1406 to 1390/1370 BC), the majority found in chamber tombs and *tholoi* such as at Mycenae, Dendra, Asine, Knossos and Gournes (Day 1984; Hamilakis 1996; Dimitrov 2002). The tradition continues in the Iron Age, but after the Geometric period the custom of dog burial disappears almost entirely in mainland Greece, whereas in Thrace, in the Late Iron Age, dogs continue to be found in tombs (Dimitrov 2002). Whether the Persian period renaissance in dog burials in the Levant derives from this tradition or is a new, perhaps Phoenician-influenced innovation, remains to be investigated.

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CHAPTER 11

ANIMAL REPRESENTATION IN THE YAVNEH CULT STANDS

Liora Kolska Horwitz

11.1. INTRODUCTION

During salvage excavations of a small pit (2m wide x 1.5m deep) on the "Temple Hill" at Yavneh, located near the Mediterranean coast midway between the cities of Jaffa and Ashdod, a unique hoard of thousands of ceramic bowls and chalices and some 120 ceramic cult stands dating to the Iron Age II, c. 9th century BC, was discovered. The pit has been interpreted as a repository pit (*favissa* or *genizah*) of a nearby Philistine temple (Kletter et al. 2006; Kletter et al. 2010).

The cultic stands are made of clay and are decorated with applied, molded or incised human and animal figures. A further hundred detached figures (originally attached to the stands) were also recovered from the repository pit. These figures have symbolic meanings and some probably represent deities (Keel and Uehlinger 1998; Ziffer and Kletter 2007; Kletter, Ziffer and Zwickel 2010). As a complement to the discussion of the vessels and their iconography by Kletter, Ziffer and Zwickel, this paper describes the zoological criteria used to identify the animals represented and discusses their place in the archaeozoological record of the Levantine Iron Age.

With reference to anatomical behavioral details, such as special morphological features and the animals' stance, three zoological issues will be addressed:

(i) Identification of the species represented and their domestic status.
(ii) Identification of the animals' gender.
(iii) Identification of the animals' age.

As briefly discussed by Fleming (1999), the identification of these characteristics is critical for the correct recognition of the deity represented.

At least three different animals are represented in the Yavneh cultic assemblage: a carnivore, a bovine (cattle) and a caprine (goat). These decorative faunal motifs are executed in three different ways:

(a) Full-bodied molded figures which were applied or integrated into the cultic stands.
(b) Protomes (i.e. only the heads, necks and occasionally shoulders) which were applied to the cultic stands.
(c) Figures incised in the clay.

The carnivores and bovines were made in methods (a) and (b); while the caprines are the most roughly executed form, made in methods (a) and (c).

11.2. ANIMAL REPRESENTATION

11.2.1. CARNIVORES

As today, a wide range of different-sized carnivore species inhabited the Near East and specifically the Southern Levant in the Late Bronze/Iron Age (Dayan 1994; Qumsiyeh 1996; Mendelssohn and Yom-Tov 1999). Consequently, if local animals were depicted on the Yavneh cult stands, a broad range of candidates needs to be considered.

The carnivores from Yavneh are depicted in pairs, with small rounded ears while most have rounded or globular faces. Their eyes are large and quite high up on the head and located wide apart. They have clearly defined nostrils in short, stumpy snouts (Pls. 43; 44:1-2; cf. Kletter, Ziffer and Zwickel 2010: CAT1, 44, 58, 78; Pls. 8:1; 18:2, 20:1; 50; 84:4, 85:1; 101; 115:1-2).

The animals are portrayed with a menacing snarl; they have large gaping jaws with thick lips. Teeth (both upper and lower canines) are clearly depicted and disproportionately large, as is a long tongue which protrudes,

drooping, from the mouth (Pls. 43:2; 44:1-2). In all these facial features, the figures most closely resemble lions (*Panthera leo*).[1]

This identification is corroborated by the fact that some of the figures exhibit a mane framing the face. It is portrayed by striations incised on the neck and in some cases (such as Pls. 43:1; Pl. 44:3), incised on the underside of neck and on the forehead between the eyes as well. In lions, the mane frames the head, covers the neck, the thorax and can even extends along the belly (Guggisberg 1975; Nowak 1991).[2] The mane permits these figures to be positively identified as males since this is the most distinctive feature of lions and is absent in lionesses.

Other carnivore figures depicted in the Yavneh assemblage lack manes (e.g. Pl. 43:2). They may represent lionesses, but in all other features they resemble lions. It is thus possible that they represent lions that were executed with less care and hence, rendered without manes.

In many instances, the carnivores are depicted with their forelimbs stretched out in front of them and their front paws clearly shown (Pls. 43:1, 44:3-4). In some cases the paws are represented by five fingers, in others only four fingers. From a strictly zoological point of view, felids have five fingers (forelimb) and four toes (hindlimb), thus in some depictions one finger is missing from the front paws. Since one of the side fingers on the foreleg (the one of the 1st metacarpal) is far smaller than the others (the associated metacarpal of this finger measures only 45mm in length, compared to the four others which measure 110.5mm, 124.0mm, 121mm and 97.5mm respectively – Walker 1985), it may have been overlooked by the artists due to its small size. However, the presence of some animals with five fingers would suggest that the artisans responsible for the manufacture of the stands had seen lions. Alternately, if these representations are copies of a known, standard form, then at least some of the artisans who executed the Yavneh cultic stands placed high regard on detail.

The tail of the lion is distinguished from that of all other cats by having a tuft at the end. The figures from Yavneh are however incomplete and it is not possible to assess whether this feature is present or not.

One poorly preserved figure may represent a carnivore attacking a bovine with the carnivore in the process of leaping onto the back of its prey (Pl. 44:5; cf. Kletter, Ziffer and Zwickel 2010: CAT56, Pls. 97:1; 98:1, 3).

Based on the highly naturalistic posture of the seated carnivores in the more complete examples, i.e., with the forelimbs stretched out parallel to each other in front of the animal, the shape and proportions of the body and face, location and size of the teeth relative to the face and presence of a mane, it is clear that the carnivores represented in the Yavneh corpus are lions. In a few instances it is evident that they are males (with manes), while in other instances they may represent either males or females (without manes).

In the Middle East, the distribution of the long-maned African lion (*Panthera leo leo*) overlaps with that of the short-maned Persian lion (*Panthera leo persica*) (Nowak 1991). In antiquity, the Persian lion was widely distributed in Asia Minor and the Middle East, as confirmed by ancient texts and artistic representations (Bodenheimer 1960; Brentjes 1962). It became extinct in the Southern Levant probably during the Crusader period or Middle Ages (Qumsiyeh 1996); the most recent osteological remains were reported from Ayyubid/Mamluk contexts at Tell Hesban, Jordan (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1995). The last individuals survived until the late 19th or even the early 20th century in Iraq (Bodenheimer 1960:42; Guggisberg 1975:144).

The archaeozoological record of lions from the Southern Levant is on the whole limited not only because this was probably a rare species in the region, but also since it most likely did not serve as a dietary element. Examples of lion bones from Late Bronze/Iron Age sites in this region were found in secular contexts at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Martin 1988), Tell Jerishe/Gerisa (Sade 2000), and Tel Aphek (Horwitz 2009); in a Philistine temple as well as in secular contexts at Tel Miqneh/Ekron (Maher 2003); from a 12th century Philistine altar at Jaffa; and from a mid-9th century altar room at Dan (Wapnish and Hesse 1991).

Roaring lions, in pairs or alone, are common Near Eastern artistic motifs (Bodenheimer 1960; Brentjes 1962; Strawn 2005). Although the origin and meaning of this image may differ chronologically, regionally and/or between ethnic groups (Zevit 2001; Meiberg 2013), they commonly appear on cultic objects or in cultic contexts dating to the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age. For example: a pair of heraldic lions on a 10th century BC cult stand from Ta'anach (Beck 1994), a roaring lion on the Nimrin krater (Dornemann 1995), a seated lion with its paws lying on two human heads on a ceramic house shrine from Tel Rehov (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2008), a molded lion-head incense burner/brazier from Tell Qasile (Strawn 2005), a pair of seated lions on a model shrine from an unknown site in northern Transjordan held in the Moussaeiff collection (Maeir and Dayagi-Mendels 2007) and on a shrine from Tel Rekhesh (see Zevit 2001). Additional manifestations are Philistine lion headed cups from Tell eṣ-Ṣafi,

[1] See http://wallpapers-xs.blogspot.co.il/2012/04/lion-roaring-wallpapers.html.

[2] For a lion with a mane see http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lion_waiting_in_Namibia.jpg. For a lioness without mane see http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lioness.jpg.

Dor, Tel Zeror, Megiddo, Tell Qasile, Tell Jerishe, Tel Miqneh/Ekron and Nahal Patish (Meiberg 2013), an 8th century 'lion bowl' from Kinneret/Tel Kinrot with the lion depicted without a mane (Fritz 1987), as well as an Iron Age lion's head from the Golan heights (Epstein 1970). To this group may be added the drawing of a roaring lion beneath a scared tree flanked by heraldic goats from Kuntillet 'Ajrud (Beck 1982) and a beautiful, realistic depiction of a lion attacking a bovine portrayed on an 8th-9th century BC ivory plaque from Samaria (Kenyon 1957).

11.2.2. BOVINES (CATTLE)

In antiquity, three different bovine species inhabited the Southern Levant: the wild aurochs (*Bos primigenius*), domestic cattle (*Bos taurus*), and the domestic humped cattle – zebu (*Bos indicus*). Their skeletal remains of the two domestic *Bos* forms are commonly found in Late Bronze and Iron Age archaeological sites from this region (for example: Uerpmann 1987; Grigson 1989, 1995; von den Driesch and Boessneck 1995; Sade 2000; Horwitz and Milevski 2001; Maher 2003; Horwitz 2009; Marom et al. 2009; Lev-Tov et al. 2011); and they are regularly portrayed in figurative art of this period (for example: Bodenheimer 1960; Dickstein 2000; Matthews 2002; Ben-Shlomo 2010; Bourke 2012). Like the wild aurochs, osteological remains of a further two species – the European bison (*Bison bonasus*) and the water buffalo (*Bubalus bubalus*) – have not been identified in archaeological sites and/or artistic representations dating to the Late Bronze/Iron Age in the Levant.

Bovine protomes showing the head, horns and a small portion of the neck, are the most common animal decorations on the cultic stands from Yavneh (Pl. 44:6-8; cf. Kletter, Ziffer and Zwickel 2010: CAT62, 98, Pls. 43:6; 106:4; 133:1, 4). The first issue to clarify is which bovine species is portrayed in the Yavneh cult stands and also are the animals domestic or wild? In many features, the three Southern Levant *Bos* species differ sufficiently to distinguishing between them both by skeletal osteology and by external physical appearance – coloration, size and shape.

In bovine protome CAT98 (Pl. 44:6-7, Kletter, Ziffer and Zwickel 2010: Pl. 133) the head is portrayed as small and slightly pointed with clearly defined ears located in front of the horns. The horns are well proportioned relative to the face and shown as lyre or crescent-shaped, that is, inward pointing. In a few instances, the body of the animal is also shown, but in profile (Pl. 45:1-2; Kletter, Ziffer and Zwickel 2010: CAT40, Pl. 80:1-2).

Based on the orientation and shape of the horns, the animals are identified as domestic *Bos taurus/Bos indicus*, rather than wild aurochs *Bos primigenius*. In wild aurochs the horn points forward and upwards while in domestic cattle they leave the skull slightly sideways, rise backwards and only then curve upwards.

Based on archaeozoological research, written sources and analysis of artistic representations, at least two forms of domestic cattle are documented from the Late Bronze and Iron Ages in the Levant; a long horned form with forward sweeping horns (Fig. 11.1), and a short horned form characterized by crescent-shaped horns and often a hump (Fig. 11.2) (Jonas 1952; Bodenheimer 1960; Buitenhuis 1984; Dickstein 2000).

Characteristics of the long horned cattle type (*Bos taurus*) are:

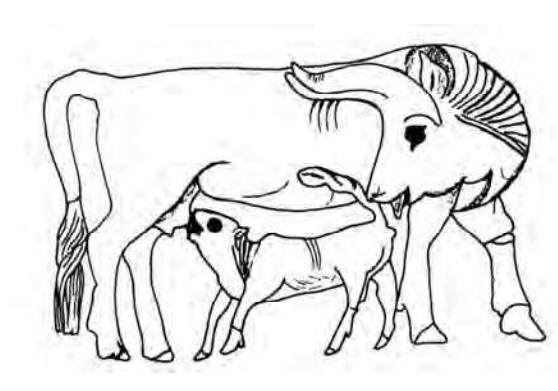
- A long and narrow skull, almost straight/parallel sides.
- The horns are robust, very long, originating from the skull sideways, then pointing forwards and upwards.
- The animals back is almost straight, with an elongated body.
- They are generally larger than the small horned breeds.

Examples of depictions of long horned cattle may be found on: the Lachish relief, Slabs IV and V showing rows of deportees and carts drawn by cattle (Usshiskin 1982:77); an 8th-9th century BC ivory plaque from Samaria showing a bovine being attacked by a lion (Kenyon 1957); and a drawing of a cow suckling a calf from Kuntillet 'Ajrud (Fig. 11:1) (Beck 1982), which is a copy of the scene carved in ivory from 8th century BC Arslan Tash in north Syria (Barnett 1982: 48).

The short horned cattle are usually depicted as of the zebu type (*Bos indicus*), that originate from South East Asia (India/Pakistan), and was introduced into Southwest Asia in the Late Bronze Age (Buitenhuis 1984). Matthews (2002) has proposed that this event may relate to climate change involving aridification.

Zebu cattle are characterized by:

- A large hump placed just ahead of or directly above shoulders, i.e., at the base of the neck in bulls. This is not always highly developed in cows.
- A coffin-shaped skull, slightly convex in profile with a prominent, quite broad forehead, which continues back beyond the horns giving it an elongated appearance.
- Bulging eyes.
- Pointed ears that do not hang and are even held upright.



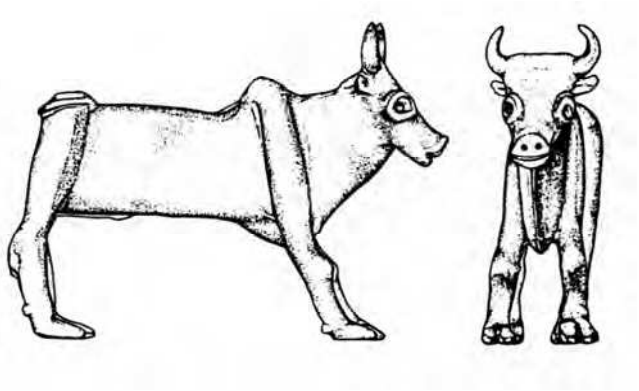


Fig. 11.1 (left): Long horned cow and calf, Kuntillet ‘Ajrud, after Beck 1982: Fig. 2.
Fig. 11.2 (right): Short horned, humped (zebu) cattle, the “Bull Site”, after Keel and Uehlinger 1998, *GGG*: Fig 142.

- Thick but relatively short horns that curve outwards (i.e. backwards) and upwards, and form a half moon/sickle.
- A slim and fairly long neck.
- A moderately developed dewlap between the front legs.
- The rump is relatively raised and the back is slightly sunken.
- A long and slender tail (“whiplike”); usually set high at the rump.

Artistic representations of humped cattle first appear in the Levant in the Late Bronze Age (Dickstein 2000: 48 ff; Matthews 2002). Examples of typical zebu cattle include two Late Bronze Age statuettes from Hazor – a zebu bull (Yadin 1975:84) and a calf (Ben-Tor 1996); and an Iron I bronze figurine from the “Bull Site” (Fig. 11:2) (Mazar 1982). Dickstein notes that there are no artistic representations of zebu from Israel during the Iron II; and that they reappear in the Persian Period (Dickstein 2000).

The presence of zebu cattle in the region during the Late Bronze/Iron Age has also been based on osteological evidence, i.e., the presence of bifid (sagitally-split) vertebral spinal processes, which attest to cattle with a characteristic zebu hump located at the base of the neck. Such vertebrae are known from Late Bronze/Early Iron Age deposits at Deir Alla (Clason 1978); Late Bronze Age domestic contexts at Tell Jemmeh (Hesse 1997) and from the mid-9th century BC altar room at Tel Dan (Wapnish and Hesse 1991).

All the Yavneh bovines have the typical zebu features: crescent-shaped horns, coffin-shaped skulls, bulging eyes and erect ears, while the isolated animal in profile shows a raised rump and long tail. However, none of the Yavneh bovine is shown with a hump or a dewlap, both distinguishing features of zebu (Pl. 45:1-2). This may relate to the fact that only two figures (shown in profile) depict the body beyond the head and neck. However, they do not show a clear shoulder hump (which is clearly shown elsewhere, e.g., on the “Bull Site” figure, Mazar 1982). The slightly raised area behind the neck in Pl. 44:5 may represent a hump, but also remains of attachment of the carnivore (lion?) which is attacking the bovine. A further consideration is that humps and dewlaps are far less pronounced in zebu females than in males. None of the Yavneh bovine representations shows gender-specific features. The horns are depicted as quite large, but zebu cows also have prominent sickle-shaped horns, albeit smaller than those of bulls.

This raises the possibility that zebu cows and not bulls are portrayed on the Yavneh cult stands; a suggestion which finds some corroboration in the depiction of a calf suckling from a cow on one cult stand (Pl. 45:3; cf. Kletter, Ziffer and Zwickel 2010: CAT70, Pl. 112:2). This is a popular motif, which appears on many Iron Age seals and ivory plaques (Beck 1982).

11.2.3. CAPRINES (GOATS)

Compared to bovines and lions, fewer goats are depicted on the Yavneh cultic stands. They are more schematically executed, i.e., with less attention to zoological detail than the other two taxa. The goats are shown in pairs and in profile, flanking a tree (heraldic). Both animals stand on their hindlegs with their bodies extended, while they browse off its foliage (Pl. 45:4-5) (cf. Kletter, Ziffer and Zwickel 2010: CAT90, 92; Pl. 123:4; 125:2).

Three species of goat which inhabited this region in the Late Bronze/Iron Age are candidates for the animals depicted: the Nubian ibex (*Capra ibex nubiana*), the wild bezoar or Persian goat (*Capra aegagrus*), and the domestic goat (*Capra hircus*). The Nubian ibex (*Capra ibex nubiana*) is the ibex sub-species still inhabiting the Southern Levant, the Arabian Peninsula, the Sinai Peninsula and the Red Sea coast from Egypt to north of Ethiopia and inhabits hilly and mountainous areas (Harrison and Bates 1991; Qumsiyeh 1996; Mendelssohn and Yom-Tov 1999).

The bezoar goat is now extinct in the Levant and is only found in relict populations in the high mountain ranges and plateaus from the Zagros in Turkey to Pakistani Baluchistan (Harrison and Bates 1991; Nowak 1991). Its osteological remains are common in sites pre-dating the Late Pre-Pottery Neolithic B period in the Levant (Uerpmann 1987), by which time they were surplanted by domestic goats, whose progenitor they are (Grigson 1995; Horwitz, et al. 1999; Vigne 2008). Isolated bones of bezoar goat are known from Late Bronze and Iron Age contexts at Kāmid el-Lōz in Lebanon (Bökönyi 1990); Kinneret/Tel Kinrot in Israel (Ziegler and Boessneck 1990:133-138) and possibly Tell Hesban in Jordan (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1995).

A feature that enables distinction between the three goats is the shape of their horns. In the two wild goats (ibex and bezoar) the horns are scimitar-shaped and straight, curving upwards and backwards from the skull (Pl. 45:6). In the ibex, the horns also have prominent nodules or rings along the relatively flat anterior surface which is straight in the bezoar goat (Epstein 1971; Harrison and Bates 1991; Nowak 1991). In domestic goats, the horns leave the skull slightly sideways before curving slightly upwards and backwards. The horns are usually twisted rather than straight (Pl. 45:7).

A further feature that may aid in identification of the goat species portrayed, as well as the sex of the animal, is that domestic female goats are usually hornless, while in the female bezoar goat and ibex, horns are present but small and thin.

In the Yavneh figures the horns are salient features on the animals' heads and are shown as long and parallel to each other, probably as they are depicted in profile (Pl. 45:5). Despite the fact that none of the animals have beards, a feature characteristic of goat rams, with reference to the size and shape of the horns, it is most probable that the goats portrayed on the cultic stands are wild males. It is however impossible to determine whether they are bezoar goats or ibex given the schematic nature of the representations. A zoological analysis of a bronze statuette portraying a pair of goats with a sacred tree from Luristan, Iran (Studer 2001), demonstrated that bezoar goats were represented. Given the identical iconographic tradition, it is likely that the same animal species is represented in Late Bronze/Iron Age Levantine iconography. Indeed, the image of the sacred tree with goats is common in Iron Age Levantine artistic representations such as on one of the Taanach incense altars (Beck 1994), on a ceramic vessel from Kuntillet 'Ajrud (Beck 1982) and a goblet from Lachish (Hestrin 1987). According to Keel and Uehlinger (1998:399-400), this image became rare in Israel and Judah during the Iron Age, although it continued to be an important symbol in surrounding ancient Eastern Mediterranean cultures.

11.2.4. HANDLE OF A FIRE-PAN

A unique item recovered from the pit was a handle of a fire pan decorated at the end by a small, molded head (Pl. 45:8; cf. Kletter and Ziffer, Chapter 1 in this volume, Fig. 1:4; Pl. 15:3). The features of the head are rather sketchy, so that the excavator thought at first that it may represent a human head. Subsequently they have suggested that it represents a ram (see Chapter 1, in this volume). This seems unlikely given the short rounded ears and wide mouth. I suggest that despite its schematic nature, this head may represent that of a carnivore: a schematic lion, a lioness, or even a lion cub.[3] This is based on the presence of several salient features, many of them reminiscent of the manner in which lions are depicted:

(i) An elongated snout that forms a well-defined, flattened ridge.
(ii) Well-defined nostrils.
(iii) Wide mouth.
(iv) Rounded face.
(v) Round but prominent ears that juts out midway along the skull.
(vi) Domed forehead that protrudes above the ears.
(vii) Bulging eyes placed forward of the ears.

The lion motif is well represented in the figures attached to the cultic stands, such that the use of the same animal on the fire pan from this site is not surprising, even more so given the precedent of a molded lion-head incense burner/brazier from Tell Qasile (Strawn 2005).

[3] See the lion cub shown frontally in http://ezwebrus.com/wallpapers/animal/cub_lion.jpg.

11.3. CONCLUSION

Cattle, specifically domestic zebu, constitute the vast majority of the animal figures depicted on the Yavneh cult stands. Carnivores, identified as lions, are the next most frequent; while goats, tentatively identified as wild bezoar goats, the least common. Thus, only the cattle depicted are domestic animals, while the other two represent wild taxa.

Concerning the gender of animals portrayed, for most figures it is difficult to identify this unequivocally, since few obvious gender-specific features are shown. It is suggested that at least some of the carnivores represent males (presence of manes). The goats are probably males, due to the prominent horns (but lack beards); while the cattle may represent either sex, though the horns are large and dominate the images, signifying bulls rather than cows.

Obviously, in any discussion of artistic representations of animals, the influence of style, fashion, dexterity and intention of the artist/s need to be taken into consideration. Some animals are shown in correct zoological detail while others are less precise. Of all the animals shown, the lion is the most realistically treated. The other animals, even if they appear on the same cultic stand with the lions, are in general more stylized and schematic. Is this because the lion is the most exotic and hence least well known species? It is assumed that the other animals represented would have been more familiar to people. Alternately, did the artists not want to take a chance that the lion would be incorrectly identified, for example as a leopard? Or did it have a special importance?

The animal taxa selected for representation on the cultic stands from the Yavneh repository pit were part of the Late Bronze/Iron Age faunal pantheon of the Near East and symbolized a range of deities worshipped at this time (see for example, Hestrin 1991; Keel and Uehlinger 1998; Stern 2001; Zevit 2001). Although symbolic in nature, a few of the cult stands reflect the artist/s attempt to represent the animals faithfully, i.e., naturalistically, or else to make exact copies of other animal figurines. The majority, however, are schematic and hence purely emblematic in nature.

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CHAPTER 12

A DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION

Reinhard G. Lehmann (with Kristiane Novotny)

12.1. INTRODUCTION

A small, inscribed rim of a bowl was found in the Yavneh repository pit (Pls. 46-47; Fig. 12:1-2). It was found in L15 B7326/1 during pottery restoration. Despite considerable effort, only one more fragment could be fitted to this fragment, but it carried no letters. The two fragments together are 3.3 cm high and 11.7 cm long (along the surface of the bowl). The original vessel diameter was approximately 17 cm. The fragment on the right carries an inscription of four letters, whose overall length is 5.2 cm.

12.2. EPIGRAPHICAL AND TECHNICAL ANALYSIS

The sinistrograde inscription of four letters has been incised in the soft clay before firing. As can be clearly seen by the structure of the incision lines, a tiny 'broken' or dull and obviously not prepared tool was used, which most probably seems to have been a *juncus* with slivered nib that results in the bunch of three or four parallel striae following the shape of the first two letters.

Fig. 12:1 Computerized image of the inscription by Avshalom Karasik

The inscription is written clearly in line with the bowls' rim, though slightly falling by 4° to the left. It is difficult to detect the angle of inception[1] used by the scribe. It can be assessed only by the first two letters and is most seemingly between 12° (letter ‹L›) and 7° (letter ‹ʿ›) in relation to the line-of-writing. This points at a presumably southern Levantine scribal habit, i.e., most probably Hebrew, which means that a northern Levantine origin of the inscription is ruled out (see van der Kooij 1986:244-251), as also the find spot confirms. However, because there is no clear-cut way of measuring the angle of inception for all the letters, this should not be over-estimated without further evidence.

The first letter is clearly a *Lamed*, its stroke beginning on top with an apparent double inception. The scribe obviously got stuck due to a grain of sand in the clay and started again, shifting left and down by 1-2 millimeters and then continuing downward by an inclination of 50°. At its bottom the stroke forms an almost perfect half-circle which ends at a four o'clock position.

Narrowly following is a second letter, clearly an *Ayin* performed by two strokes. A first stroke with 58° starts on the top left with a deep, vertical inception that had pushed some material upwards; then forming c. two-thirds of a circle, which is very similar to the *Lamed*-circle. It stops at the five o'clock position where it meets with a second, almost vertical stroke, which had its incipit on the top right and closes the right flank of the *Ayin*. Accordingly, the letter remains a little open at the top.

Both letters display the above-mentioned parallel striae of a dull tool-tip. However, for the next two letters it seems as if the clay still had on its surface traces of drilling mud, so that the letter strokes formed smooth bulges to the right and did not form such clear striae anymore.

The third letter can only be *Zayin*. It is formed by a first horizontal stroke in 11° rising from left to right. Here also traces of the tool-tip's striae are found, unlike the following strokes. A second, steeper stroke connects at its right end and returns back and down by 26°, accumulating material to a bulge against the right fringe of the first stroke. Nevertheless, it is most probable that this stroke was executed starting from top right and was made in one cohesive unit together with the first stroke, lifting slightly the tool or canting the hand. This creates a semblance of two separate strokes. Furthermore, it seems as if there is a small hook at its left end. In fact, this is the vestige of a

[1] van der Kooij 1986:90-93, 244-251, 253; Johnston 1971:71-82, 90-103, 117-123; for Hebrew script esp. Yardeni 1997:157-161; Lehmann 1998:397-459.

short second stroke down by ca. 75°, which meets the center of the second horizontal stroke. The latter is shorter but runs in perfect parallel to the first. A flat indentation with unclear margins is discernable at the right bottom end of this stroke. Nevertheless, in comparison with the fourth letter (*see below*), it most probably belongs to the letter.[2]

The fourth letter is also *Zayin*, though it seems to be slightly different in shape. It starts again with a first horizontal stroke from left to right in the same angle of 11° and with a *stria* similar to that in the third letter. At the left, where there is the join of the two fragments, it is slightly thickened. At the right it is connected with a left-down stroke of 28°, which displays the same connected backward hook of the first stroke as in the third letter. However, here a flimsy bulge of material (damming) is discernable towards the right margin. What follows is a broad dent at the left, displaying a short vertical incision line in its center, which can be compared with the similar but less clear second stroke of the third letter. A small bulge at its bottom end, tipping into the vertical line below, shows clearly that this was made as the final stroke of the letter, i.e., after both horizontal strokes.[3]

Unlike the third letter, the bottom horizontal stroke of the fourth letter is not exactly parallel to the top horizontal, but descends to the right by -4°, though with at least two striae. At the right it bends down backward to a broad back-hook-end by approximately 30°, having almost the same shape as the hook of the first vertical stroke of the former *Zayin*, and again with a clear swelling or bulge of material at its bottom right.

Though between the bottom horizontal stroke and this hook-end there seems to be a ridge – which in effect must be seen as an element of tempering over which the writing tool slipped – this whole figure obviously has been executed in *one* movement. Hence, also the fading dent at the bottom right end of the third letter should be considered as a similar figure, though not thus explicitly executed.

Taking into account its fluent and airy completion, this very small inscription has been written by a more or less experienced individual, which might have been a (professional) scribe, but at least someone who was accustomed to write.

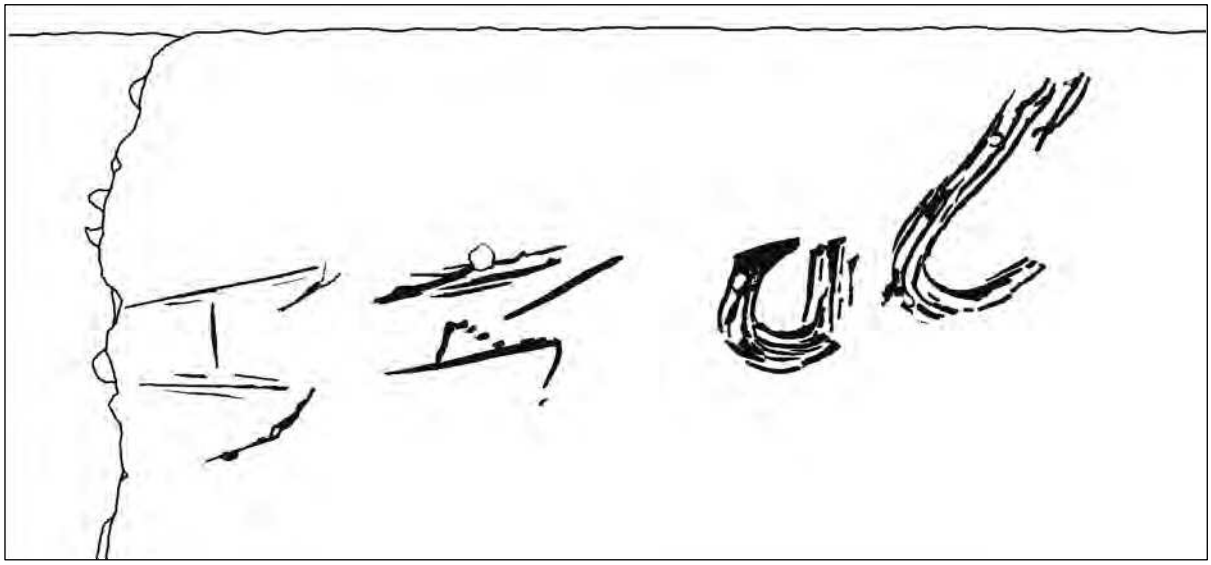

Fig. 12:2: Tentative drawing of the striae

[2] Note that a similar phenomenon is discernible on the Phoenician Cone B (11687) from Byblos, where the second *Alef* has a typical 'Byblos snap-down stroke' at its bottom right horn (Lehmann 2009:156-157); whereas the first *Alef* seems to lack it due to the convex surface where the scribal tool slipped off the material.

[3] This has important implications for the subsequent development of the *Zayin* in Hebrew writing. It explains why, starting in the second half of the 7th century, the vertical downstroke of the *Zayin* became superfluous and was omitted. If the vertical stroke had been the second, the expected further development of the letter would have shifted the direction of the bottom horizontal stroke to the left. However, as we know from Arad, Lachish and other 7th-6th centuries BCE inscriptions, the opposite is true. Whilst van der Kooij (1986:104, 196) plausibly insists on the 1-2-3-downstroke sequence for the Aramaic *Zayin*, he did not dare to decide for the Hebrew cursive *Zayin* (van der Kooij 1986:367).

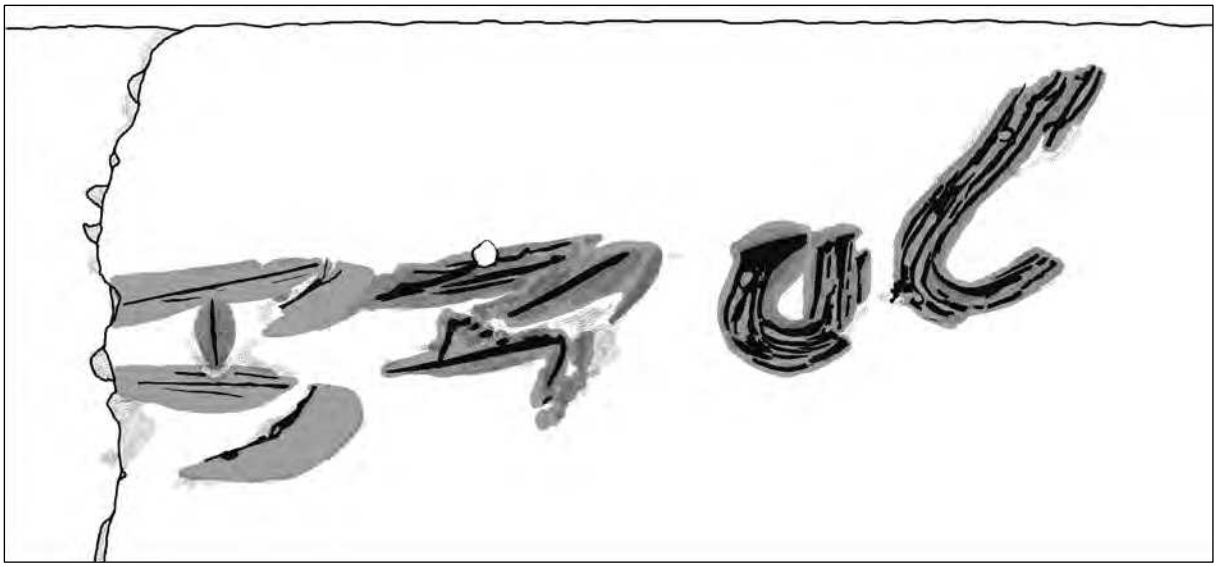

Fig. 12:3: Drawing total

12.3. PALAEOGRAPHICAL AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Given the above epigraphical and technical analysis of the letter sequence L-'-Z-Z, a comparison of letter shape and scribal habit points to a palaeographic stratification that is most probably southern Levantine; i.e., a Hebrew or cognate script tradition of the 8th or early 7th centuries BCE.

Lamed
The letter has a clear, straight downstroke, and at the bottom it is (still) almost perfectly rounded. Given that it is Hebrew (see *Zayin* below), its rounded bottom tends more to an earlier date (8th century), though not exclusively. In angle and shape it resembles most some examples from Samaria; but also from Jerusalem, Kh. el-Qōm, Tell el-Qudērat/Kadesh Barnea, and Tell Qasīle, all from the late 8th century. However, since *Lamed* displays the lowest rate of unambiguous development, it is not clearly diagnostic for palaeographic dating (Renz 1995b:166-7; 1997:25-26, 87ff).

Ayin
This letter in the southern Levantine/Hebrew (low-angle) scribal tradition generally has a distorted or flattened circle (Renz 1995b:185-187), due to the scribal technique and the writing implement. However, in the Yavneh sherd it appears with an upright semicircle, whose right flank is closed by an almost vertical second stroke, leaving its top slightly open. Hardly any exact Hebrew parallels are found for this shape. Arad ostraca 49, 51 and 61 and a few City of David and Ophel ostraca from the late 8th century (Ahituv 2008:27-28, 32-34) are similar, however, none shows an open top, or is as upright as the Yavneh '*Ayin*. At first glance this *Ayin* shape seems to result from a remarkably higher writing angle of 40 up to 60 degrees, which is more common in the Phoenician and Aramaic scribal traditions (van der Kooij 1986:289-302). However, because the letter has a clearly discernible flat angle of inception of about 7°, it nevertheless fits perfectly the scribal habit of southern Hebrew. Its peculiar shape not being overestimated, this can be ascribed to the special writing situation in soft clay on a rounded surface.

Zayin
The palaeographically most diagnostic letter is *Zayin*. There is no doubt that both Zayin letters have a left-downward tick (hook) at the right end of both horizontals. Generally, this *Zayin*-hook is a feature of developed cursive writing that only later evolves also in formal monumental script. It is typically Hebrew (Renz 1995b:101; 1997:20-21, 42), since it can only evolve by the practice of an extremely flat writing angle (angle of inception, van der Kooij 1986:26, 244f, 252f).[4] As shown by Renz, in general two basically different shapes of the letter *Zayin*

[4] This *Zayin* (Fig. 12:4), having the vertical middle stroke as the last (third) stroke of the letter, together with a low angle of inception, resulted finally – in the 7th/6th centuries – in occasional *Zayin* shapes that entirely omit the vertical stroke, being composed by two 'hooked' horizontals only (Arad 16, 20, 58, 88).

must be distinguished. The older shape is the upright, hook-less 'classic' (mostly northern and Phoenician) form. Subsequently, starting from the 8th century, another more 'developed' cursive form, with at least one hook at the bottom horizontal line, is attested, but still with only one small hook, already in the Samaria ostraca. This eventually evolved into a form with two hooks at the right end of both horizontals.

Comparable forms to the Yavneh Zayin are already found in middle or late 8th and 7th centuries Hebrew inscriptions from Arad (Nos. 31, 49, 51, 59, 67 and, without vertical connection, 88); Kh. el-Mšaš, Tell Beit Mirsim[5], the Silwan Royal Steward inscription[6], the Siloam Tunnel inscription (though here the hooks are very small), etc. The trained-hand-written *Zayin* of ostracon 1 from Tell el-Qudērat/Kadesh Barnea, with its remarkable back-hooks at both horizontals, is an outstanding example of this letter shape.[7] Also worth mentioning is the name-list ostracon Arad 72 (not stratified, maybe middle 8th century). Here, the tiny but double-hooked *Zayin* in line 5 is part of the name '*z*' which is most probably the hypocoristic name '*uzzā*' (Aharoni 1981:96), similar to the Yavneh name (see 12.3 below).

Though both *Zayin* types, hook-less and single-hooked respectively, coexisted in the 8th century, the *Zayin* with *two* hooks (double-hooked) is as yet not attested before the second half of the 8th century (Renz 1995b:138ff; 1997:20, 76) and continues until the 6th century and beyond. Thus, being Hebrew, the present *Zayin* shape gives a *terminus post quem* of the inscription in the middle or late 8th century, and for a presumably more southern Hebrew scribal tradition.

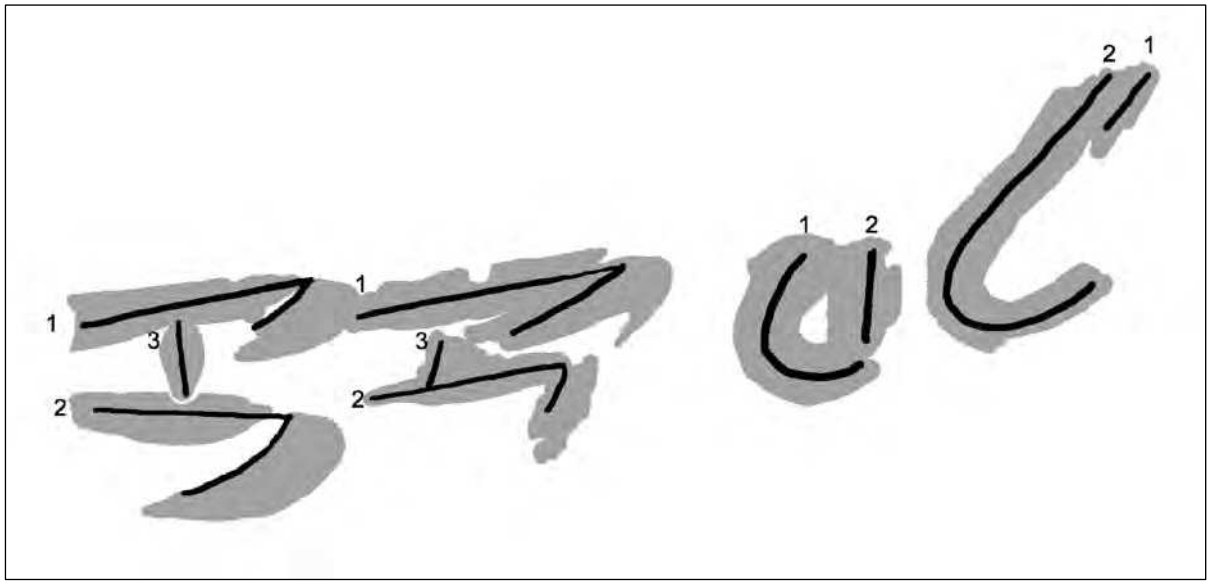

Fig. 12.4: Stroke sequence

[5] Renz 1995b:170. Here, in a small sherd also the letter sequence L-'-Z[…] is scratched, which might result in a same or similar name as in Yavneh.

[6] This chiseled inscription (Ahituv 2008:44-45) is very difficult to read and after its discovery in 1870 was successfully deciphered only in 1953 by Avigad. However, at least its first *Zayin* (z't) is undoubtedly double-hooked.

[7] Lemaire and Vernus 1980: Pl. 71:1. It is more often dated to the 7th century on archaeological grounds, but an 8th century date cannot be ruled out, Lemaire and Vernus 1980:341: "Cet ostracon, qui ne comporte que trois lettres incomplètes mais écrites d'une main assurée, est difficile à dater paléographiquement. Sans exclure tout a fait la fin du VIIIème siecle avant notre ère, on peut proposer le VIIème siècle avant J.-C. comme la datation la plus vraisemblable, conformément `la datation archeologique provisoire."

12.4. PHILOLOGICAL ANALYSIS, ONOMASTICS AND INTERPRETATION

(by Kristiane Novotny)

In Semitic languages, ‹ʻzz› is the common Semitic root for "strength" (Gesenius 2013:945; *DCH* VI, 2007:335, 867). Since ‹ʻzz› is a geminate root, it appears in written form both with two or three letters. Both theological and profane meanings of the root are listed in Classical Hebrew; in the nominal form, ‹ʻzz› appears in a theological context with an ambiguous meaning of strength and power (Van der Woude 1976; Wagner 1989).

The tiny inscription on the rim of a bowl from Yavneh resembles similar findings from Kuntillet ʻAjrud (Ahituv et. al. 2012: inscriptions 1.2, 1.4, 2.3-8, etc.) and other locations. The ‹L› is a kind of *Lamed auctoris*, *ascriptionis* or *dedicationis* (Gesenius and Kautzsch 1909:439; Renz 2003:71-73; Jenni 2000:54). Thus, ‹ʻzz› combined with ‹L› can be a human hypocoristic name, which is also attested in ancient north and south Arabic, i.e. Safaïtic, Thamudic and Sabaean inscriptions (Harding 1952:22, 26, 35-36; Winnett 1957:65, 131, 133). In the Safaïtic language area ‹ʻzz› was treated as a human hypocoristic name and as an epithet of a deity (Littmann 1943:334, col. 2). There is evidence of ‹ʻzz› as an epithet or divine predication in Punic (Benz 1972:374-375; also KAI 71.1) and in Classical Hebrew as well.[8]

As a personal name, *ʻāzāz* is listed in Classcial Hebrew in 1 Chr. 5:8. Other derivatives or hypocoristic names of the root in Hebrew are *ʻăzīzā*ʼ (Esr. 10:27), *ʻuzzā*ʼ[9], *ʻuzzāh*[10], *ʻuzzî*[11] and *ʻuzziā*ʼ[12]. The human hypocoristic form ‹ʻzz› appears including both diminutives *–ān* or *–ōn* (Noth 1928:38), respectively; *cf.* *ʻazzān,* Num 34:26. Furthermore, the root appears in Hebrew personal names (Fowler 1988:82) as *ʻel(î)* *ʻâz*[13], *ʻelʻuzzî*, *ʻelʻûzay*, *ʻuzziʼel* (16 times in the Hebrew Bible), *ʻuzzîyāh(u)*[14], *ʻăzazyāhu* (1 Chr. 15:21, 27:20, 2 Chr. 31:13) as well as *ʻazmāwæt* (2 Sam. 23:31; 1 Chr. 11:33; 2 Sam. 8:36; 9:42) and maybe *maʻazyāh* (Wagner 1989: ‹ʻzz› col. I). The common basis of these names is the composition either as a divine name + ‹ʻzz›, or ‹ʻzz› + a divine name, emphasizing both strengthening and protectional aspects.

With the implication that the following name is the name of a receiving deity, the possibility of *Lamed dedicationis* (Gesenius and Kautzsch 1909:439; Renz 2003:71-73; Jenni 2000:77) cannot be ruled out *a priori*, because there might be an appearance of ‹ʻzz› as a composite element in names of deities, *e.g.* *ʻzbʻl* (KTU 1.102:27), and also demons, *e.g.* *ʻăzāʼzēl* (Lev. 16:8.10.26[15]). It could mean an epithet ("the mighty, strong one").

Assuming that ‹ʻzz› is only a verb and not a name, the present inscription ‹LʻZZ› could also have the meaning "for strengthening" or "for refreshment", though not very likely.

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[8] Ex. 15:2; Ps. 118:14; see Loewenstamm 1969:464-470; Barré 1992:623-637; Mark 1998:327; also KAI 26 A III:2-4.

[9] Eleven times in the Hebrew Bible; also AHI 2.072, 3.303, 3.001, 100.036, 100.179, 100.205, 100.436 (unprovenanced); WSS 69, 297, 298, 925, 960, 1114-1115, 1165, etc.

[10] Six times in the Hebrew Bible; see also WSS 1116 and elsewhere.

[11] Eleven times in the Hebrew Bible; also on an unprovenanced 7th/6th century seal AHI 100.278, perhaps Aramaic or Ammonite.

[12] One time in the Hebrew Bible; see also WSS 868.

[13] AHI 100.170, 100.517, 100.528, 100.571-573, 100.590; also WSS 436, 444-445, 520-522, 552, 905-906, 913, etc.

[14] 27 times in the Hebrew Bible; also AHI 2.020, 18.002, 100.037, 100.422, 100.563, 100.677, 100.065, 100.067; WSS 3, 4, 300, 501, 654, etc.

[15] However, the etymology of the name *ʻăzāʼzēl* is disputed.

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CHAPTER 13

THE STONE OBJECTS

Wolfgang Zwickel

13.1. INTRODUCTION

Dozens of stone artefacts were found in the repository pit, most of them made of limestone. Among published stones, vessels are often made of basalt and used as grinding stones. Limestone is a rather rare material in Palestinian manufacture (Sparks 2007:203-267). The quantity of limestone artefacts varies between 3-7% of the total stone assemblages, with a single exception of Gezer with 13%. Gezer is quite close to Yavneh and perhaps the items of both sites come from the same workshop, which specialized over centuries in producing limestone artefacts. In any case, the high number of limestone items in Yavneh is exceptional and noteworthy. They have to be considered as significant objects, likely connected with cultic and not with domestic purposes.

No scientific analysis of the stones has been undertaken, because of the poor character of the small fragments; the stones were identified by visual inspection. One nearly complete stone altar and a piece of mortar were already published in *Yavneh I* (Zwickel 2010:105-106). The fragmentary stone altar published there consists of two major pieces and some smaller ones (Zwickel 2010: Pl. 164:1). One piece has a brownish color, the other a whitish color. Therefore, we have to assume that all the whitish and brownish limestone fragments mentioned in the catalogue (below) could originally belong to the same or similar objects. The different tints were generated by different conditions in the *favissa*, maybe connected to the amount of ashes in the surroundings or to different levels of humidity.

Many of the stones artefacts are worked (they are flattened or smoothed on at least one side, or show other marks of handcraft); but some are not. The quality of production varies. Some artefacts are carefully smoothed, others not. At least some stones were not worked at all and probably belonged to inner parts of vessels. Nearly all the excavated stone fragments do not fit one another.[1] They seem to be only parts from a quite large amount of original vessels. All the broken pieces are relatively small (Pl. 48:1). Most items are less than 10 cm long. It seems that they were destroyed deliberately – smashed on purpose into rather small pieces. Since no joints could be found, perhaps the breaking was made outside the pit, and only some parts of the vessels were thrown inside. The severe destruction was likely a religious ritual, which aimed to destroy cultic vessels. Maybe the vessels were no longer functional, or considered to be unfitting the cultic norms at a certain time. There are relatively many legs, but surprisingly not a single rim was discovered. Therefore, it is possible that the legs were deliberately cut off, in order to make the vessel unserviceable. A small number of pieces are maybe horns of an altar. Hence, at least part of the items could belong to legged-altars.

For every item the basket number is given, if it is known (cf. list of baskets in *Yavneh I*: 270-279). Stone fragments were found in Loci 8, 13-16. Most of the fragments originate from a small area in the east of the *favissa* (cf. Kletter 2010:15, Fig. 2.2).

All the measures given in the catalogue are in centimeters.

13.2. CATALOGUE

Cat. 1
Pl. 48:2; Fig. 13.1
Basket 7294, Locus 14
Material: White limestone.
Description: The outer faces of this leg of a vessel are flattened, the angle is 90°. The leg is in the shape of a frustum of a pyramid.
Length: 10.0; Width: 5.2; Depth: 3.9.

[1] Gabi Gilboa worked on their restoration, but only a few joints were found.

Cat. 2
Pl. 48:3; Fig. 13.2
Basket 7384/600, Locus 15
Material: White limestone.
Description: Leg of a limestone altar or vessel formed like a frustum of pyramid. The outer faces are flattened. Two corners on the outer face of the leg are rectangular, but the inside corners are angular; it looks like a taper key.
Height: 4.4; Width outside 1: 2.9; Width outside 2: 3.4; Width inside 1: 2.9; Width inside 2: 3.3.

Cat. 3
Pl. 48:4; Fig. 13.3
Basket 7384/601, Locus 15
Material: White limestone.
Description: The fragment is broken on all sides, but the outer face may be flattened. There are definitely no traces of smoothing on the inside.
Length: 6.2; Width: 4.1; Depth: 2.4.

Cat. 4
Pl. 48:5; Fig. 13.4
Basket 7439/602. Locus 15
Material: White limestone.
Description: The stone may be flattened by handwork on a small triangular side. All the other sides are either broken or unworked.
Length: 6.6; Width: 4.7; Depth: 2.8.

Cat. 5
Pl. 49:1; Fig. 13.5
Basket 7439/600, Locus 15
Material: Brownish limestone.
Description: The stone is broken, but it looks like a horn of a stone altar. On the inner side the shape is curved and the surface is flattened, going up into a horn. The horn seems to be cut off in order to prevent the use of a cultic item. There is a small rounded hollow (about 1 cm broad), likely surrounding the upper part of the altar (cf. a similar, but more established hollow on the stone altar published in *Yavneh I*, Zwickel 2010: Pl. 164:1). Such horns perhaps represented in origin towers of a temple, while the altar itself represents a temple *en miniature* (Zwickel 1990:125).
Height: 7.3; Length: 14.2; Width: 7.0.

Cat. 6
Pl. 49:2; Fig. 13.6
Basket 7439/601, Locus 15
Material: Whitish limestone.
Description: The stone is broken on all sides and nowhere flattened.
Height: 7.5; Width: 6.2; Depth: 3.4.

Cat. 7
Pl. 49:3; Fig. 13.7
Basket 7439/603, Locus 15
Material: Very soft white limestone.
Description: The stone is broken on all sides and has no flattened area. Judging by its type, this stone does not belong to any other piece of this favissa. Maybe the stone came into the favissa by accident.
Height: 4.4; Width: 4.6; Depth: 2.3.

Cat. 8
Pl. 50:1; Fig. 13.8
Basket 7467/600, Locus 16
Material: Whitish limestone.
Description: The stone is broken, but flattened on three sides. The corner is not rectangular (ca. 110°). It seems that it originally was the upper corner of a broken altar or a flattened table, whose top area is a little bit smaller than the bottom area. Since the fragment is so small, a definite identification cannot be given.
Width: 6.1; Depth: 5.6; Height: 7.1.

Cat. 9
Pl. 50:2; Fig. 13.9
Basket 7467/601, Locus 16
Material: Brownish limestone.
Description: The stone is broken. One side is flattened by handcraft. The fragment is too small and too irregular for any further identification.
Height: 7.3; Width: 3.3; Depth: 3.5.

Cat. 10
Pl. 50:3;
Basket 7384, Locus 15
Material: White limestone.
Description: The stone is flattened on two sides. The angle between is slightly less than rectangular (about 80°). Therefore it may be the bottom part of a stand or altar built in the shape of a frustum of a pyramid.
Height: 5.9; Width: 3.4; Depth: 3.0

Cat. 11
Pl. 50:4
Basket 7384, Locus 15
Material: Brownish limestone.
Description: The stone is broken on all sides.
Height: 4.7; Width: 2.8; Depth: 2.3.

Cat. 12
Pl. 50:5; Fig. 13.10
Basket 7435, Locus 15
Material: White limestone.
Description: The stone is flattened on two sides. The angle between these two sides is 90°. All the other sides are broken.
Height: 6.5; Width: 3.9; Depth: 2.9.

Cat. 13
Pl. 51:1; Fig. 13.11
Basket 7035, Locus 8
Material: Whitish limestone.
Description: The stone is broken on all sides. Maybe it is flattened on one side, but the grading may also be accidental.
Height: 5.6; Width: 2.7; Depth: 2.5

Cat. 14
Pl. 51:2
Basket 7338, Locus 15
Material: Very soft brownish limestone.
Description: The stone is broken on all sides.
Height: 2.5; Width: 2.6; Depth: 1.5.

Cat. 15
Pl. 51:3
Basket: No basket number.
Material: White limestone.
Description: The stone is flattened on one side, while the other sides are broken. The stone has greyish embedding, which is highly atypical for the stone objects of this *favissa*. Therefore this item seems to be a unique specimen in this collection.
Height: 5.5; Width: 2.3; Depth: 2.8.

Cat. 16
Pl. 51:4; Fig. 13.12
Basket 7311, Locus 15
Material: Brownish limestone.
Description: The stone is broken on all sides.
Height: 10.1; Width: 10.5; Depth: 4.3.

Cat. 17
Pl. 51:5; Fig. 13.13
Basket 7384/602, Locus 15
Material: Whitish limestone.
The stone is broken on all sides, but some spaces seem to be worked. A definite assignment to any type of vessel cannot be given.
Height: 11.6; Width: 5.4; Depth: 6.6.

Cat. 18
Pl. 52:1; Fig. 13.14
Basket 7384/603, Locus 15
Material: Brownish limestone.
Description: The stone is broken on all sides and likely not worked, although one side is relatively flat.
Height: 8.3; Width: 6.5; Depth: 6.2.

Cat. 19
Pl. 52:2
No basket no.
Material: White limestone.
Description: The outer faces of the fragment are flattened, it is broken on top. The fragment is triangular and possibly a foot of a square table.
Height: 5.2; Width: 4.4; Depth: 3.9.

Cat. 20
Pl. 52:3
Basket 7035, Locus 8
Material: Likely clay; very soft. Its broken lines seem to be from dried-up clay. The material is completely untypical for the items from the favissa.
Description: The fragment was likely formed by human hands, because some edges have a clear angle. Nevertheless the function cannot be determined. It looks like a horn.
Height: 6.1; Width: 3.5; Depth: 2.6.

Cat. 21
Pl. 52:4; Fig. 13.15
Basket 7500/1
Material: Soft whitish limestone.
Description: The outer face of this corner piece is flattened. Because the item is broken on all other sides, its original position cannot be determined.
Height: 15.4; Width: 9.6; Depth: 1.8.

Cat. 22
Pl. 52:5; Fig. 13.16
Basket 7500/3
Material: Soft brown stone, same material as Cat. 23.
Description: The fragment is formed like a leg of a stand, rounded at the bottom.
Height: 7.8; Width: 6.0; Depth: 6.1.

Cat. 23
Pl. 53:1; Fig. 13.17
Basket 7500/4
Material: Soft brown stone, same material as Cat. 22.

Description: Leg of a vessel, crudely smoothed on the outside. Although this leg is not identical to 22, it seems that both belonged to the same vessel which had rounded legs.
Height: 9.2; Width: 6.1; Depth: 5.7.

Cat. 24
Pl. 53:2; Fig. 13.18
Basket 7500/5
Material: Brownish limestone.
Description: The fragment has the shape of a nearly triangular foot of a stand or vessel. The outer faces are not very thoroughly flattened. The foot is broken at the connection point to the stand or vessel and seems to be deliberately cut off.
Height: 10.2; Width: 9.1; Depth: 6.2.

Cat. 25
Pl. 54:1; Fig. 13.19
Basket 7500/6
Material: Whitish limestone.
Description: The flat fragment is smoothed on one side, while it is broken on all other sides. The fragment seems to have been part of the outer face of a rectangular stand or altar.
Height: 6.8; Width: 7.1; Depth: 2.1.

Cat. 26
Pl. 54:2
Basket 7500/7
Material: Whitish limestone.
Description: The stone fragment is broken on all sides.
Height: 8.4; Width: 8.9; Depth: 2.5.

Cat. 27
Pl. 54:3; Fig. 13.20
Basket 7500/8
Material: Whitish limestone.
Description: The outer face of the fragment is carefully flattened, while the inner parts are all broken. It is part of the outer face of a rectangular vessel.
Height: 6.6; Width: 12.0; Depth: 4.5.

Cat. 28
Pl. 55:1; Fig. 13.21
Basket 7500/9
Material: Whitish limestone.
Description: The fragment is broken on all sides.
Height: 13.6; Width: 8.9; Depth: 2.3.

Cat. 29
Pl. 55:2-3; Fig. 13.22
Basket 7500/10
Material: Brownish limestone.
Description: The item is carefully flattened on two sides. The reconstruction of the original shape is difficult because of the many cracks. One flattened side is shaped like an S, while the other one is completely straight. It looks like a part of a leg, which is somewhat widened at the lower end. It could also be the lower part of a chalice with a disc base (for similar bases on bowls, but not on chalices, cf. Reich 2003, Pl. 8.1:1-2). Nevertheless, because of the bad state of preservation no definite reconstruction can be offered, and even the original positioning of the fragment is unclear.
Height: 11.3; Width: 8.6; Depth: 8.8.

Cat. 30
Pl. 55:4
Basket 7500/11

Material: Brownish limestone.
Description: The fragment seems to be part of a foot of a vessel, shaped as a triangle. The base of the foot is damaged. The outer face is sloppily flattened.
Height: 9.3; Width: 11.0; Depth: 10.6.

Cat. 31
Pl. 56:1-2; Fig. 13.23
Basket 7500/12
Material: Whitish limestone.
Description: The shape of the fragment is trapezoidal. It could be a leg of a vessel, with an angle of 90° on one side, while the other angle is about 75°. The inner and the outer faces of the item are flattened, and also a third side shows traces of flattening. There is a heavy scratch in the lower part of one flattened side, which may be a decoration.
Height: 9.3; Width: 9.2; Depth: 9.0.

Cat. 32
Pl. 56:3; Fig. 13.24
Basket 7500/13
Material: Whitish limestone.
Description: The item is in the shape of a trapezoid foot of a vessel. The two outer sides are flattened. The angle between the two flattened sides is 90°, while the other angle is about 60°.
Height: 10.4; Width: 8.4; Depth: 6.0.

Cat. 33
Pl. 57:1
Basket 7500/14
Material: Whitish limestone.
Description: The item is part of the foot of some kind of vessel. The outer faces of the fragment are a little bit flattened. The angle between the outer faces is 90°, the angle on the next side ca. 60°. There is a little recess in one outer face, maybe a decorative element.
Height: 13.0; Width: 10.8; Depth: 3.5

Cat. 34
Pls. 57:2; 58:1; Fig. 13.25
Basket 7059, Locus 8
Material: Unbaked mud-brick with some pieces of chalk.
Description: The fragment is broken on all sides. Perhaps one side was a little flattened.
Height: 14.5; Width: 7.2; Depth: 3.0.

Cat. 35
Pl. 58:2
Basket 7063, Locus 8
Material: Brownish limestone.
Description: The fragment is broken on all sides.
Height: 13.1; Width: 11.1; Depth: 7.2.

Cat. 36
Pl. 58:3
Collection of 9 items
Basket 7227, Locus 13
Material: limestone.
Description: A collection of 9 small unworked pieces. There is no sign of polishing, the pieces are too small for a definite identification.
Largest item: 4.3 x 2.7 x 0.8; smallest 1.5 x 0.9 x 0.5.

Cat. 37
Pl. 59:1
Collection of 16 items

Different baskets (7229, 7335, 7338, 7352, 7360, some items without basket no.) and Loci (L13, L15)
Material: limestone.
Description: All the pieces are unworked. The largest is 3.6 x 5.0 x 1.6; the smallest 2.9 x 1.8 x 1.5.

Cat. 38
Pl. 59:2
Collection of 24 items.
Material: limestone.
Description: They are all unworked and relatively small. The largest one is 7 x 6 x 2.

Cat. 39
Few small pieces, no basket no.
Material: Very soft mud-brick (unbaked, or perhaps baked at low temperatures).
Description: The pieces are all broken and crumbling; they lack regular shapes.

Note: Three rectangular, soft limestone blocks were found in L17 (part of one of them was kept as B7501 L17). However, they were found outside the pit and they show no clear connection to cultic vessels. They have already been published in *Yavneh I* (Kletter 2010:22-23, Pl. 49:1-3).

13.3. RECONSTRUCTION, COMPARISONS AND FUNCTIONS

Some of the stone items are either broken on all sides, or are in such a bad condition that no proposal for the original shape and function may be offered (cat. nos. 3-4, 6-7, 9, 11, 13-14, 16-18, 26, 28, 33, 35, 36, 37-39). Most of the stone fragments are relatively small and therefore, any reconstruction is hypothetical. However it can definitely concluded that the original objects were square or at least rectangular, because no rounded outer faces were observed. This is untypical for stone vessels, which are normally round (for an overview see Sparks 2007).

It seems that the original vessels were deliberately destroyed and only small pieces survived. This reminds the Old Testament commandments to destroy alien paraphernalia and idols (cf. Num. 33:52; Deut. 12:2-3; 2 Kings 23:15; 1 Makk. 6:7). The destruction of such instruments makes them unserviceable and unrepairable for future purposes. Maybe after the instruments had been destroyed, only some parts were put in the *favissa*.

Considering the better preserved items, there is an interesting statistic for pieces found in the *favissa* (supposing that the attribution suggested in this chapter is correct):

Legs	10 (nos. 1-2, 19, 22-23, 24, 30-32, 34)
Horns	1 or 2 (no. 5, perhaps also no. 20)
Other flattened faces	7 (nos. 8, 10, 12, 15, 21, 25, 27).

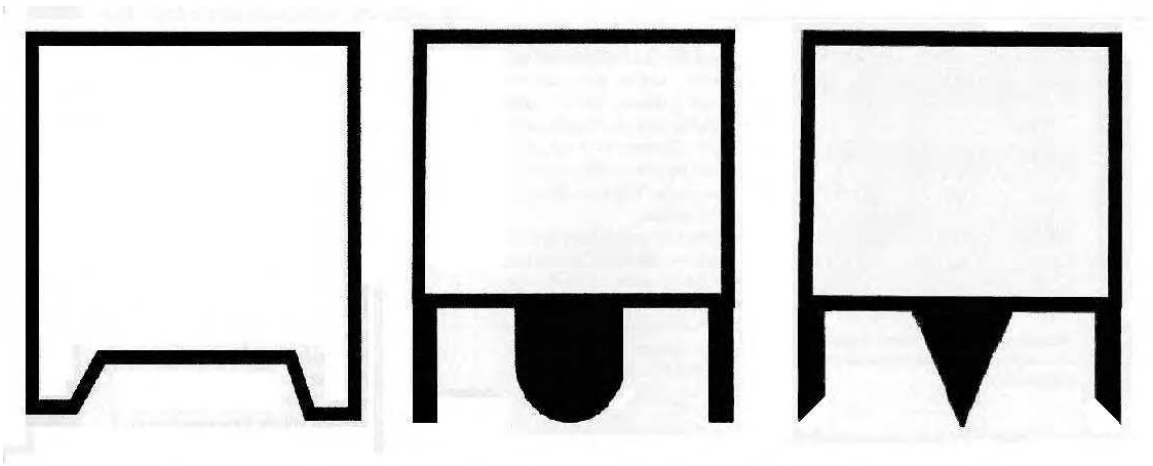

Fig. 13.26: Reconstruction of Leg Categories:
Type A (left); Type B (center); Types C/D (right)

Not integrated here is no. 29, which is not a horn or a leg. Perhaps it could be the foot of a chalice. The high number of legs is surprising, and it strengthens the thesis that the legs were deliberately cut off in order to destroy the vessels.

The legs can be divided into four categories (Fig. 13.26) (excluding too small or badly-preserved items, such as no. 34); each category could belong to a certain type of vessel:

A) Frustum-shaped, flat bottom; the angle between the outer faces is 90°; another angle is transversal with 60°-80°: nos. 1-2, 31-32
B) Oblong leg with rounded bottom: nos. 22-23
C) Triangular foot, not carefully realized: nos. 24, 30
D) Triangular foot, carefully realized: no. 19

All the objects must have had four legs, because the vessels are square/rectangular and not round; normally stone vessels are round and then they have three legs (e.g. Fischer 2013:240, Fig. 220:1). Types B-D likely had legs in the middle of each side, while type A had legs in the corners. Alternatively, the legs of types B-D may have been positioned on the outer zones of the front and back faces.

The reconstruction of the upper part of the items is impossible, because of the few pieces which survived. Cat. 8 and 10 demonstrate that at least one altar was shaped like a frustum of a pyramid, whose upper part was smaller than the lower. At least one altar likely had horns, if no. 5 is indeed a horn. Therefore, at least one (if not all stone objects) should be considered as an altar. This is also in agreement with the above mentioned thesis that the objects were related to cultic purposes. In addition, one nearly complete hornless stone altar was found and published in the first volume (Zwickel 2010). Therefore, probably all except one of the objects represented by the fragments also lacked horns. The stone altar published in *Yavneh I* did not have legs (the bottom is complete and shows no signs of broken legs).

There are no Iron Age parallels from Palestine to such types of altars, as far as I know. Incense stone altars (Zwickel 1990; Gitin 2002; 2011) are normally solid and have a flat base without feet. “Incense boxes” have such a shape, but they are smaller than the reconstructed items from the Yavneh *favissa*. Legs in the shape of a frustum are found in incense altars from Lachish, Tell Jemmeh, Kadesh Barnea, Gezer and Tel Beer Sheba (cf. Zwickel 1990: 98-102: Tell ed-Duwēr 1; ʻĒn el-Qudērāt 1; Tell Jemmeh 1; Tell Gezer 7; Tell es-Seba 2, 4, 5; also Daviau 2007: Figs. 15-16, if positioned upside-down). However, those “incense boxes” do not appear in Palestine before c. 700 BCE and are therefore later than the Yavneh finds. Legs appear on different Philistine paraphernalia like offering tables or Ashdoda-figurines (Dothan 1971: Pl. 82); but they are all made of clay. The stone objects from Yavneh seem to be enigmatic and exceptional, as the Yavneh stands are too. Maybe they reflect some Western Mediterranean traditions, which survived at Yavneh.

Item 5 looks like a horn of an altar. Similar, simply made horns on incense altars were found in Megiddo (Zwickel 1990:134: Tell el-Mutesellim 2, 8, 10), Ekron (Gitin 2002:104: Ekron 1, 4, 11) and even on some of the cult stands from Yavneh, but in clay (cf. also a recently published terracotta altar with horns, Ji 2012:213). The identification of item 5 as an incense altar is very hypothetical, because normally horned altars are much larger and no other fragments of stone horned altars survived from Yavneh. The practice of cutting off horns of an altar in order to make it unsuitable for further cultic use is well-known. A horn or a corner of an altar was cut off at Hazor (Zwickel 1990, 135: Tell el-Qedah 1) and perhaps also at Megiddo (Zwickel 1990:134: Tell el-Mutesellim 2, 8).

Cat. No. 20 also has the shape of a horn. It seems that it is made of unbaked clay. Altars with horns made of clay are known from Emar (Gitin 2002:97), Yavneh (Zwickel 2010) and Kh. ʻAtarus (Ji 2012). Some of the Yavneh stands have similar horns. Nevertheless, the very poor quality of this item makes it unlikely that this piece originally belonged to such an altar.

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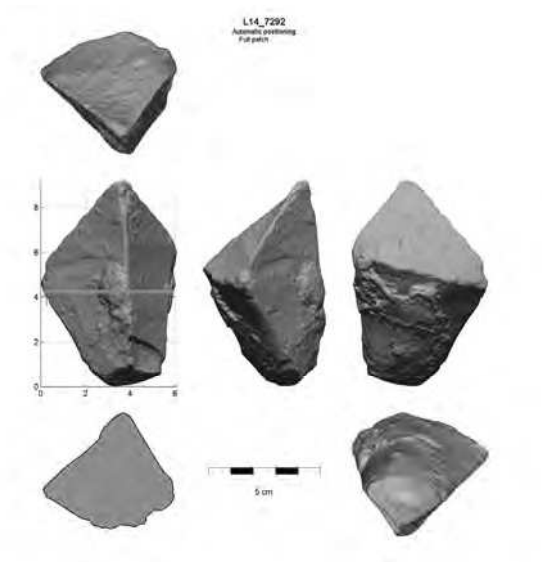

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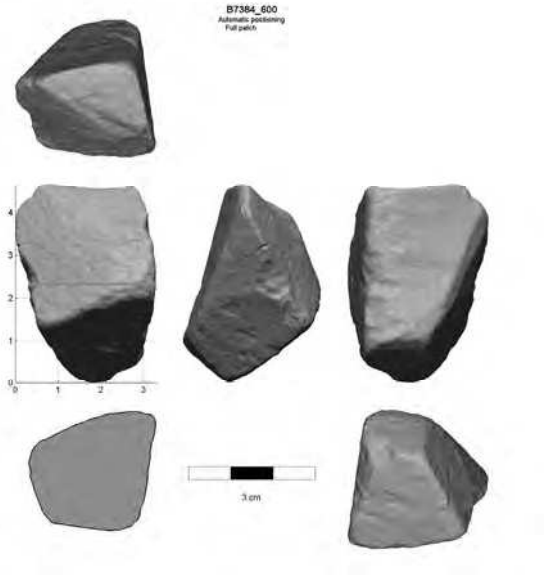

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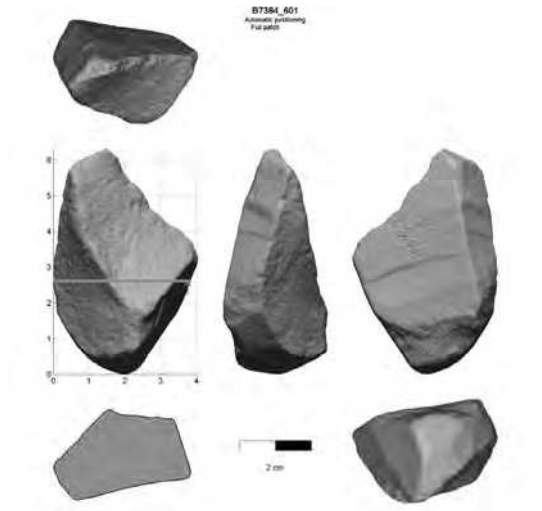

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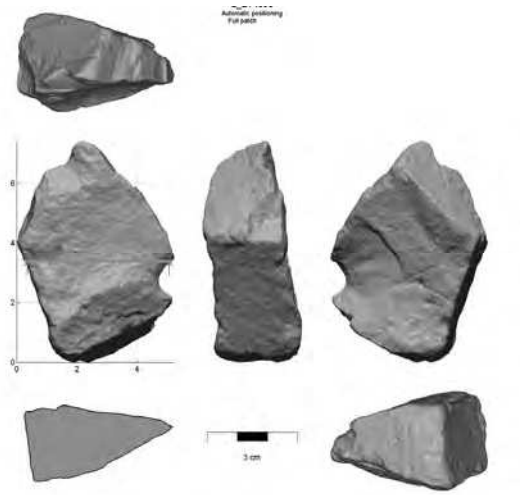

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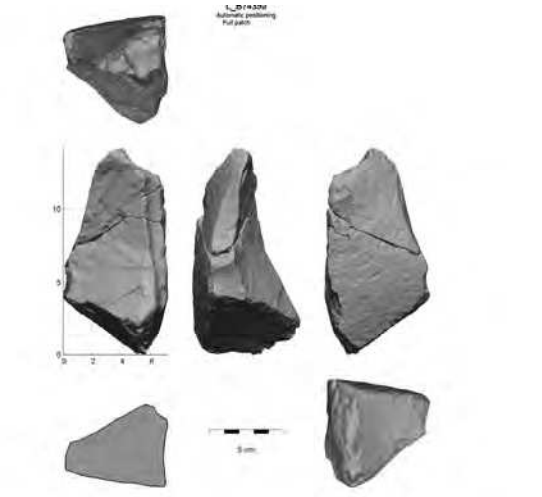

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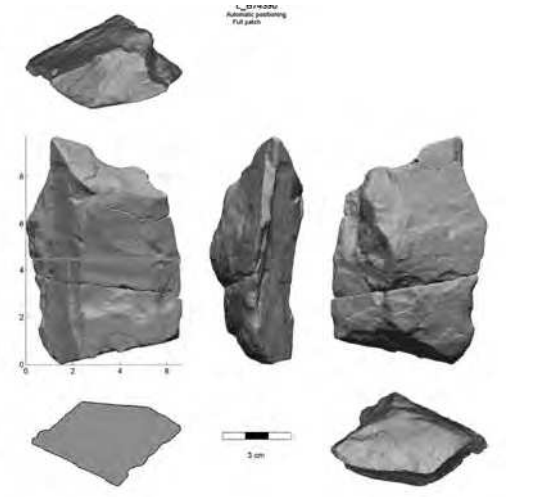

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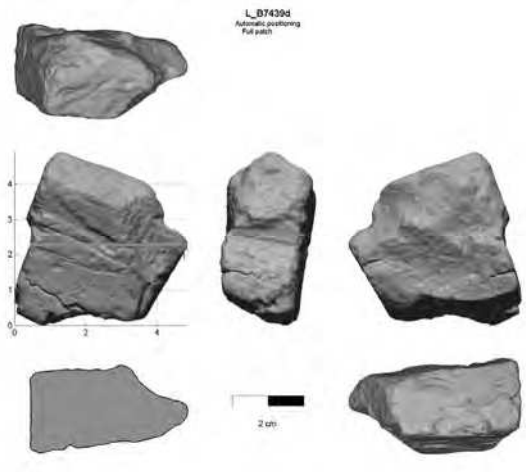

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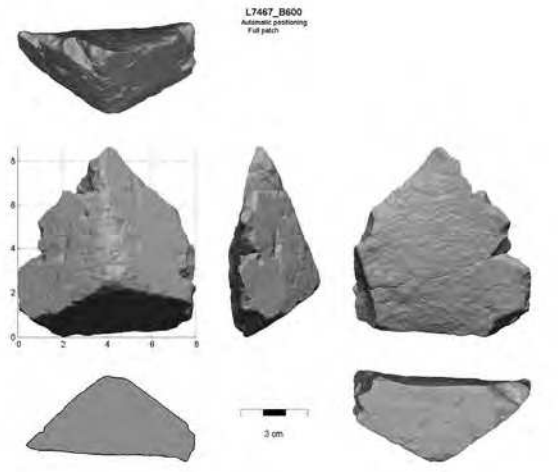

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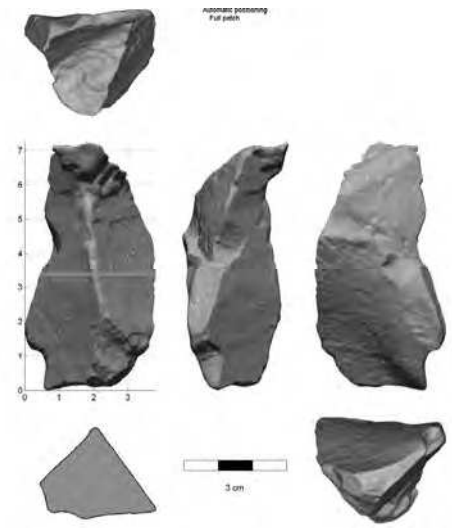

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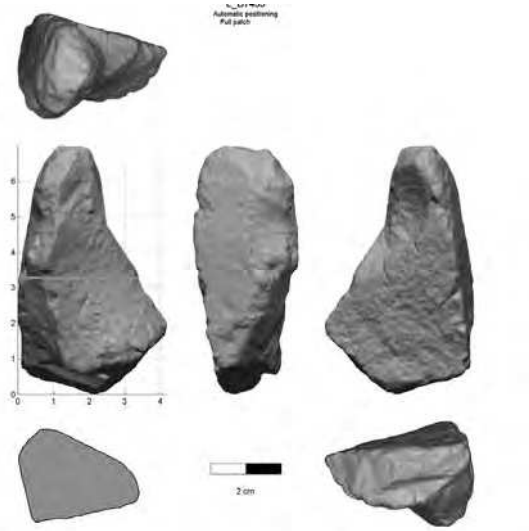

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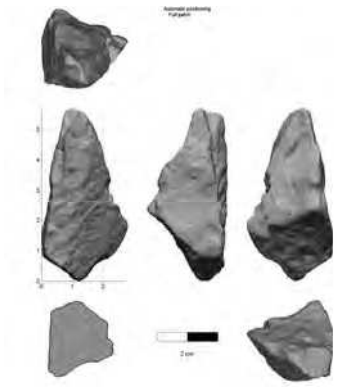

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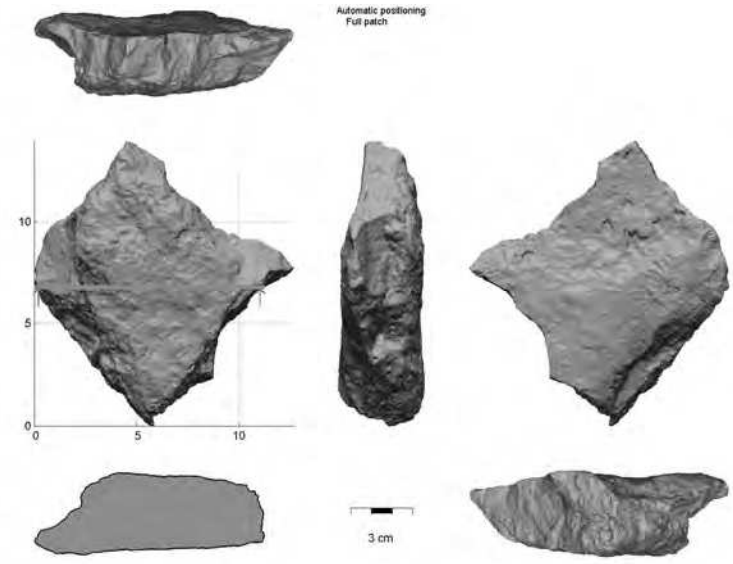

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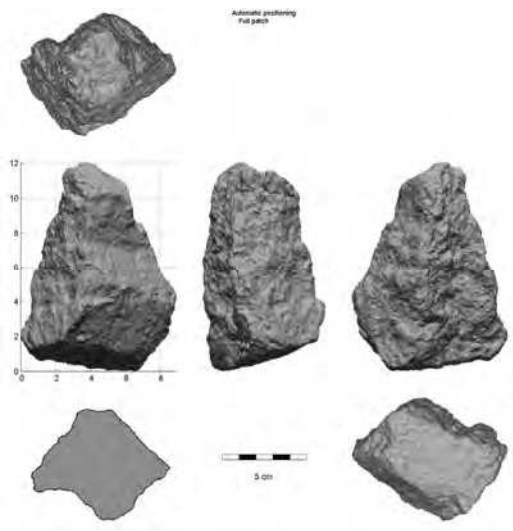

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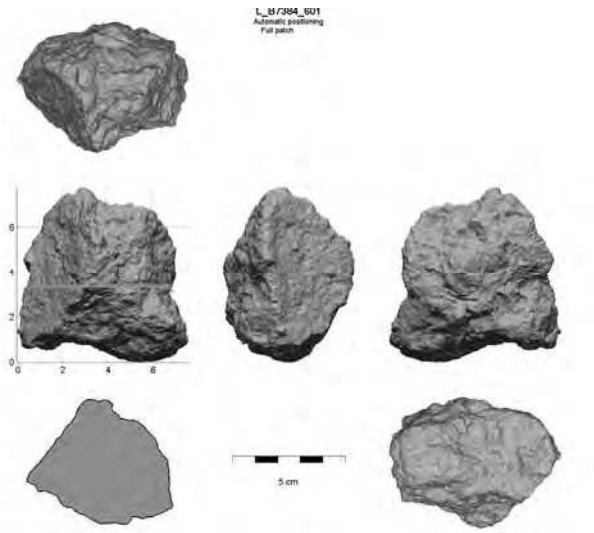

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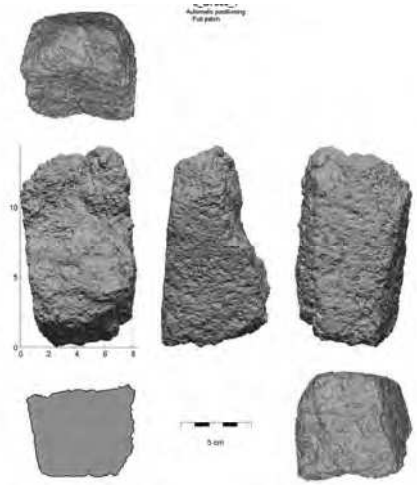

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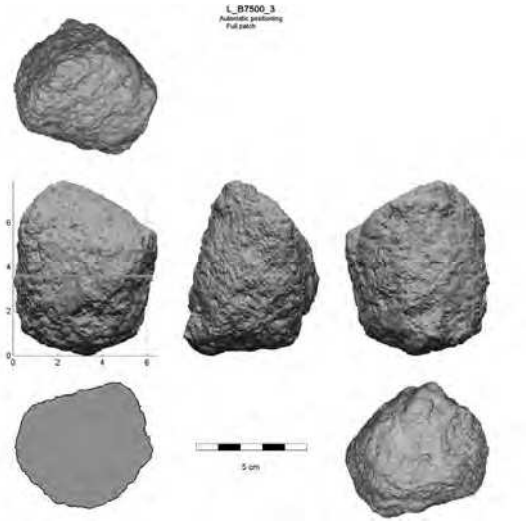

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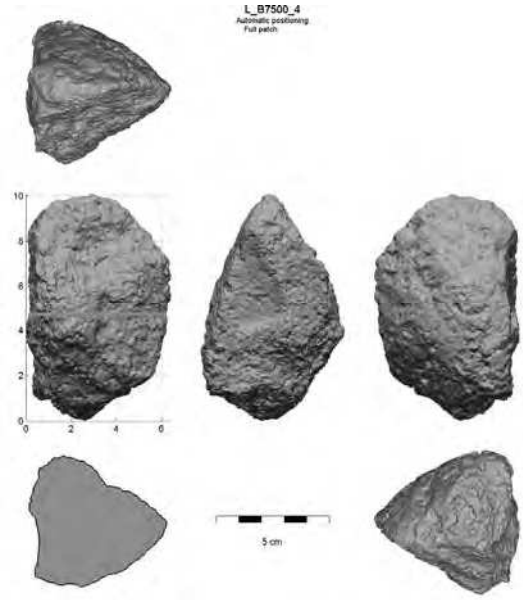

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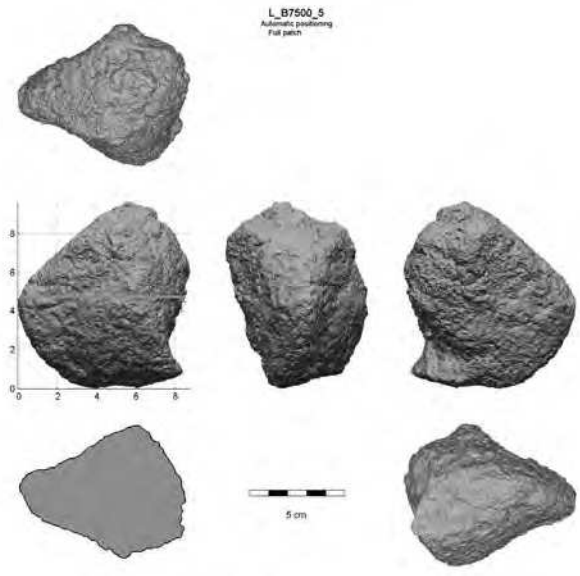

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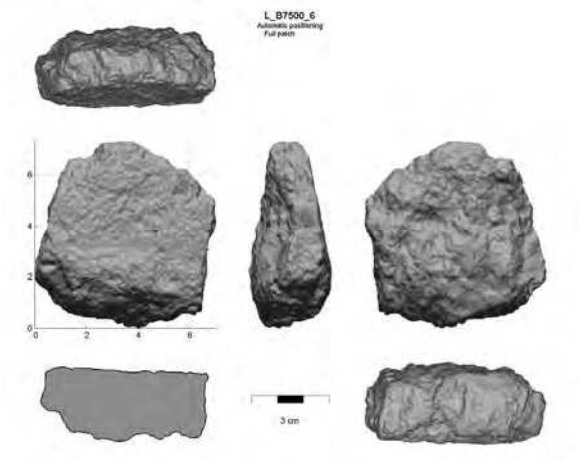

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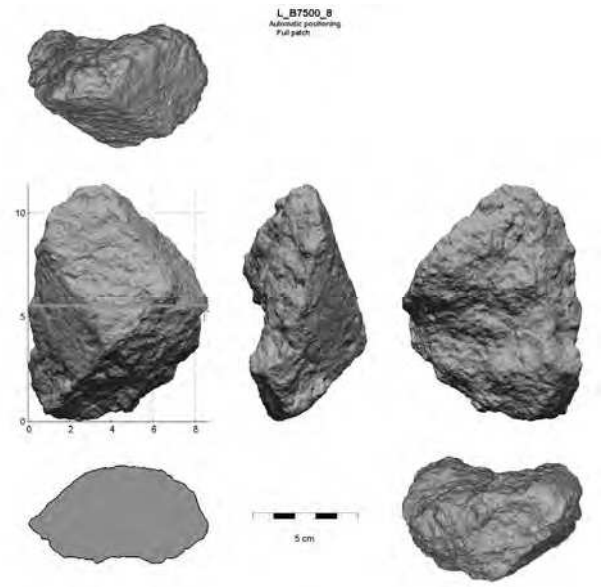

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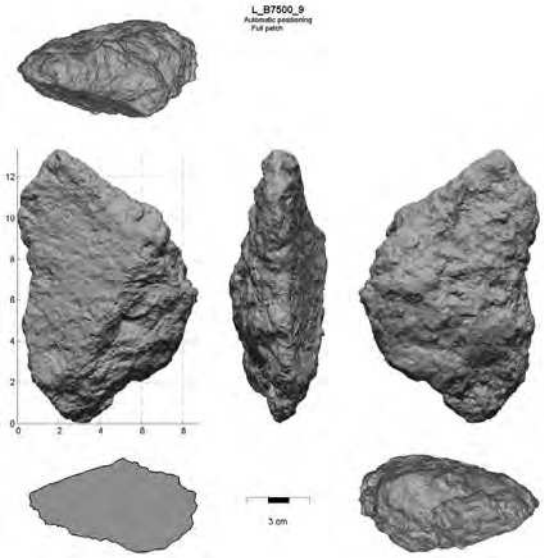

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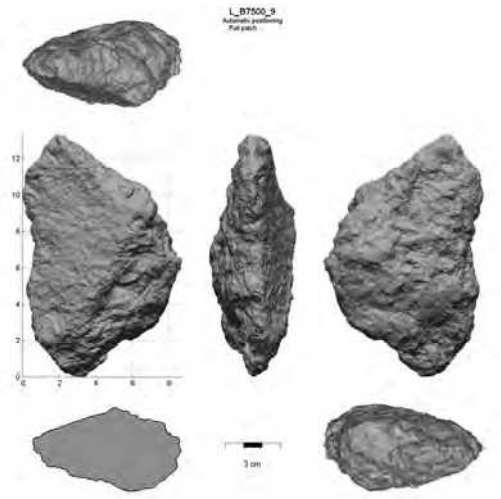

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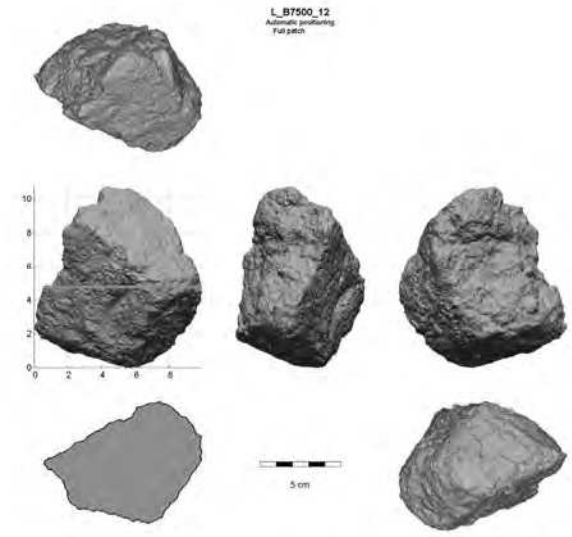

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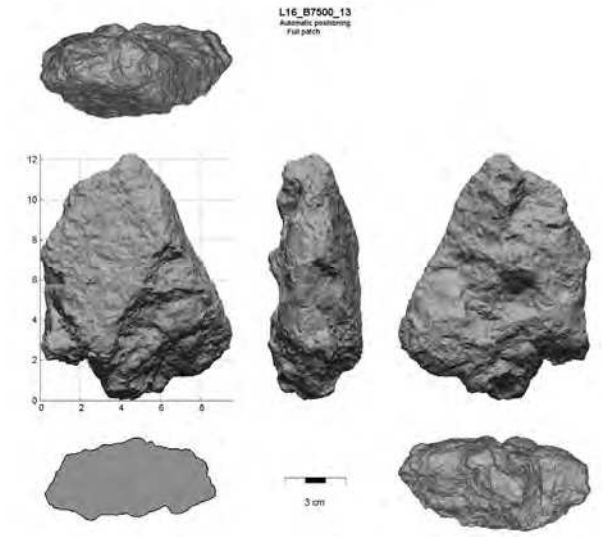

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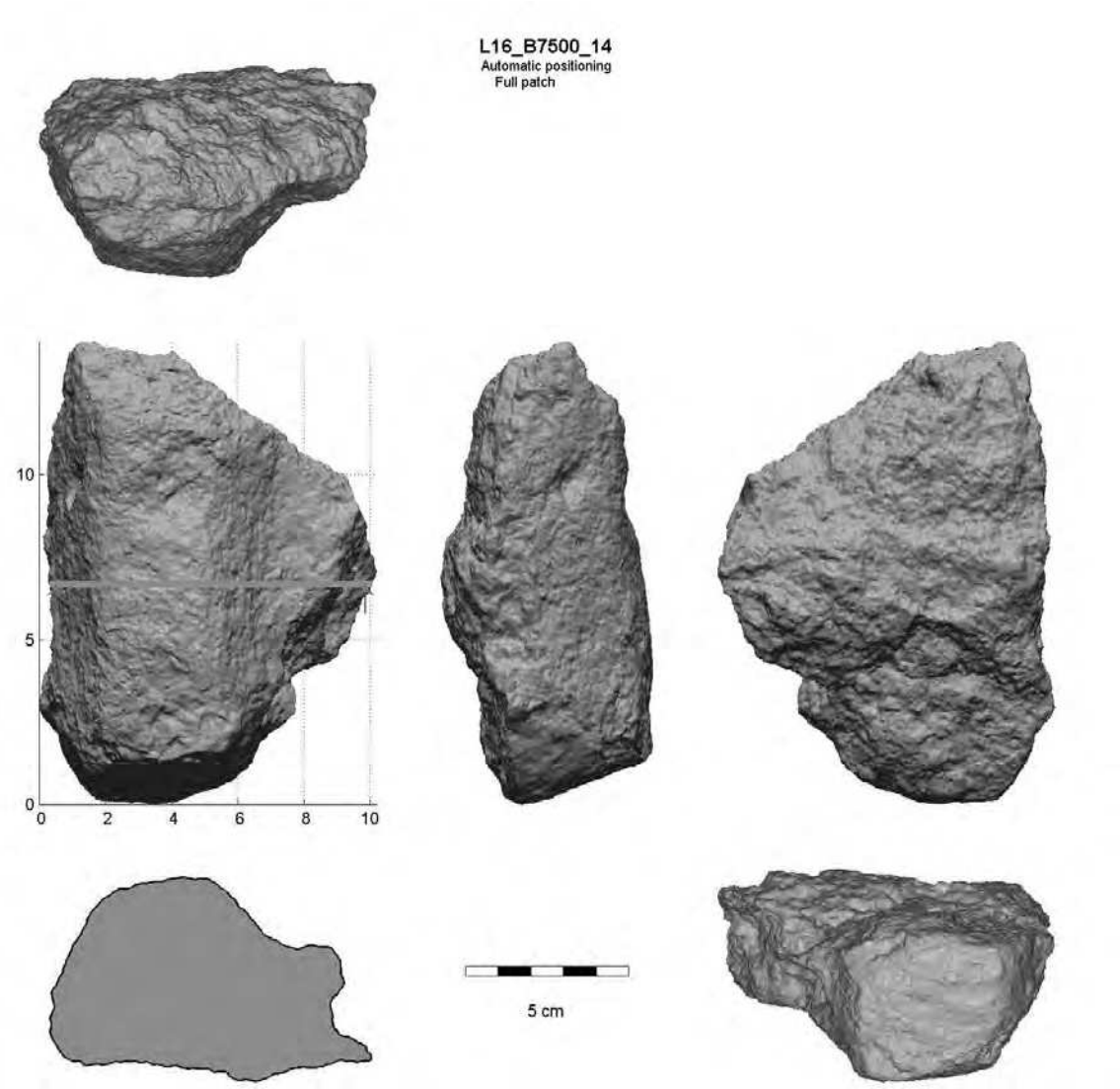


Fig. 13.25: Cat. 33, B7500/14

CHAPTER 14

THE WORLD OF CULT STANDS

Wolfgang Zwickel

14.1. INTRODUCTION

Decorated house-shaped stands belong to the most important cultic paraphernalia of ancient Israel/Palestine. Generally they are considered to be very closely connected with cultic activities. Therefore, both archaeologists and exegetes of the Hebrew Bible are interested in them. A considerable number of studies in the last years discussed the cultic meaning of those finds (Bretschneider 1991; Muller 2002; Frevel 2003; Katz 2006), and the publication of the Yavneh stands (Ziffer/Kletter 2007; Kletter/Ziffer/Zwickel 2010) contributed greatly to our knowledge and has already entered scholarly discussion (Ben-Shlomo 2010:66-70; Elkowicz 2012:64-70; Vieweger 2012:476-478).

In this article I will focus on several types of Iron Age cult stands in order to establish a possible historical, geographical and cultural background to the Yavneh stands. Already in the first volume of this excavation R. Kletter and I. Ziffer presented in chapters 3 and 5 excellent ideas on the typology and the iconography of the Yavneh stands (Kletter 2010; Ziffer 2010). The aim of my paper is to categorize the stands from the southern Levant and to study the distribution of the different types in order to recognize better the specific geographical and typological role of the Yavneh stands.

The number of Late Bronze Age/Iron Age stands from Palestine is – beside of the enormous amount from the Yavneh *favissa* – rather limited; and earlier items are extremely rare. All the stands can be divided into six spe-cific groups (cf. the different typology of Kletter in chap. 4):

1. "Snake-houses" (globular or beehive-shaped stands with 'doors').
2. Globular or beehive-shaped stands.
3. Stepped stands.
4. High stands with (nearly) square ground plan.
5. Shrines with open front.
6. Altar-like stands.

For each group, Palestinian items will be collected and their distribution noted; additional parallels from outside Palestine shall demonstrate possible historical connections and influences.

14.2. "SNAKE HOUSES"

This type of stands (globular or beehive, with 'doors') seems to be typical of the very end of the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age.

Dan 1 (Fig. 14.1) (Biran 1989:128; Biran 1994:152). The item was discovered in a small room (1.5 x1 m) next to the metallurgy area, together with typical household or industrial wares. Width 24.7 cm, height at least 30 cm (the upper part is broken). The door of the shrine is missing, but two loops flanking the open space demonstrate that it could be closed. Biran attributes the stand to Stratum V, the first Iron Age Stratum.

Hazor 1 (Fig. 14.2) (Yadin et al. 1960:109, Pls. CXXIII:4; CLXXVII:6). This jar has a round opening, but the loops and the flanking parts are broken (evidently the 'door' was broken forcefully, damaging the flanking loops). Inside the jar a bronze standard was found (Yadin et al. 1960:117, Pl. CLXXXI; Tadmor 1989; Keel 1992:202; Schroer 2011:306, No. 865). The practical use of this standard is unclear, but its deposition inside a specific jar shows its 'holiness'. The jar was found in Locus 6211, a room full of pottery. Yadin supposed that this was a storeroom for a shrine (Yadin et al. 1960:104-106); the room can be attributed to either Stratum 1B or 1A (14^{th}-13^{th} centuries BCE).

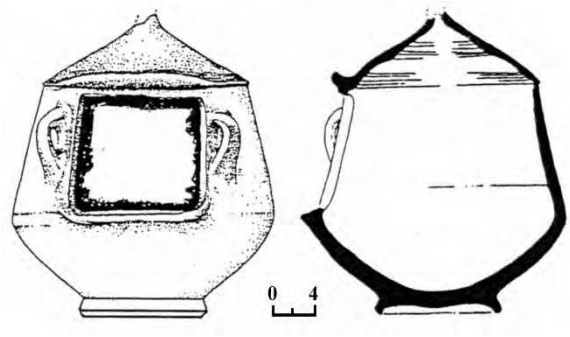


Fig. 14.1: Dan 1, Zevit 2001: Fig. 4:18

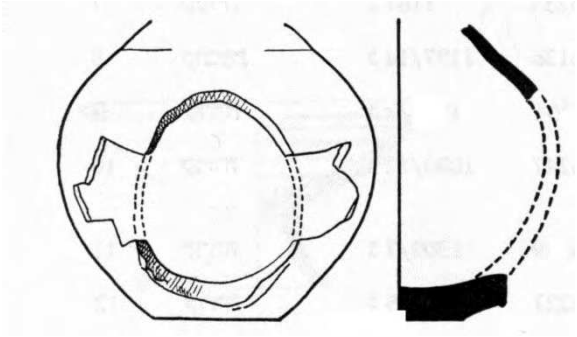


Fig. 14.2: Hazor 1, Yadin 1960: Pl. 123:4

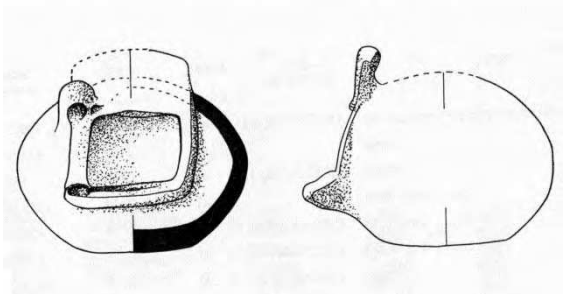


Fig. 14.3: Hazor 2, Yadin 1961: Pls. 282:1

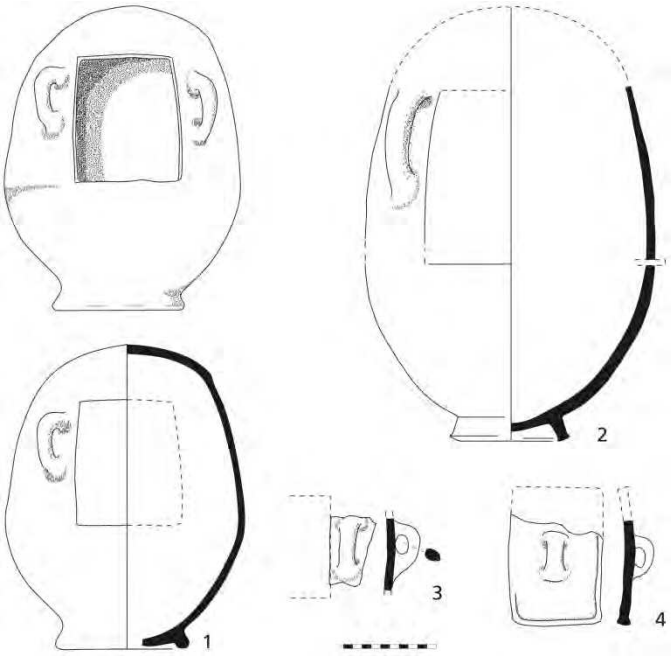


Fig. 14.6: Kinneret, Nissinen and Münger 2009: Fig. 4

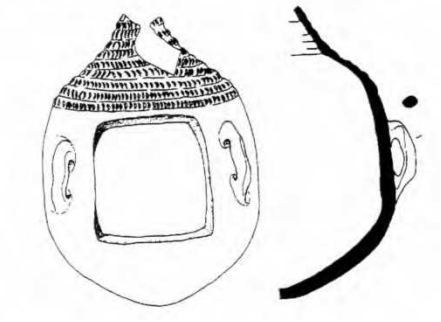


Fig. 14.5: Tel Hadar, Katz 2006: Pl. 18:3

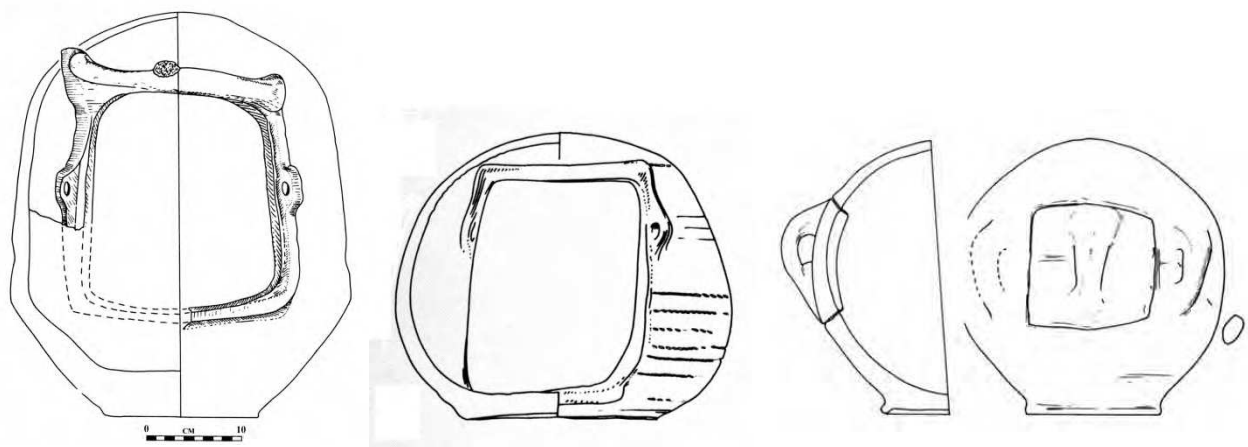


Fig. 14.6 (left): Tell Deir ‘Alla 1, Franken and Franken 1992: Fig. 3.8:12
Fig. 14.7 (center): Tell Deir ‘Alla 2, Franken and Franken 1992: Fig. 4.3:16
Fig. 14.8 (right): Tell Deir ‘Alla 3, Franken and Franken 1992: Fig. 5.8:30

Hazor 2 (Fig. 14.3) (Yadin et al. 1961: Pls. CCCIX:17; CCLXXXII:1; Yadin et al. 1989:271). The opening is almost square with a loop on each side for closing by a 'door'. The vessel was found in Locus 2113, the inner shrine of the temple, Area H, Stratum 1A (13th century BCE). The placement in the shrine demonstrates the cultic character of this vessel.

Kinneret 1 (Fig. 14.4) (Nissinen/Münger 2009:134-137). The item was discovered in an Iron I pillared courtyard-building at Tell el-Oreme/Kinneret, which can perhaps be understood as a shrine or a house with cultic activities. The size is 32.5 x 25.5 cm. On both sides of the fairly rectangular opening are two handles. The 'door' is missing.

Tel Hadar 1 (Fig. 14.5). The stand (not yet fully published) was found in a tripartite building dating to the 11th century BCE (Kochavi 1996:191, Photo 15; Kochavi and Yadin 2008:1757). Therefore, it has no cultic context. The 'door' is missing.

Tel Rehov 1 (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2008). The stand was found in Room F of Stratum IV, generally dated to the 9th century BCE. There is an interesting decoration on the top: an animal, likely a lion with a dangling tongue, is depicted in the center. Its front legs are stretched on both sides; its relatively huge paws are placed on the heads of two humans flanking the entrance. Mazar assumes that Room F was used for cultic purposes.

Tell Deir 'Alla 1 (Fig. 14.6) (Franken and Franken 1992: Fig. 3-8:12). The vessel was found in Phase E, inside the cella. Width 38 cm, height 44.8 cm, Late Bronze Age.

Tell Deir 'Alla 2 (Fig. 14.7) (Franken and Franken 1992: Fig. 4-3:16). This vessel was found east of the cella and belongs to the Late Bronze Age as well. Width 22 cm, height 18 cm.

Tell Deir 'Alla 3 (Fig. 14.8) (Franken and Franken 1992: Fig. 5-8:30). This item was excavated west of the cella, and is nearly complete (including the door). Height 26 cm, width 25.2 cm, Late Bronze Age.

Another item from Tell Deir 'Alla is too small for further study (Franken and Franken 1992: Fig 4-17).

As Nissinen and Münger (2009) have shown, the distribution of this type of stands is rather limited. In Palestine they are found in the Jordan valley, from Dan in the north to Tell Deir 'Alla in the south. The oldest ones are of the Late Bronze Age (Hazor, Tell Deir 'Alla), and are found in clear cultic contexts. Therefore, a cultic use of those vessels seems evident. They have clear parallels to two Late Bronze Age items discovered in Ugarit (Schaeffer 1949: Fig. 79; Muller 2002: Figs. 128-129) and Tell Munbāqa (Muller 2002: Fig. 114). Typical for the Syrian stands is a knob on top of the vessel. In the Middle Bronze IIB there existed a similar beehive-shaped stand found in Ashkelon, which apparently could be closed. In this stand a bull figurine has been found. This seems to be the oldest example of this type up to now (Stager 2008; Muller 2002: Fig. 132). Therefore, the oldest examples appear in ports like Ashkelon and Ugarit, and later ones were found especially in the Jordan valley.

The specific function of those stands is unclear, especially the reason why they could be closed with a door. The interpretation of Yadin (Yadin 1975, 90) as "snake houses" is unlikely (Nissinen and Münger 2009:136). Item *Hazor* 1 was found with a bronze standard in it. Therefore it may have been used as a miniature shrine, which could be closed during the night or in special ceremonies. The 'doors' of most of these vessels were not found.

The cultic use of those stands is limited to a small area in Israel/Palestine, showing close cultural und cultic connections. These stands from the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age can be considered as a cultic identity-marker of a specific group. The distribution on the Mediterranean shore on the one hand, and in the Jordan valley on the other hand, makes close cultural connections very likely. For some Jordan valley sites, close connections to the Mediterranean shore and especially to Sea Peoples have been considered in the past (Tubb 2005:86-96; Fischer and Bürge 2013).

14.3. GLOBULAR/BEEHIVE-SHAPED STANDS

This group has been found only in Late Bronze Age layers from Kamid el-Lōz in Lebanon. They should not be confused with the former "snake houses", which can be closed with a door (cf. part 14.2 above; against Nissinen and Münger 2009); albeit they have a generally similar shape. The present group is differently decorated, with two free standing columns flanking the opening and fluting ("Hohlkehle") above the 'entrance'. Some of them are small, some are quite high. These Kamid el-Lōz stands belong to Building Phase $T2a_1$, dated to the middle of the Late Bronze Age.

Kamid el-Lōz 1 (Fig. 14.9) (Metzger 1993: Pl. 72; Muller 2002: Fig. 95). It was discovered *in situ* in Shrine D and was definitely used for cultic purposes (Metzger 1993:64). Height 26.9 cm, width 25-33 cm. Two free-standing columns (now broken) flank the 'entrance', and on top of the entrance there is a fluting.

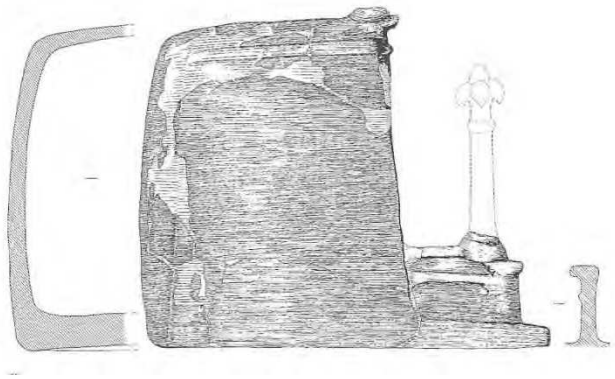


Fig. 14.9: Kamid el-Lōz 1, Metzger 1993: Pl. 72

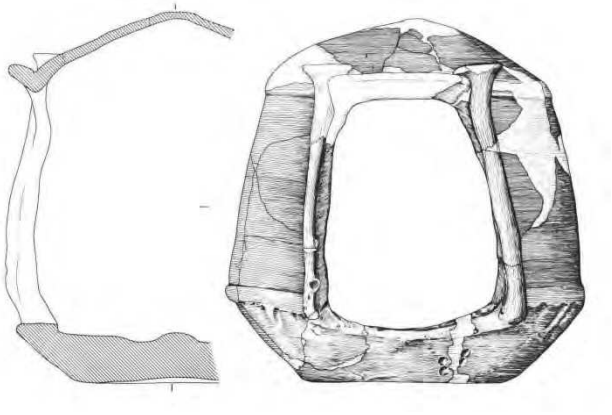


Fig. 14.10: Kamid el-Lōz 2, Metzger 1993: Pl. 73

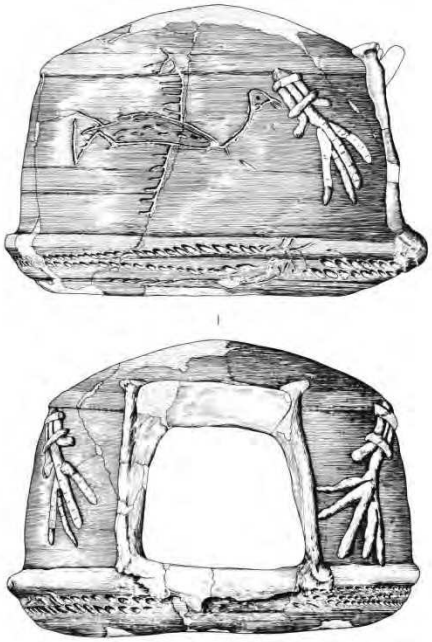


Fig. 14.11: Kamid el Lōz 3, Metzger 1993: Pl. 74

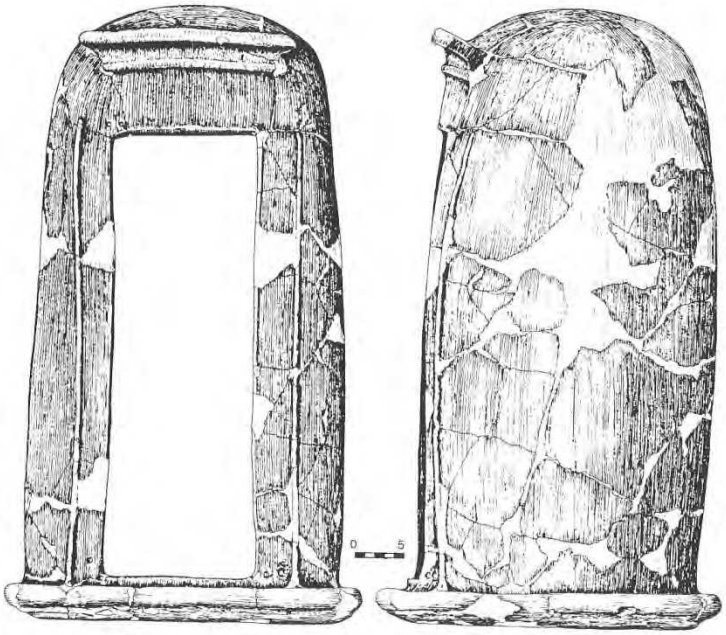
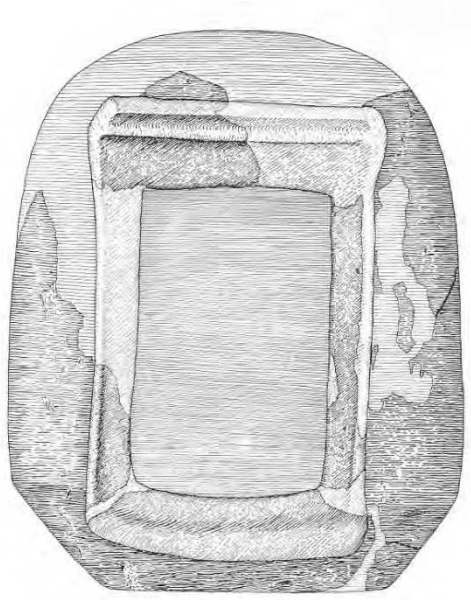


Fig. 14.12: Kamid el-Lōz 4, Metzger 1993: Pl. 75



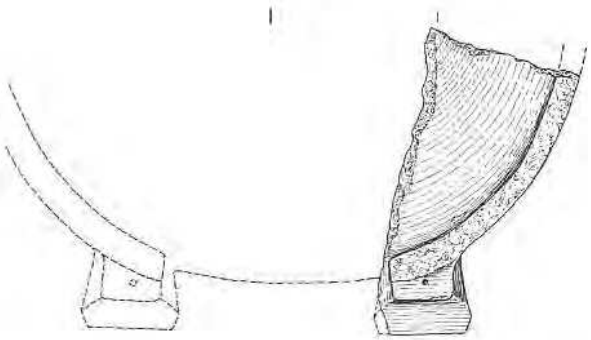


Fig. 14.13 (left): Kamid el-Lōz 5, Muller 2002: Fig. 99
Fig. 14.14 (top): Kamid el-Lōz 6, Muller 2002: Fig. 100

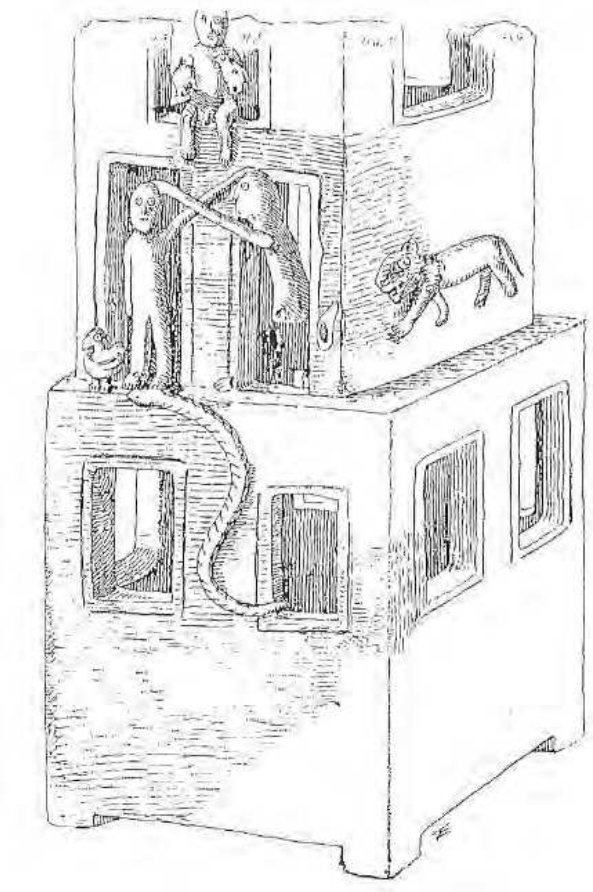


Fig. 14.15: Beth Shean 1
Muller 2002: Fig. 134

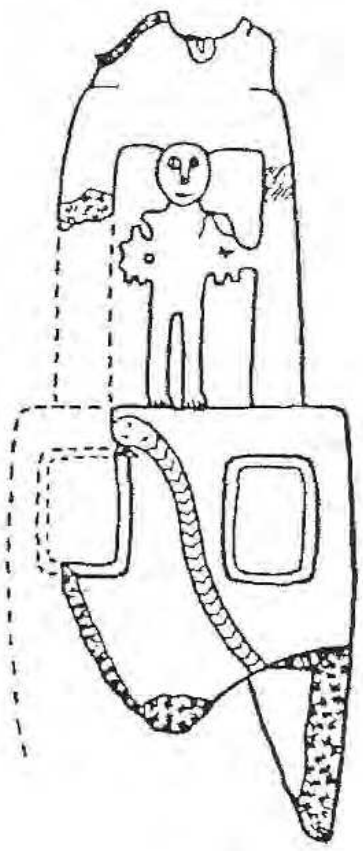


Fig. 14.16: Beth Shean 2
Muller 2002: Fig. 135

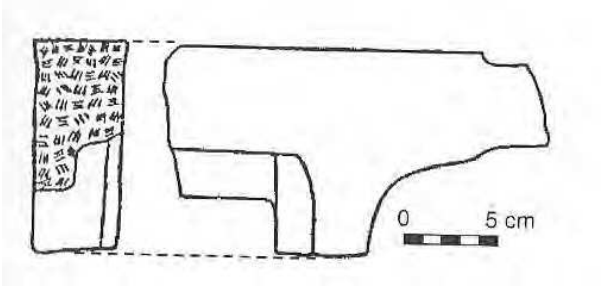


Fig. 14.17: Beth Shean 3, Muller 2002: Fig. 133

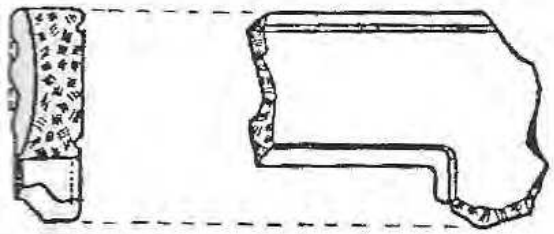


Fig. 14.18: Beth Shean 4, Muller 2002: Fig. 136

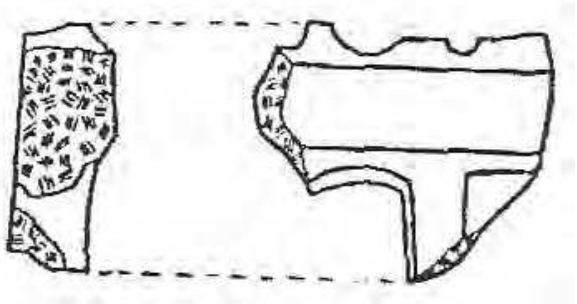


Fig. 14.19: Beth Shean 5, Muller 2002: Fig. 137

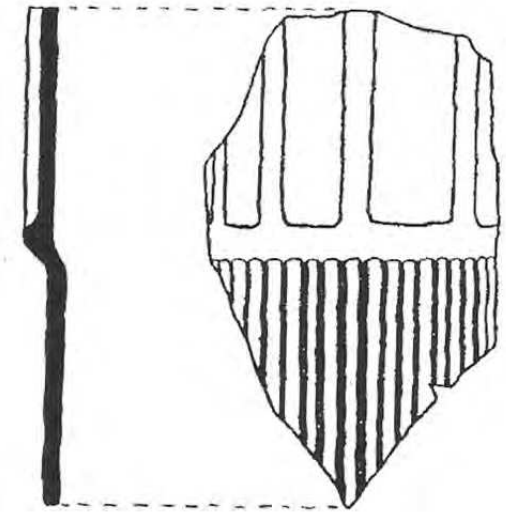


Fig. 14.20 (right): Beth Shean 6, Muller 2002: Fig. 138

Kamid el-Lōz 2 (Fig. 14.10) (Metzger 1993:45-48, Pl. 73; Muller 2002: Fig. 96). This stand was discovered in courtyard C of the temple, Building Phase T2a, perhaps $T2a_1$. The cultic attribution of the stand is confirmed by the context. Height 24.7 cm, diameter 24 cm. The opening is flanked by two free-standing columns; on top of the opening is a fluting.

Kamid el-Lōz 3 (Fig. 14.11) (Metzger 1993: Pl. 74; Muller 2002: Fig. 97). This stand is similar to Kamid el-Lōz 2 concerning the entrance and diameter (27.4 cm), but it is lower (19.4 cm). On the right side there is an engraving of a bird, maybe a swimming bird reaching the beach (marked by a scratched line with some strokes to the left). Another interpretation is a bird caught in a loop. On both sides of the entrance an instrument is applied, hanging down from the roof. Three 'beams' are bound together, and the middle one is divided to 4-5 branches. The meaning of this detail is unclear. Maybe it can be interpreted as a grain shovel.

Kamid el-Lōz 4 (Fig. 14.12) (Metzger 1993: 46, Pl. 75; Muller 2002: Fig. 98; the data in Miron 1982:32, Pl. 4 seems to be wrong). This stand was found near Kamid el-Lōz 2, but is much higher – 61.8 cm; diameter 35.5 cm. The entrance is flanked by two applications symbolizing free-standing columns; on top of the entrance is a channeling.

Kamid el-Lōz 5 (Fig. 14.13) (Echt 1986; Muller 2002: Fig. 99). This stand, broken but reconstructed, is similar to the other cuboid items from this excavation. The opening is surrounded by a frame, and there is a channeling above it. Height 29 cm, diameter 22.8 cm.

Kamid el-Lōz 6 (Fig. 14:14) (Muller 2002: Fig. 100). Too fragmentary for further discussion.

These globular or beehive-shaped stands from Kamid el-Lōz are characteristic of this specific town. Though their shape is unique for the Late Bronze Age, the two columns flanking the entrance should be connected with later Iron Age stands that have the same decoration (see below, sections 14.5 and 14.6). There is an interesting older parallel for this shape from Late Bronze Age I Tell Munbāqa (Muller 2002: Fig. 114). Tell Munbāqa and Kamid el-Lōz may have been connected by trade.

The shape of the stands from Kamid el-Lōz resembles Egyptian shrines, especially because of the fluting above the entrance. Also the rounded roof has parallels in the domed roof of Egyptian chapels or shrines.[1] In Egypt those shrines were normally built of wood (for example, Emery 1967: Pl. 25:4; 1969: Pl. 6:1; 1970: Pl. 4:4). Likely the pottery stands are copies of such Egyptian shrines. Late Bronze Age Kamid el-Lōz was a garrison for Egyptian troops, and therefore, Egyptian traditions and influences on this type of cult stand are likely.

14.4. STEPPED STANDS

Stepped stands are typical for Beth Shean, where they date to the 12^{th}-10^{th} centuries BCE. Typically they have nearly square ground plans and an applied decoration of 'windows' with humans and animals.

Beth Shean 1 (Fig. 14.15) (Muller 2002: Fig. 134). A partly preserved stand, but the stepped structure is clear. In the 'windows' human figurines and a bird are presented, another human figurine is sitting on top in one 'window'. A snake and an animal are applied in the front part and on one side. This stand is divided into at least three stories. Surviving height 48 cm, ground plan c. 24 x 24 cm. The item has been found under the floor of the so-called North Temple (Stratum V), which is probably not a temple (cf. Zwickel 1994:240). Maybe it belonged originally to a temple of Strata VI or VII, and was buried in a *favissa* below the floor of Stratum V. Stratum V dates to c. 1075/1050-800/732 BCE, Stratum VI to 1200/1175-1075/1050 BCE, and Stratum VII to the very end of the Late Bronze Age, 1250-1200/1175 BCE (cf. Zwickel 1994:174). Because of the similarity to *Beth Shean* 2 an attribution to Stratum VI is the most likely.

Beth Shean 2 (Fig. 14.16) (Muller 2002: Fig. 135). A very fragmented stand. Human figurines stand in a window on the front and back, and a snake is applied at the front. There seems to have been a third story, which is completely missing now. Height 52 cm, ground plan 11x18 cm. It was ascribed to the so-called south temple of Stratum V, which is likely a palace (Zwickel 1994:241); but may rather belong to the Stratum VI temple of the Iron Age I (Zwickel 1994:186-191).

Beth Shean 3-6 (Figs. 14.17-20) (Muller 2002: Figs. 133; 136-138). Only fragments survived, but they seem to belong to similar stands. Fragments 3-5 could be from the same stand, but fragment 6 seems different. Because of their fragmented condition, we will not discuss these stands further in this article.

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[1] Cf. the Egyptian hieroglyphs Gardiner O18  , O19  , and O20  .

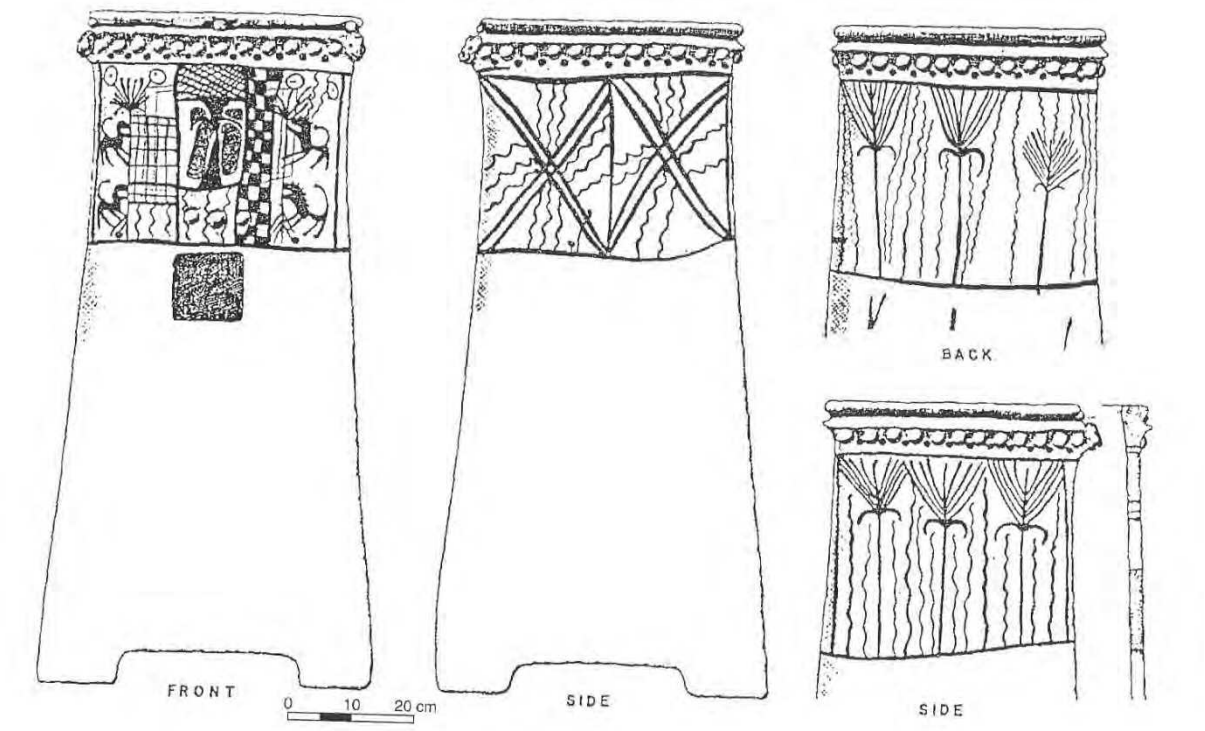


Fig. 14.21: Megiddo 1, Muller 2002: Fig. 146

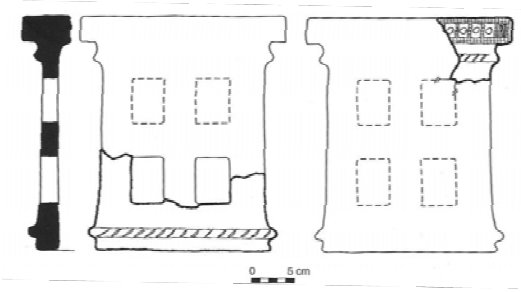


Fig. 14.22: Megiddo 3
Muller 2002: Fig. 148

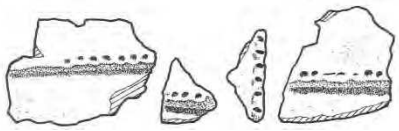


Fig. 14.23: Megiddo 5
Muller 2002: Fig. 150

Fig. 14.24: Megiddo 6
Muller 2002: Fig. 152

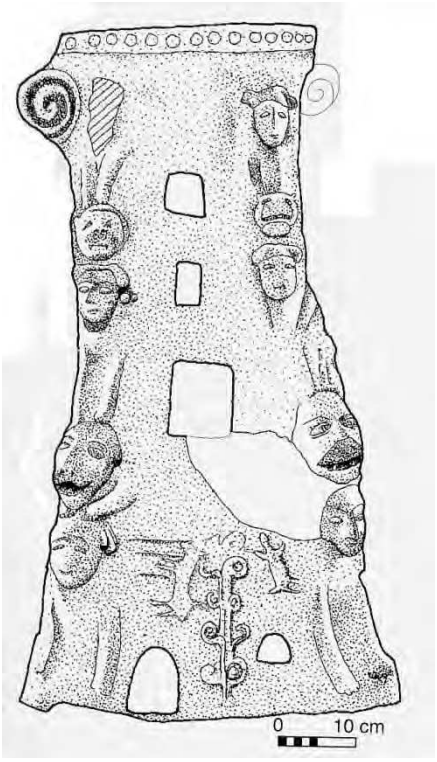
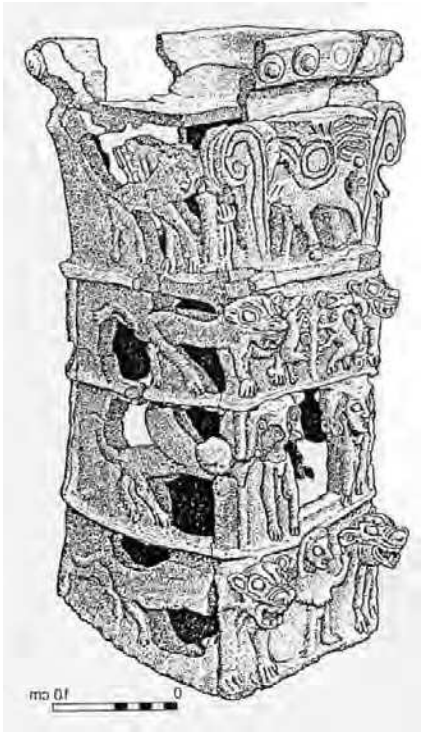


Fig. 14.25 (left):
Ta'anach 1
Muller 2002: Fig. 158

Fig. 14.26 (right):
Ta'anach 2
Muller 2002: Fig. 157



There are no close parallels for the Beth Shean stands, but the stepped structure, resembling a building, can already be found in a stand from Middle to Late Second Millennium BCE Tell Basmusian (Muller 2002: Fig. 15). It has two stories and a square ground plan, but the human figurines are missing. Instead of applied figurines the head of a horned animal is placed at the front. Very similar is another stand from Tell Shemshara of the same period (Muller 2002: Fig. 29). A similar stand from Nuzi (Muller 2002: Fig. 24) lacks human figurines. Figurines in 'windows' are typical for the Yavneh stands, but those stands are single-story. The stepped structure represents a multi-story building. Several 'floors' or registers on stands are also typical for other Palestinian stands that do not have the stepped structure (see part 14.5 below).

14.5. HIGH, NEARLY SQUARE STANDS

Several stands of this type have been found in Israel/Palestine, all decorated with painting or figurines.

Megiddo 1 (Fig. 14.21) (Muller 2002: Fig. 146). The oldest item in this category has been found in Late Bronze II Megiddo. Its upper part is painted. On the front two life-trees flanked by animals are depicted. The left tree is connected with a net-like pattern and vertical wavy lines, the right one with a chess pattern. The middle scene is composed of vertical wavy lines, a column (date palm?) and a diagonal net pattern (leaves of date palm?). Maybe this can be connected with a painting of a temple from Mari showing Zimrilim and the Goddess Ishtar in the center, water lines running out of bowls in the hands of minor goddesses below, and life-trees with animals on each side (Orthmann 1985: Fig. 187). This painting is dated to the 18th century BCE. If this link is true, the column/date palm in the middle represents a sanctuary or holy tree. The vertical wavy lines can be interpreted as water, and the holy scene is under divine control, expressed by the flanking trees. The scenes on the right and the left sides are nearly identical. Three trees are presented surrounded by wavy lines. These scenes may represent trees standing in an area of abundance of water, representing fertility in abundance, offered by the gods. A flat pan at the top of the stand could have been used for sprinkling water onto it.

Megiddo 2-6 (Fig. 14.22-24) (Muller 2002: Figs. 147-150, 152). Those four 13th-10th centuries BCE stands are very fragmented and therefore a reconstruction of their original shape is impossible. It is even unclear if they really belong to this category, because their height cannot be established. *Megiddo* 2 is wrongly classified by Muller. It is the left part of a stand showing a tree with a volute; maybe it belonged to the back part of *Megiddo* 7 (below). Nevertheless, it is too small for further identification.

Ta'anach 1 (Fig. 14.25) (Muller 2002: Fig. 158; Zwickel 2006:63-64, with bibliography). The so-called "Sellinstand" is 90 cm high and has a square ground plan (45 x 45 cm). It was discovered in 1902 in the "Südschacht", maybe an area connected with cult, but this is uncertain. The stand is divided into five registers. The side faces are decorated with animals in relief, standing one above the other (from below): sphinx (?) – lion – sphinx – lion – sphinx (?). The heads of the animals are protruding. At the upper rim there are two volutes (the right one is lost) symbolizing the stand as flanked by trees. In the lowest register a tree of life is applied, with two horned animals beside it. On the right side a man holds a snake. The roof is a flat, square pan, likely for pouring libations onto it. Generally the stand is attributed to the 10th century BCE.

Ta'anach 2 (Fig. 14.26) (Muller 2002: Fig. 157; Zwickel 2006:64, with bibliography). The "Lappstand" was found not far from the "Sellin-stand" in a cistern and is similarly dated to the 10th century. Maybe the whole area was used for cultic activities. The decoration is much more sophisticated: it is divided into four registers, closed up at the "roof" with a square pan. The sides are decorated by animals with protruding heads (from below: lion – sphinx – lion – sphinx). The uppermost register is flanked by two volutes. In another parallel to the Sellin-stand, the tree of life with two horned animals is depicted at front on the third register. In the center of the lowest register a naked goddess is depicted, holding the ears of the lion flanking her. In the uppermost register an animal (horse?) with a winged sun-disk is depicted.

Kh.'Atarus 1 (Ji 2012:213): A badly damaged, not yet fully published stand. Height c. 50 cm, plan 35x40 cm. It is painted with red and black lines. It had at least two registers. Only the lower front and three feet of an animal in the upper register survived. The lower frontal register is flanked by a column. In the two openings of the front two figurines are standing, likely male, because they wear a short garment. The left figurine touches a lion-like animal with the left hand; the right one holds the horn of a bull/calf in its left hand. The presentation of male figurines is a new feature in stands from the Near East, because normally goddesses are presented.

Tel Rehov 2 (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2008:45). The upper part of this tall stand is formed like a small basin, likely deliberately destroyed. The front is decorated with triangular holes in two lines. Triangles are known on many cultic stands, e.g. from Assur (Muller 2002: Fig. 5.6.9), Shemshara (Muller 2002: Fig. 30), Emar (Muller

2002: Figs. 55-56, 60, 64, 81), Habuba Kabira (Muller 2002: Fig. 89) and Tell Munbāqa (Muller 2002: Figs. 116-118, 200). This seems to be an artistic element originally restricted to northern Syria and Assyria. There is another unpublished clay altar from Tel Rehov, which has such triangles (N. Panitz-Cohen, oral communication).

Tel Rehov 3 (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2008:44). A very fragmented stand, only parts of the front and two naked goddesses survived. It is similar to *Kh. 'Atarus* 1, but has no proof of several registers.

Another unpublished stand from Tel Rehov can be added to this group (oral communication, N. Panitz-Cohen).

Parallels for this type of stands are found in Tell Shemshara (Muller 2002: Fig. 30), but only with one pair of animals depicted at the lower part of the stand. Other high stands with square ground plan, but without animals, have been found in Late Bronze II Emar (Muller 2002: Figs. 55, 60, 73, 74) and Tell Munbāqa (Muller 2002: Fig. 117). One item from Late Bronze II Tell Munbāqa has a pair of animals (panthers?) in the upper part. Much older (18th century BCE) are stands from Boğazköy (Muller 2002: Figs. 208-209). We will not discuss here two stands lacking provenance (Muller 2002: Figs. 174, 176), today in the Metropolitan Museum in New York and in the Louvre, Paris, because their authenticity is not ascertained.

This type of stands appears at several Late Bronze sites in Syria and the Levant. The oldest Palestinian example from Megiddo is decorated with a botanical scene (a Nilotic landscape?); but the decoration changed during the Iron Age I to animals, perhaps influenced by Late Bronze Age traditions originating from the Syrian Euphrates River area (Emar, Tell Munbāqa). This type of stands is limited to the Jezreel valley (Megiddo, Ta'anach, Tel Rehov (maybe they were all produced by the same family of potters), and to Kh. 'Atarus in Jordan.

14.6. SHRINES WITH OPEN FRONTS

Tel Rekhesh 1 (Fig. 14.27) (Zori 1977: Pl. 33:3-5).[2] This stand was discovered in a survey conducted by Zori. The published photo is not good. The date is uncertain, but the parallel to *Tell el-Far'ah North* 1 suggests the 10th century BCE. The front is higher than the rest of the stand. The protruding part, which is partly broken, is decorated with some dots. The entrance has a recess. In the front are traces, perhaps of columns or trees flanking the entrance, but now lost. Maybe there was a projecting roof above the entrance, or an applied moon crescent as in *Tell el-Far'ah North* 1. Two holes on the left side were perhaps used to close the entrance with poles.

Tell el-Far'ah North 1 (Fig. 14.28). This stand (Muller 2002: Fig. 143) is 20.8 cm high; the ground plan is 13.9 x 10.5 cm. The front side is higher than the stand. The protruding part is decorated with dots and a moon crescent. The entrance is decorated by two appliqued trees with volutes. The stand was discovered in Stratum VIIB (10th century BCE). The trees or columns flanking the entrance are closely connected to Late Bronze Age traditions such as at *Kamid el-Lōz* 1-2.

Two more fragments, perhaps of similar stands from Tell el-Far'ah North (Muller 2002: Figs. 142, 144), are too small for definite attribution to a specific group.

Kh. Qeiyafa 1 (Fig. 14.29) (Garfinkel and Ganor 2013). Only preliminary publications exist. The stand was discovered together with other cultic items in a room next to the Area C gate, dated to the 10th century BCE. According to the picture the entrance is flanked by stylized columns. The front part is higher than the stand, and had according to the photo three standing persons, of whom only the feet survive. The front is decorated with two lines of applied vertically incised lumps of clay, typical for Syrian cult stands; cf. Emar (Muller 2002: Figs. 57, 60, 64, 73, 83), Tell Fray (Muller 2002: Fig. 88), Tell Munbāqa (Muller 2002: Figs. 116-118), etc. Since this emblematic applique is limited to the Euphrates knee, clearly the potter of the Kh. Qeiyafa stand followed North Syrian traditions. On top of the stand is a huge knob. Two holes on both sides of the entrance show that the stand could be closed by a door.

Kh. Qeiyafa 2 (Fig. 14.30) (Garfinkel and Ganor 2013). A stone stand with a door frame. The front is only a little bit higher than the stand. Above the entrance are seven small projections. Similar ones appear on a Late Bronze Age II stand from Emar (Muller 2002: Fig. 55). Therefore, this stand too has close connections to stands from Northern Syria.

[2] Tel Rekhesh has often been confused with Ruqeish in Philistia (Bretschneider 1991:132; Muller 2002: Fig. 156), because its publication (Zori 1977:116-175) was little known. Tell el-Mukharkhash/Tel Rekhesh is a large site in Nahal Tavor, identified with biblical Anaharath (coordinates: 194.228). In new excavations at this site two cylindrical cultic stands were found (Paz et al. 2010).

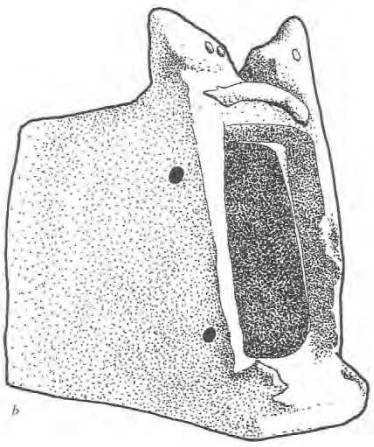


Fig. 14.27: Tel Rekhesh 1
Zori 1977: Pl. 33

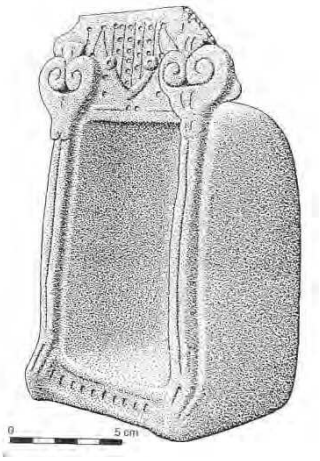


Fig. 14.28: Tell el-Far'ah North 1
Seeden 1979: Pl. 7

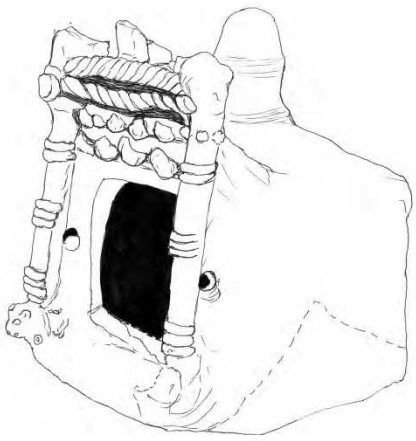


Fig. 14.29: Kh. Qeiyafa 1
Ganor and Garfinkel 2012: frontispiece

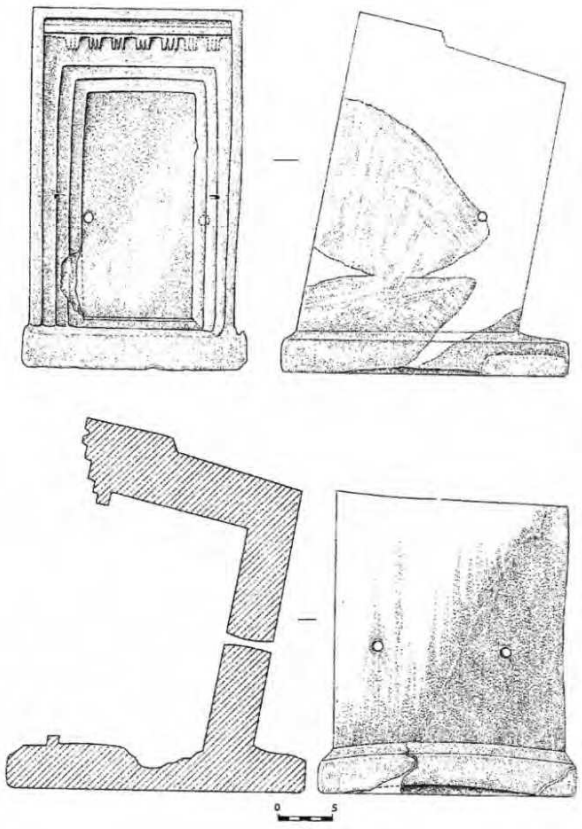


Fig. 14.30: Kh. Qeiyafa 2
Garfinkel and Ganor 2012b: Fig. 36

The following items lack provenance and are therefore only briefly discussed. They likely date to the Iron I or early Iron II, and perhaps originated from tombs. It is surprising that only this type has been sold in the antiquity market, while all the others types come from excavations:

Antiquity market 1 (Muller 2002: Fig. 165): Height 22.5, depth 18.3 cm. Two naked goddesses flank the entrance. The top part seems according to the photo higher than the stand, but this cannot be proven. The origin is unknown, but it is certainly southern Levantine.

Antiquity market 2 (Muller 2002: Fig. 177). Similar to the former stand; said to be from the Kerak region in Jordan. Height 15 cm, ground plan 15x10 cm. Two naked goddesses flank the open entrance, holding tambourines.

Antiquity market 3 (Muller 2002: Fig. 178). This stand was likely found in the Mount Nebo region, where in the 1970s a lot of illegitimate excavations were undertaken in tombs. Perhaps it was found in a tomb. Height 34.9 cm; ground plan 32.6x22 cm. The front is much higher than the stand itself. Above the entrance a moon crescent is appliqued. The entrance is flanked by two columns painted with vertical lines. The whole upper front is painted with a chessboard pattern. This slightly resembles the decoration of *Megiddo* 1. Two holes on the sides, behind the columns, show that the entrance could be closed.

Antiquity market 4 (Fig. 14.31) (Muller 2002: Fig. 179). Maybe this stand originates from Jordan. Height 28 cm, ground plan 23.8x16.8 cm. The front is higher than the stand and carries similar decoration as *Antiquity market* 3. Two trees flank the entrance, above which is an applied bird. Two holes on both sides of the entrance show that this stand could be closed.

Antiquity market 5 (Muller 2002: Fig. 180). A more rounded stand, resembling globular/beehive-shaped stands. It is topped by a knob (cf. Muller 2002: Fig. 114 from Late Bronze I Tell Munbāqa). As in *Antiquity market* 4, the entrance is flanked by a tree, there is a bird above the entrance and two holes for a door. Height 23.5 cm, ground plan 21x14 cm.

Antiquity market 6 (Fig. 14.32) (Muller 2002: Fig. 181). Very similar to No. 5. Allegedly from the Mount Nebo area, maybe from a tomb. Height is 29 cm, ground plan 21x13.5 cm. The upper front is higher and wider (30 cm) than the stand. The entrance is flanked by two trees and could be blocked. The front was likely painted, but nothing survived.

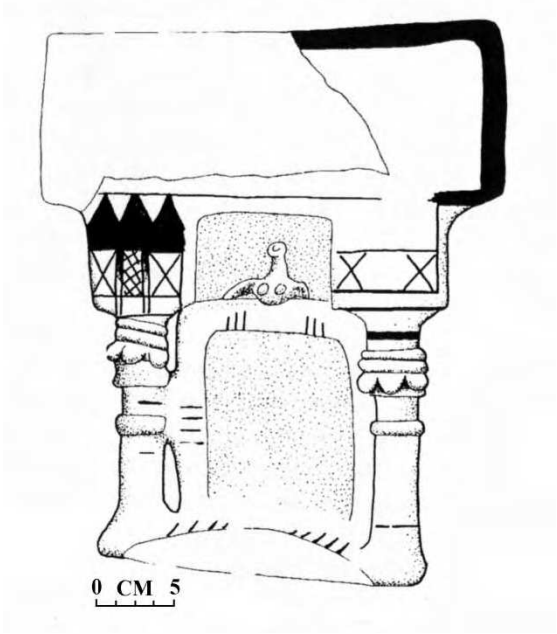


Fig. 14.31: Antiquity Market 4
De Miroschedji 2001: Fig. 21a

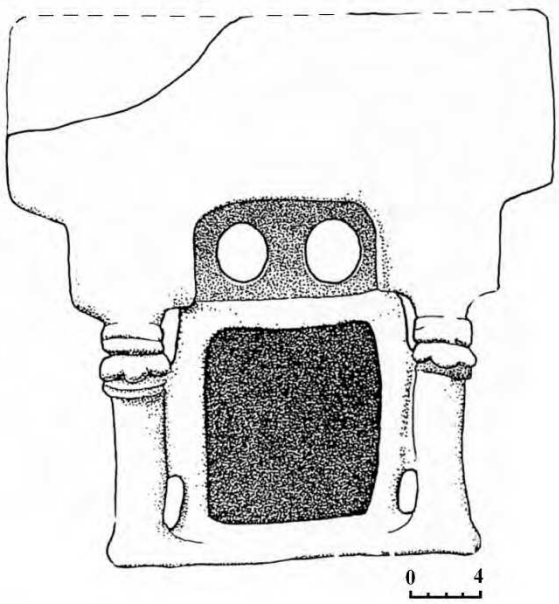


Fig. 14.32: Antiquity Market 6
De Miroschedji 2001: Fig. 22b

Fig. 14.33: Antiquity Market 7
Weinberg 1978:33

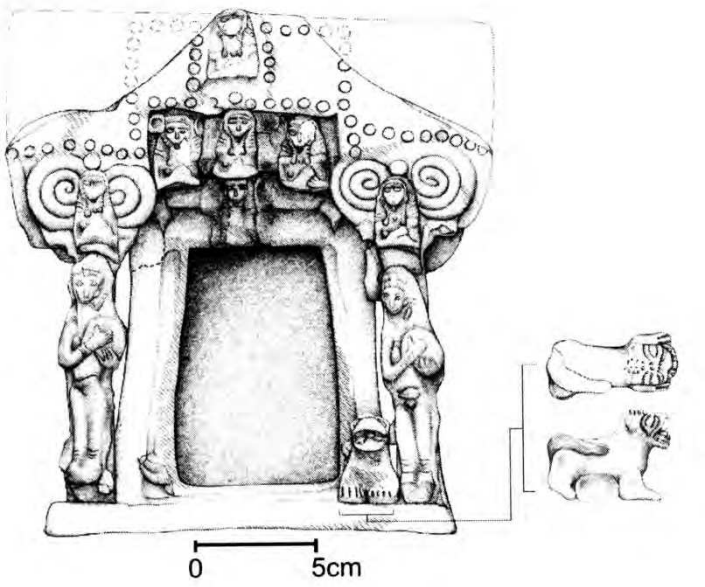


Fig. 14.34: Antiquity market 8
Maeir and Dayagi-Mendels 2007: Fig. 1

Antiquity market 7 (Fig. 14.33) (Muller 2002: Fig. 182). This stand was sold together with pottery vessels, allegedly found together in the Mount Nebo region, very likely in a tomb. The accompanying vessels date the stand to the 10^{th}-9^{th} centuries BCE. Height 29.7 cm, ground plan 16.5x27 cm. The protruding flanks of the entrance as well as the door frame are painted with horizontal lines and the area above the entrance with vertical lines. The front is much higher than the stand and is painted with triangles and squares. Above the entrance two naked goddesses are applied. The entrance could be closed.

Antiquity market 8 (Fig. 14.34) (Maeir and Dayagi-Mendels 2007). An elaborately decorated stand. Height 31 cm, ground plan 23.5x27,5 cm. The front is much higher than the stand. The entrance is flanked on each side by a lion and a free standing naked goddess holding a tambourine. Above the head of the goddesses the bust of another goddess is shown, attached to the symbolized crown of a tree. The area above the entrance is divided into three registers. The lower one has one bust of a goddess and the middle has busts of three goddesses. Another goddess is

placed in the middle of the upper register. The publishers dated the stand to the Iron Age II and suggested a northern Transjordanian origin.

Unfortunately, most of the items of this group lack provenance and it unknown if they are fakes or originals. Their very good condition suggests that they all came from tombs, perhaps all from the Mount Nebo region. The vessels allegedly accompanying stand *Antiquity market* 7 included incense burners. These were often found in Transjordan tombs, especially in the Ammonite territory (Zwickel 1990, 38-40). Maybe these stands were connected to funeral activities. No definite data about the practice of funerals can be retrieved, because no examples were found in scientific excavations.

Nearly all those stands have a high front, sometimes painted. High fronts are found on similar stands from Tello (likely early 2nd millennium BCE; Muller 2002: Fig. 32) and Ur (same period, Muller 2002: Fig. 34), but also from 8th/7th centuries BCE Phoenicia (Tyre: Muller 2002, Fig. 219; Akhzib, Muller 2002: Fig. 130); and 6th century BCE Cyprus (Amathos, Bretschneider 1991: no. 88-91 and later Phoenician examples from different places). A similar stand is known from Late Bronze I Tell Munbāqa (Muller 2002: Fig. 115), with "horns" like the stand from Tel Rekhesh. All of them have either trees or columns or naked goddesses flanking the entrance (cf. Schroer 2007). Since in the Bible a sacred pillar may also be called Ashera as the name of the goddess, this group of stands can likely be connected with the cult of Ashera. Even the bird, which is shown on *Antiquity market* 4-5, is traditionally connected with the goddess of love and fertility (Keel 1992, 143-168). Naked goddesses (sometimes in groups of two or three) are also applied on Late Bronze Age stands from Emar (Muller 2002: Figs. 54, 64), Middle Bronze Age I Hammam et-Turkman (Muller 2002: Fig. 94), Tell Kannas (Middle Bronze Age II; Muller 2002: Fig. 107), Rumeilah (Middle or Late Bronze Age; Muller 2002: Fig. 122) and altar-like stands from Pella (see below *Pella* 1). All the Syrian items come from a limited area near the Euphrates knee. Trees in the entrance area of a building are attested in written sources on several Levantine temples (Jerusalem: 1 Kings 7:15-22; Tyre: Herodot II:44) and in archaeology (Arad, Hazor Area H, and Kamid el-Lōz). This decoration seems to be typical for temples. Therefore at least this type of cultic stands should be considered as a miniature temple. Of primary importance is that all those stands could be closed by (wooden?) poles or slats. This makes them comparable to the so-called 'snake-houses' (Chapter 14.3, above). Maybe such shrines were closed in the evening in a religious ceremony, when the temple was also closed overnight.

14.7. ALTAR-LIKE STANDS

All the items belonging to this group were until now found in a very limited area and can be dated to the 11th-10th centuries BCE.

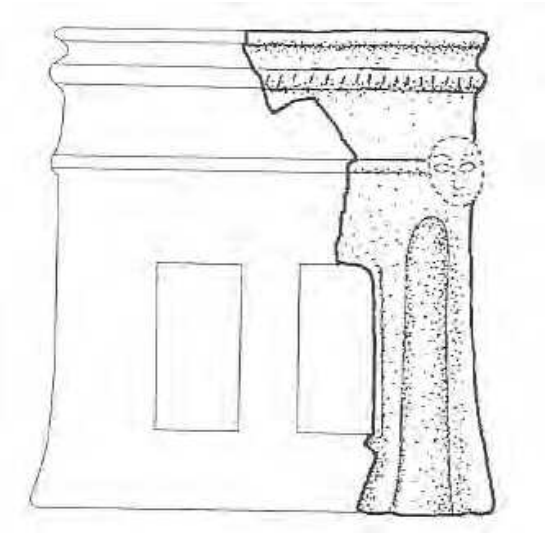
Megiddo 7 (Muller 2002: Fig. 151). A badly broken stand; its restoration is not certain as well as its attribution to Stratum IV (May 1935:13). Maybe *Megiddo* 2 (above) was originally part of this stand. Height likely 38 cm, ground plan 45x38 cm. The corners of the front and the middle columns of the sides are decorated with sphinxes. There is a flat rectangular bowl on top of the stand, maybe for libations.

Megiddo 8 (Fig. 14.35) (Muller 2002: Fig. 153). An even more fragmentary stand than *Megiddo* 7. Its context is not sure, but it is generally dated to the 10th century BCE. The sides are flat, but the corners are armed; therefore they look like a column. In one corner a human face is visible. On the top there is small basin, maybe for libations. Height 37.5 cm, ground likely 36x36 cm.

Pella 1 (Muller 2002, Fig. 154). This stand has a square ground plan. In size and form it is very similar to square stone altars (without horns), and it shows even an applied band running around the object, a typical element of stone altars. On top there is a basin, perhaps for libations, surrounded by dots. There are no figurines. The stand has been dated to the 11th/10th century BCE.

Pella 2 (Muller 2002: Fig. 155). A very fragmentary stand, now shown restored in the Archaeological museum of Amman. The upper front is decorated with zigzag-lines. Two naked goddesses are attached below, maybe standing on heads of oxen. Two lines are running around the stand like *Pella* 1, dividing the front to upper and lower parts; therefore it may have been a square altar-like stand. On top of the stand there is a basin, likely for libations. On the upper back corners a lion was affixed.

These altar-like stands seem to be smaller examples of high stands with square ground plan (Chapter 14.5 above). They show similar figurines, especially naked goddesses and sphinxes. Typically they have a basin at the top of the stand, similar to *Megiddo* 1, *Ta'anach* 1-2 and *Tel Rehov* 2, likely used for libations. No traces of burning can be found on the top of any of those stands. Using stands for libations seems to be limited to a small area of the Jezreel and Beth Shan valleys and nearby Pella. Square basins on top of stands were discovered in



Middle Assyrian Basmosian in Iraq (Muller 2002: Fig. 15), Tell Shemshara (Muller 2002: Fig. 30), Late Bronze Age Emar (Muller 2002: Fig. 61), Faqous (Muller 2002: Figs. 86-88), Tell Munbāqa (Muller 2002: Figs. 116-118) and Late Bronze Age/Iron Age Tell Kannas (Muller 2002: Fig. 104).

The closest parallels are from the above-mentioned North Syrian sites. Very likely there were connections between the population of the Euphrates knee and the Iron Age inhabitants of the Jezreel plain.

Fig. 14.35: Megiddo 8
Muller 2002: Fig. 153

14.8. CONCLUSIONS

The typology offered in this article is different from the typologies presented in former publications (for an overview see Kletter 2010:28-33). Already Kletter demonstrated that the Yavneh stands are not congruent with the different former typologies. My paper demonstrates the completely different shape of the Yavneh stands in comparison to ancient Near Eastern stands; but also in relation to Palestine, the Yavneh stands are completely outstanding (map Fig. 14.36). Altar-like stands can be taken as the closest parallels for the Yavneh stands, especially *Megiddo* 7. However, the differences are evident, and the Yavneh stands should be considered as an isolated group which does not have so far close parallels in the Near East.

As the discussion above has shown, not only the Yavneh stands are characteristic of only one specific site, but several other types have a limited area of distribution. In Kamid el-Lōz the stands are copies of Egyptian chapels (Chapter 14.4 above). This is due to the important Egyptian influence in this town. Also the type of stands discovered in Beth Shean, another site with an Egyptian garrison in the Late Bronze Age, has no direct parallels in the Levant (Chapter 14.5 above). However, no Egyptian parallels can be found for those stands too. They also date to a period (12^{th}-10^{th} centuries BCE) when the Egyptians removed their troops form the Levant. Therefore, it is more likely that new cultic elements were developed at this specific site. Nevertheless, the earliest date of all those stands is in Late Bronze Age. Egyptian influence, as demonstrated in the stands from Kamid el-Lōz, is therefore possible, if not highly probable. Also *Megiddo* 1, the oldest example of the type of high, nearly square stands, shows Egyptian influence with its possible Nile landscape. In Palestine the stands acquired their own independent existence and were decorated in different ways, influenced also by northern types of stands with completely different traditions. Generally, most of the Iron Age stands from northern Palestine, especially from the Jezreel and Beth Shean valleys and from Pella, have remarkably close connections to the area of the Euphrates knee in the Late Bronze Age. This fact should be considered further in future studies. Not only the so-called "snake houses", but also the shrines with open fronts could be closed by doors. This may be connected with some daily cultic rituals performed with these objects.

Because Yavneh is part of the Philistine area, the idea (not necessarily the exact shape) of the Yavneh stands may have originated in the Anatolian-Aegean world. Nevertheless, also in that region no direct parallels were discovered until now. However, the decoration of the figures (goddesses, lions, bulls, etc.) has roots in the Near Eastern and especially in Southern Levantine traditions, as I. Ziffer has demonstrated:

> "There are various indicators in technique, iconography and style which point to the fact that the stands were created by a people of western affiliation living in the Levant" (Ziffer 2010:90).

This supports the theory that the Sea Peoples were responsible for the fabrication of the Yavneh stands, since by the 9^{th}-8^{th} centuries they have already been acquainted with Levantine iconographic traditions. However, the lack of close parallels from the Anatolian-Aegean area does not help to clarify the origin of the Sea Peoples and especially of the group settling around Yavneh, which is considerably north of the Philistine centers at Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron and Gat.

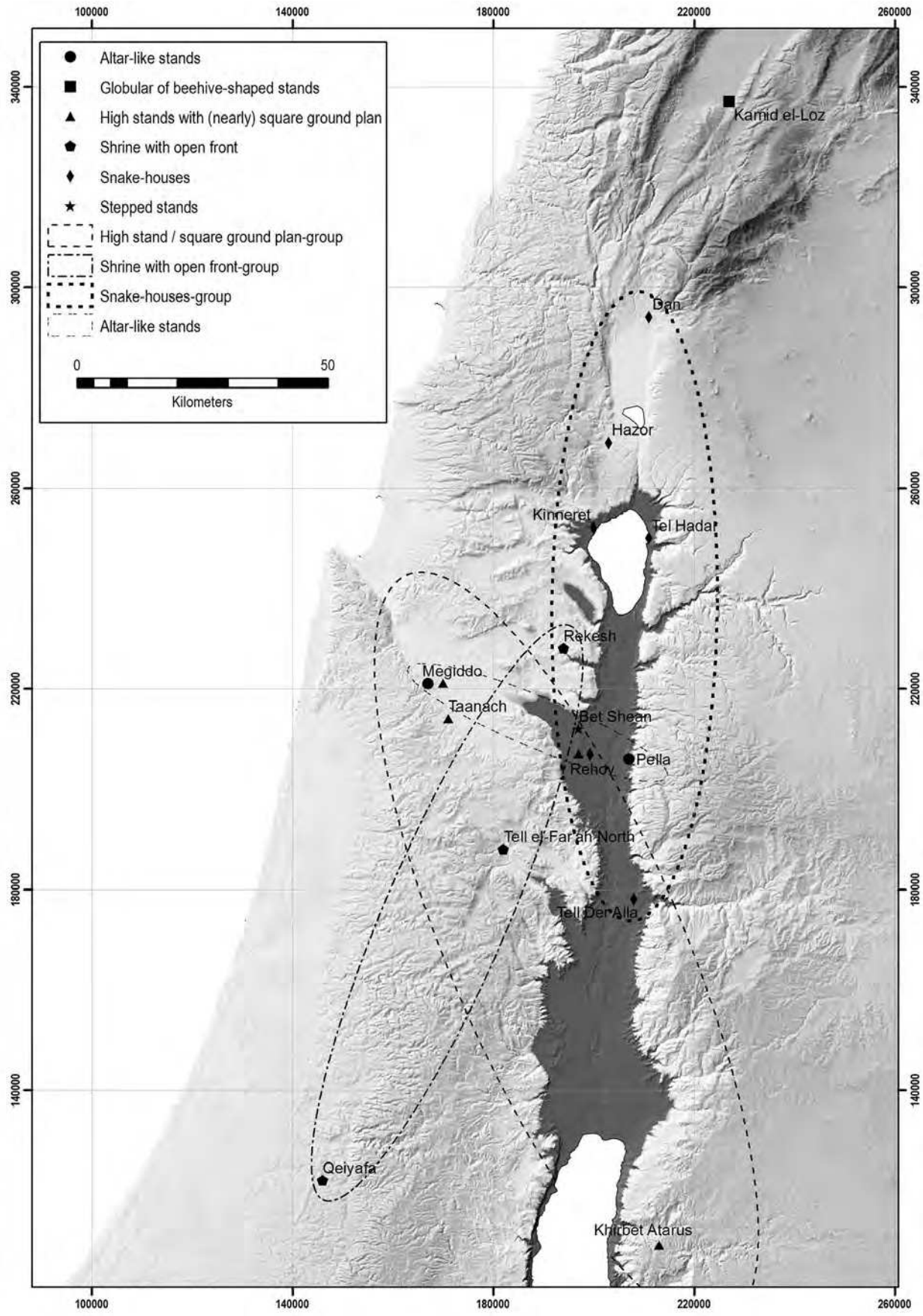

Altar-like stands
Globular of beehive-shaped stands
High stands with (nearly) square ground plan
Shrine with open front
Snake-houses
Stepped stands
High stand / square ground plan-group
Shrine with open front-group
Snake-houses-group
Altar-like stands
0
50
Kilometers
Kamid el-Loz
Dan
Hazor
Kinneret
Tel Hadar
Rekesh
Megiddo
Taanach
Bet Shean
Pella
Rehov
Tell el-Far'ah North
Tell Der'Alla
Qeiyafa
Khirbet Atarus
100000
140000
180000
220000
260000
340000
300000
260000
220000
180000
140000

Fig. 14.36: Map

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CHAPTER 15

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON THE CULT STANDS

Irit Ziffer

The Yavneh cult stands took shape once more in front of our eyes during the process of their restoration. Our thoughts about the stands evolved together with the expansion of the body of material, as grew our attempts to understand the stands, which we have not yet fully absorbed. The stands continue to speak. The publication of recent findings from Philistine contexts has offered new insights into Philistine material culture. The following sums up my updated conclusions on the Yavneh cult stands.

15.1. PHILISTINE OPENWORK

Philistine openwork has already been pointed out with the cylindrical Dancers Stand from Tell Qasile and the Musician Stand from Ashdod. Whereas the Tell Qasile stand has cut silhouette figures, the musicians of the Ashdod stand features coastal style figures in the round, along with one silhouette figure.

The openwork forms of Yavneh fit well into the Philistine tradition of translating metal forms into clay. This tradition was part of a larger framework shared by potters on Crete, Cyprus and Philistia.

The various ceramic stands on Crete in the 12th century come from villages that are noted for Cypriot traits among their conservative Minoan and Mycenaean material. Example include four-sided stands found at Kephala Vasilikis (Eliopoulous 2004:87-88), Ayia Triada (Gessel 1985:51), and the mountain village of Karphi (Pendelbury et al. 1937-38: Pl. 34; Boardman 1964:35-36; Catling 1984:89), as well as the 11th century clay imitation of a rod stand from Arkadhes (Kanta and Karetsou 1998:161). I would dare to say that the tradition of reproducing intricate metal forms in clay, even such forms that make no sense in clay, should be sought on Crete. The unique ceramic *kernos* from the palace of Zakros (Late Minoan I, 1525/1500-1450 BCE) comes to mind (Platon 2008:264-265). This fragile form is made from four interconnected hollow rings in a cruciform arrangement, crossed together by two solid vertical rod-like supports. At the top, between the supports, there is a small conical cup, whose open base communicates with the cavity of the upper ring. The sculptural decoration includes two doves with spread wings applied to the two side rings. They recall the birds perched on the corners of the four-sided metal stand from Larnaka (Ziffer 2010: Figs. 5.5, 5.2 respectively), and on the clay stand from Karphi (Pendelbury et al. 1937-38: Pl. 34). In addition there is a fish diving down on one of the vertical supports; a quadruped on the base of the upper rings (only the legs survive); and a figure applied beneath the rim of the cup, now missing. The spectacular Zakros *kernos* and the Cretan imitations of the later second millennium BCE demonstrate a constitutive element of delight in imitating metal in compensation for absence of natural resources (cf. Kountouri 2005:287-288). This kind of creativity resulted in works least suited for collective display in the private sphere, such as the Cretan shallow tripod cooking pots which imitate metal prototypes from Mycenae (Kanta and Kantopodi 2011:131, Fig. 13).

In the 11th century, clay tripod stands imitating metal forms were fabricated on Cyprus (Catling 1964: Pls. 27f; 28b, f; 29a-b; 30; 31e-f, 32; 38a-b; Karageorghis 2000:81, no. 129; Papasavvas 2001:396). The earliest attestations of clay objects imitating metal stands from coastal Palestine comes from Dor, where an inventive potter fabricated a clay version of a four sided stand complete with its bowl, with a cut out human figure (Stern 2013:52); and the rod stand from Nahal Patish (north-west of Beer Sheba), dating from the 11th-10th centuries BCE (Nahshoni and Ziffer 2009: Fig. 1). The Nahal Patish stand recalls the four-rod stand resting on a double-ring base from Tel Nami (13th century BCE). In the Nahal Patish clay stand the join between the rods and the long stem of the chalice was masked by a plastic decoration, as was the habit in the metal prototypes. Painted decoration compensated for other plastic decoration, such as the braided rods of the Tel Nami stand. The Nahal Patish stand (see Pl. 60) combines figures in the round attached to the ring, which evoke the arrangement of figures in *kernos* rings. However, one of the Tel Nami stands boasts a caryatid supporting the stem (Artzy 1994:129). The production of clay translations of rod- and tripod- metal stands continued well into well into the 9th century in Philistia, as exemplified by the Tell eṣ-Ṣafi /Gath tripod, which rests on a ring and has a built-in bowl (Shai and Maeir

2011:327, Pls. 14.18.6; 14.21).[1] This stand combines features of a rod stand and a tripod: its three animal feet (deriving from the tripod form) rest on a ring, common to all rod stands. The work is crude, but this tripod stand has its creative strength. Another unpublished clay tripod on a ring from Tell eṣ-Ṣafi is surmounted by a full-fledged chalice with drooping petals. Perhaps the Tell eṣ-Ṣafi ceramic fluted bowl imitating a Phoenician (?) metal prototype (Maeir and Shai 2007) demonstrates that the potters expanded their repertoire of clay imitations of metal forms also to Phoenician styles, yet another proof of the eclectic nature of Philistine art in the Iron Age IIA.

These features, common to Philistia-Cyprus-Crete, point again to the ongoing western tradition persistent in Philistine culture through the Iron Age II (Maeir et. al. 2013). The Bible remembers the Philistines as coming from Caphtor (Crete), preserving the second millennium term Kaptara. They must have passed through Cyprus, their closest neighbor. Singer suggested that the name Caphtor seems to have broadened its meaning, covering not only Crete but other parts of the Aegean (Singer 2013:21).

15.2. KHIRBET ‘ATARUS AND YAVNEH

The placement of figurines in openings, which I understand as a translation of metal openwork into clay pointing to a western tradition, has now been documented at Kh. ‘Atarus in Transjordan. A stand was found in the main sanctuary room of the temple there. Originally it was a two-storey structure (present height 50 cm), as indicated by the three animal feet extant in the upper part. It has two openings in the frontal lower tier, with an inserted figure clad in a kilt in each. The figure in the left opening touches a lion-like (?) figure applied to the wall (Ji 2012: Pl. 74B) while the figure in the right opening touches the horn of a bull, also applied to the wall. The modeling of the figures recalls the Philistine coastal style. One wonders whether the painted decoration visible on the b/w photos was applied after firing, a custom known from 9th century Philistia, where colored designs were applied over white wash. This method is known from 9th century stands and chalices at Yavneh, and chalices at Tel Batash and Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath (Maeir and Shai 2008:422; Zuckerman et al. 2007:73-74; Panitz-Cohen 2010:130; Gadot et al. 2014; Panitz-Cohen, in this volume). Significantly, the Tell eṣ-Ṣafi chalices bear red and black ‘antiquated’ decorations on white ground, typical of Iron Age I Philistine bichrome pottery which have Aegean antecedent (Zuckerman et al. 2007:74; Shai and Maeir 2011:352). Notably, some second millennium Aegean thymiateria (and New Kingdom polychrome pottery from burials, Maeir and Shai 2006:362) were similarly decorated with imperfectly fixed color too fugitive to withstand much handling, suggesting that the vessels were made for one-time or for limited use, therefore related to inhumations and cult rather than domestic use (Weinberg 1965:191). Ji states:

> “The shrine is unique and peculiar in its design because in each of the openings a human figure is shown standing at the door, distinctively different from other terracotta models whose front facets are normally left vacant in the center on purpose to delineate a temple entrance through which the figurines of deities or offerings were placed inside the vacant model shrine” (Ji 2012: 213).

He then cites in comparison the Ta‘anach stands. Although the format differs from the Yavneh stands, the placement of coastal-style figurines in the openings recalls the Yavneh cult stands. I suggest that the potter who created the stand from Kh. ‘Atarus (northwest of Dhiban, biblical Ataroth, see Finkelstein 2013) was inspired by the art of the Sea Peoples. Jonathan Tubb already pointed to the presence or influence of the Sea Peoples in the Jordan Valley (Tubb 1988; 2000). At the time Ora Negbi (1991) rejected Tubb’s claims:

> “I still maintain the view that there is no conclusive archaeological evidence to support a late 13th to early 12th century BCE presence in the Jordan Valley of foreign ethnic groups bearing diagnostic Aegean affinities … The population was overwhelmingly Canaanite” (Negbi 1998:201).

Recent excavations at Pella, however, have brought to light Iron I-IIA parallels to coastal Palestine in cultic architecture and objects (Bourke 2004:10-11). These include a stone chalice imitating a metal tripod and a ‘model shrine’ with bullheads in the round protruding from the rim (Bourke 2004: Figs. 16.4, 17). Another piece of evidence pointing to the Sea Peoples’ presence at Pella is an unpublished cylindrical stand, an almost exact copy of the Dancers Stand from Tell Qasile (we saw the image in Professor Frevel’s lecture at the SBL meeting in Tartu, 2010; Bourke 2013:5 mentions Philistine finds but does nor elaborate). Recent discoveries in the ‘Amuq plain, combined

[1] Compare Gjerstad 1948: Fig. 15:4; Karageorghis and Olenik 1997:98, no. 49.

with written sources from Syria and Cilicia, evidence Sea Peoples descending from (western) Anatolia through the Cilician Gates to the ‘Amuq plain, where they founded the kingdom of Palistin ruled from Tell Tayinat; thence further south toward Palestine (Harrison 2010; Lauinger 2012: 90-91, 114, 119; Singer 2012; Stern 2013:7).

15.3. STAND CAT37

Stand CAT37 (Kletter et al. 2010: Pls. 11:1, 76-77) was photographed before the second cylindrical flaring rim decorated with buttons was found during pottery sorting. The discussion (ibid: 224) refers to both rims. It is now clear to me that these two rims echo the circular band that held a bowl in four-sided metal stand.

15.4. STANDS ATTACHED TO WHEELS

The elliptical stands CAT91-92 (Ziffer and Kletter 2007:63; Kletter et al. 2010: Pl. 124) have four small holes in the rounded corners. I suggested that the holes were for attaching wheels by means of pairs of perishable rods descending from the holes, which bore axles into which the hubs were fastened (Ziffer 2010:64).

Refining my assumption, I would like to suggest a simpler method for attaching the wheels to the stand. I assume that the stand rested on static wheels. The potter perforated the corners for the attachment of wheels by perishable pegs, passing through the corresponding hole in the wheels, similarly to the way of fastening small figurines to the rims of vessels in the Late Bronze Age Aegean (Dothan 1982:242; Girella 2003). When assembled, a stand with wheels would have looked like the Cretan charioteer rhyton from Karphi (Pendelbury 1937-38:81-82; Seiradaki 1960:28; Koehl 2006:83, no. 71) (Fig. 15.1). This rhyton, showing three bull’s heads connected by hollow rings and surmounted by a male figure, is unique. Liquid would be poured through the top of the head or the other opening in the driver’s groin, would flow through the hollow trunk and legs into a ring and be released through the central bull’s muzzle. The whole rests on a separate stand consisting of a solid ring borne by three static wheels, one in front and two at either side. The bulls would have been the chariot harness. Interestingly, Seiradaki noted that when found, the rhyton showed traces of painted decoration and the figure's beard was painted. One wonders whether the decoration was done after firing (see part 15.2 above).

Figure 15.1: *Rython* from Karphi
Schematic drawing by the author

The Yavneh stands represent the mass-adaptation of four-sided metal stands to ceramics. In a recent article Zukerman identified the bronze wheeled stands with Ugaritic *karkubbūma* (RS 94.2401), which share similar features with the biblical wheeled lavers (*měkônāh*, pl. *měkonôt*) fashioned by Tyrian metal-smiths for the Temple (1 Kings 7:27-40) (Zukerman 2012). The amount of metal that went into the production of a stand was enormous, since the final product weighed about 78 kg.[2] Needless to say, it would have been very costly. Simple people could not afford even smaller examples, which would have been too expensive not only for the metal invested but also for the fuel consumed and the cost of the craft itself, requiring metalsmiths skilled in sophisticated techniques. They had to resort to cheap clay versions. Of course, the mimetic production of a metal stand in clay is true to the metal original in varying degrees. The potter’s endeavor to recreate a composite metal construction in clay was a daring, experimental and playful feat, reflecting the humble potter’s “originality and freedom from artistic conceptions” (Mazar 1994:51).

[2] A Mycenaean chariot krater from Late Cypriot tomb 13 at Kalavasos-Ayios-Dhimitrios depicts on both sides a goddess seated within a shrine, surmounted by pairs of horns of consecration. On side B there is an enigmatic object in the center of the roof, probably representing a four-sided bronze stand. The krater belongs to the Cypriot Middle II group of Mycenaean pictorial vases, LH IIIA2. The inclusion of a four-sided stand, a typical production of Cypriot metalsmiths in the 13th-12th centuries, must have been intended for a Cypriot client (Steel 1994).

Working in clay for simple clientele, the potters were liberated from the canon and restriction of high official art. They embraced forms from the religious repertoire and felt free to improvise. Their inventiveness and creativity, nonetheless, compensated for the dull look of ceramics in comparison to the luminosity of metal. Reflecting the lower end of the scale of the high-class visuals and carrying a cultural interpretation or a message, such devotional objects were regarded as an integral part of the canonic religious system.

15.5. STAND CAT51

In relation to sphinx-stand CAT51 (Ziffer 2010:73), I wish to add two examples of a Syrian female 'centaur' from Late Bronze Age Terqa on the Middle Euphrates (Masseti-Roualt 2006). These free standing figurines are comprised of a zoomorphic body of a short-legged quadruped and a human torso with hands cupping the breasts, recalling the naked goddess form. There are no wings. In both figurines the head has not survived.

15.6. COMMENT ON THE *'OPALÎM*

The biblical *'opalîm* (1 Samuel 5:6; 6:4-5, 17), are usually understood as hemorrhoids, a condition inflicted on the Philistines for the capturing of the ark of Yahweh at the battle of Ebenezer. [3] The oldest surviving version (the Septuagint, 3rd century BC) mentions a plague attacking the hidden parts or groin, which medical authorities have long recognized as bubonic plague. The scripture recognizes *'opalîm* not only as a malady, but also as gold relics, which the Vulgate translated as models of anuses.[4] Maeir (2007) suggested that the term *'opalîm* was a euphemism for the male organ. The golden *'opalîm*, clearly part of the cultic paraphernalia of the Philistines, would be objects in the shape of the male organ. He suggested that the two ceramic ithyphallic situlae from Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath, found in a cultic context, were the pottery version of these biblical gold objects. Maeir compared the ithyphallic situlae with Egyptian bronze situlae from 6th century BCE Ashkelon, which according to Stager had phallic connotations and therefore signified revivification.

However, there is no need to seek parallels for the Tell eṣ-Ṣafi phallus-like vessels in later Egyptian objects, since in the ancient Near East vessels were modeled in the shape of human body parts. A letter from Mari mentions drinking cups of gold and silver wrought in the shape of a nipple or a breast, which always come in pairs (Akkadian: 2 GAL *tulû*, Guichard 2005:140, 324). From Hittite cult inventories it is known that gods could be represented by various types of vessels. The war god of Tarammeka was a "fist" (GEŠPÚ, meaning rhyton) of silver weighing 20 shekels" and in another text it is said that the god drinks from such a "fist" (Güterbock 1983:213-214). The silver fist in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts offers a fine example of such a drinking vessel (Collins 2005:24-26). The clay *rhyton* from the Museum of Kayseri, shaped as en erect phallus with a handle (Gonnet 2002: Fig. 6), would be another example of an object shaped as a body part. To my mind, the Kayseri phallus-shaped vessel is a better parallel to the biblical golden *'opalîm* and the Tell eṣ-Ṣafi Philistine situlae, which Maeir has convincingly identified as *'opalîm*. The Hittite phallus-rhyton would symbolize virility. In I Samuel the golden *'opalîm* represent the male organ, swollen not with potency, but by a plague of the groin.

ADDENDA

While preparing the manuscript for print, news of a Sea peoples settlement have been reported from Tell Abu-Kharaz in the Jordan Valley, see Fischer 2012 (Fischer 2013 is unavailable to us at present).

Gershon Galil's most recent publication sheds light on the Sea Peoples' kingdom in the 'Amuq Valley (Galil 2014).

[3] The Vulgate translation by St. Jerome states that God struck the Philistines "in the secret parts of the buttocks" (percussit in secretiori parte natium), generally agreed to mean hemorrhoids.

[4] For the *'opalîm* as rings in medieval understanding and imagery see Berger 2007:24-32.

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CHAPTER 16

FAVISSAE IN ISRAEL/PALESTINE IN THE LATE BRONZE TO PERSIAN PERIODS

Nicole Strassburger

16.1 INTRODUCTION

The finds of Yavneh have brought the existence of *favissae* and the significance of ritual burial to a broader public. While some forty *favissae* have been identified in the Southern Levant to date (leaving aside the question whether these have been correctly identified), criteria of identifying *favissae* has not yet been established (see Kletter 2010:201-202). This article will provide some useful criteria for identifying *favissae* and other places of ritual burial, and will list the sites which more or less match these criteria.[1]

16.2. IDENTIFYING *FAVISSAE*

The term *favissa* for ritual burial first appeared in the writings of the Roman author Aulus Gellius, citing a note from Marcus Varro to Servius Sulpicius. The note explained that the expression "*favisae Capitolinae*" referred to:

> "Underground chambers and cisterns in the area, in which it was the custom to store ancient statues that had fallen from the temple, and some other consecrated objects from among the votive objects" (Aulus Gellius, Noctaes Atticae, Liber II: 10).

The term has been used in archeology to mean cultic deposits of any kind. In classical archeology the definition of *favissae* has been discussed in recent times, acknowledging the wider spectrum of ritual burial in cult deposits containing the burial of votives and of temple paraphernalia in temple-related pits on one hand and sacrificial pits or *bothroi* on the other hand (Kletter 2010:203).

Regarding Israel/Palestine, temple-related pits and dumps for offering vessels have been designated *favissae* (Mazar 1980:52; Finkelstein 1993:166). Yet also – for example – the repository chamber of the "bench room" in Kuntillet ʻAjrud (Meshel 2012:30), an assemblage of pottery vessels in Cave 1 in Jerusalem (Kenyon 1974:139-143), a bronze hoard in a room in Ashkelon (Stern 1982:159), and a pit in a residential quarter in Dor filled with some figurines and ceramic vessels (Stern 1995:435-440) have all been named *favissae*. The term thus includes a broad spectrum of structured deposits which may not necessarily belong to a sanctuary. To reflect this variety of ritual burial, these deposits will be named "cult-deposits" in this article. The term *favissa* has also been used particularly to denote:

> "Assemblages of stone statuettes and figurines of clay and bronze of the Persian period," which "are generally interpreted as the *favissae* of sanctuaries, i.e. refuse pits containing figurines which were discarded after use" (Stern 1982:158; cf. Negbi 1966:1-2).

This interpretation presupposes the existence of a sanctuary for each deposit of figurines, which is a rather problematic definition, as it misses a broad variety of ritual burial in a more private or local frame. Yet, some pits definitely related to ritual burial of temple paraphernalia and votive offerings (such as those at the Lachish Fosse Temple; the Hazor Area H Temple Level IB; and the ʻEn Ḥaṣevah pit) were not designated as *favissae* by the excavators. It is thus necessary to establish sound criteria for both temple *favissae* and cult deposits serving private or local needs.

[1] This article is an abstract from my forthcoming dissertation "Favissen und Kultdeposite in Israel von der Spätbronzezeit bis zur Perserzeit", Department of Altes Testament and Biblische Archäologie, Universität Mainz.

16.3. CRITERIA OF CULT DEPOSITS AND *FAVISSAE*

When establishing the criteria for defining cult deposits, it is important to keep in mind that ritual burial is an *action,* which aims to make objects (which have been dedicated and thus belong to the divine sphere) unreachable for further human use. The act of deposition itself should receive the same attention as the content of a deposit. Accordingly, each site should be analyzed individually considering (a) the surroundings of the find spot, (b) the structure of the deposition, and (c) the contents:

a) *The Surroundings of the Deposition*. In which kind of area was the deposit found? Often *favissae* are found next to a sanctuary and/or outside towns. They can appear elsewhere (in relation to residential quarters, workshop area, or public buildings), though less often.
b) *The Structure of the Deposition*: ancient *favissae* are usually found in pits (though trenches, caves and underground chambers could serve too). In good conditions, the pit should be clearly distinguishable from its surroundings. Unless when a *favissa* is badly damaged, it should show a system of deposition different from that of a regular refuse pit. For example, a large mass of objects discarded at one time, or several clearly distinguishable layers. After objects have been placed, the pit was sealed and the objects were no longer visible or accessible. Objects in a *favissa* were often intentionally broken before/during the act of burial. Parts of objects could be buried instead of entire objects (*"pars pro toto"*). The act of burial was often accompanied by rituals, which may leave traces (e.g., fire kindled near the pit or remains of cult meals- *zebaḥ*/*marzeaḥ*).
c) *The Contents of the Deposition*. Finds in a *favissa* have a religious character and represent a selection of special finds, for example objects with dedicatory inscriptions, groups of figurines, or right forelegs of animals in great numbers, etc. If the surrounding was a residential or industrial quarter, we would expect considerable numbers of precious luxury objects and/or objects with cultic functions[2], e.g. altars, incense vessels, or cult stands.
We would expect some finds in the *favissa* to be comparable to those found in temples from the same region and period. The objects from a favissa could have been collected over a long span of time in a temple before being deposited in a pit.

It goes without saying that each deposit will only show some of the above-mentioned criteria. For the sake of clarity, only cult-deposits, which are closely related to a temple and which contain objects comparable to objects found in temples, will be designated as *favissae*.

16.4. FAVISSAE AND STRUCTURED DEPOSITS ACCORDING TO THE PROPOSED CRITERIA

While Persian Period *favissae* were summed up by Ephraim Stern (1982:158-160), no similar overview exists for the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. We provide here a list of all structured deposits of the Southern Levant, which can be defined relatively safely as cult deposits/*favissa* according the above-mentioned criteria.[3]

16.4.1. LATE BRONZE AGE

Clear evidence of ritual deposition in the Late Bronze Age is known from two sites: Lachish and Hazor. A dump of pottery at Shiloh may also be a *favissa*, and a favissa was identified at Tel Qashish recently (but see below).

Lachish. Each of the three superimposed Lachish Fosse Temples (Late Bronze I-III, Tufnell et al. 1940:43-45) yielded several pits filled with ceramic vessels, bones and votive objects. The pits measured between 0.90 and 2.90m in diameter. Many of them were "filled beyond capacity".[4]

Most of the pits of Fosse Temple I (LBIb) were found in the southern courtyard of the temple. In later strata, the building was extended and the entrance changed from the eastern side to the southern courtyard (Tufnell et al. 1940: Pl. 66). Afterwards, the pits were mainly dug in the eastern slope next to the temple (probably to offer space for assemblages and to secure access to the building's entrance). All pits were dug within a distance of maximum eight meters from the temple (except empty pits found close to the temple-related buildings of Levels II-III; Tufnell et al. 1940: Pl. 73).

[2] Clearly, each of these vessels could also have an ordinary function. On the difficulty (perhaps impossibility) of separating ordinary house-hold items from cultic ones see Press 2011:361-399.
[3] Just a small selection of deposits failing the criteria is mentioned here (Samaria E207, Jerusalem Cave I, Elyakhin, etc.). They will be treated in my dissertation.
[4] Tufnell et al. 1940:43-44. The report, although careful and detailed, did not discuss in detail shards. The published material includes c. 10- 60 objects per pit; but many pits have been completely filled with broken items.

Over a time span of more than 300 years of cult, pits of later dates were dug into earlier ones, no doubt due to the limited space in the fosse. The top parts of earlier pits were often disturbed by later pits, and it was not always possible to distinguish between different pits (Tufnell et al. 1940:43-44). Dumps of pottery were found near the pits, used as leveling material for the construction of the next superimposed temple (Tufnell et al. 1940:90-91; Pls. 66-67; 73). It is not clear if this pottery derived from the pits as well. Hence we chose for closer analysis the contents of the pits (but not of the dumps).[5]

The bones found in the pits were identified as right forelegs of young caprides, cattle and gazelles; bones of birds and fish were also found (Tufnell et al. 1940:93-94). The pottery was mostly broken. At least some vessels showed signs of use (Zwickel 1994:99). It is not mentioned how the objects were placed into the pits.

In line with the extension of the temple building and the installation of long offering benches in the higher levels, the content of the *favissae* increased in number over time, mirroring the number of ceramic finds within the building. Roughly half of the published Fosse I Temple ceramic vessels consisted of bowls, both in the temple and in the *favissae*. Likewise, pottery types which appear in the temple room (Room D.I) appear also in comparable numbers in the pits. Cooking pots were not found in the temple, but were found in the pits of the southern forecourt, suggesting that remnants of *sebaḥ* meals taken in the courtyard found their way into the *favissae*. Small objects seldom appeared in the Level I temple and *favissae*, but were more frequent in following levels. Some of the scarabs, seals, beads, and bronze objects placed on the sanctuary's podium were deposited in the pits after use, but not other objects, like scarabs of Amenophis III (Tufnell et al. 1940: Pl. 32:25.36-39). The scarabs were about 200 years old when placed on the podium of Room D.III.[6] Together with the fine glassware and ivories, they seem to have been stored in the temple building, rather than being deposited in the pits.

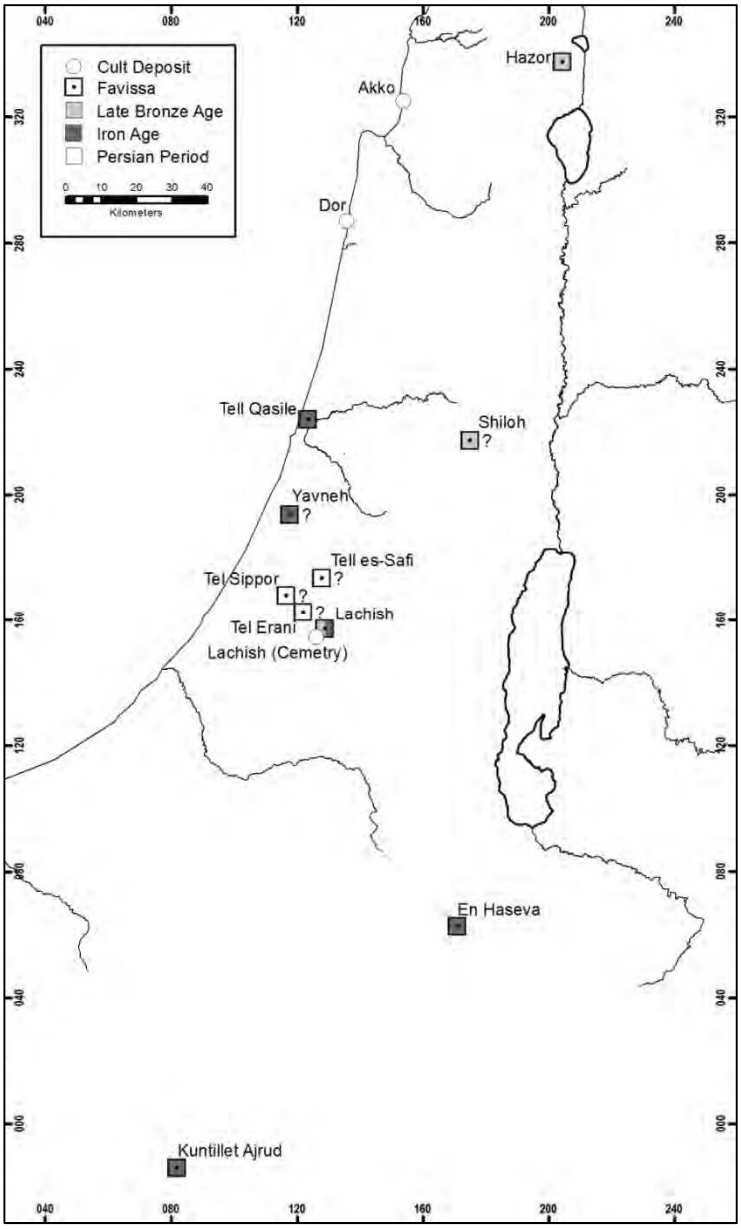

Fig. 15.1: General Map of Sites

Three figurines were found in the temple: a bronze figurine in Room 150 Level II (Tufnell 1940: Pl. 26:33); a plaque figurine in Room D.III Level III (ibid: Pl. 26:6); and a terracotta lion from the Area 100 Houses (ibid: Pl. 28:7). None was found in the *favissae*.

An interesting detail is offered by the fitting of fragments deposited in different places. Such joints were found for 26 ceramic, faience, and alabaster vessels. Some of the fragments deposited in the *favissae* fitted fragments from other *favissae* or from the temple.[7] The fitting sherds always belonged to the same level. Fragmentation of deposited objects is a well-known phenomenon (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007), but to my knowledge, an intensive study of this phenomenon for Levantine sites has not yet commenced.

In conclusion, the pits show a continuous deposition of objects devoted to the Lachish Fosse Temple over c. 300 years. The pits were carefully planned and hewn into the rock close to the sanctuary. Obviously, they represent the temple's *favissae*.

[5] Loci concerned include Loci 156, 171, 211-212, 253 and 258 for Fosse Temple I; Loci 133, 146, 149, 166,199, 201, 203, 205-206, 244, 248-249, 251-252 for Fosse Temple II; and Loci 242-243, 238, 237, 235, 245 and 175 for Fosse Temple III.
[6] They may have been devoted to the deity when being already heirlooms.
[7] Pls. 23; 25; 37; 40; 44; 46-49; 51; 53; 56; 59; 64.

Contemporaneously with Fosse Temple III, a badly-preserved building with pits existed on the Acropolis at Stratum VII, replaced by a temple in Stratum VI (Ussishkin 2004:197-198). Several pits were discovered in the eastern court of the Level VI Temple, some of them empty. Additionally, two accumulations of pottery close to the southwestern corner of the temple, L3027 Lower and L3078, were described as *favissae* by the excavators (Loci 3090, 3102, 3109, 3110, 3115, 3142, 3147, 3148, 3154, 3158 and 3159; Ussishkin 2004:217, 257, Fig. 6:1). It is unclear if the dumps represented objects waiting for deposition in the nearby pits (Ussishkin 2004:257), comparable to the situation at Hazor Temple H (see below); or if the pits were emptied after deposition due to later constructional activities. The pits are c. 1.2-2m in diameter and 0.6-0.8m deep (their top was not preserved). All were positioned close (1-8m) to the temple.

Whilst the ceramic assemblages in the pits mirror those in the temple building (around 50% bowls, the remainder are kraters, stands, amphorae, etc.), none of the beads, ivories, faience and glass objects so frequently found in the main hall, in the storeroom (Loci 3162, 3107), and in the side room of the Temple (Loci 3161, 3323 and 3402) were discovered in the pits or dumps.

Hazor. The Hazor Orthostat Temple (Area H Level IB), roughly from the same time as the Lachish Fosse Temple II (LBIIb), was built in the Lower City, on the ruins of an earlier temple (Ben-Tor 1989:240-257). This temple yielded just two pits. Pit L2140 was dug directly at the porch of the temple's *hekhal*. The wall (W2507) was dismantled at this spot to give space to a deep (1.80m) pit. The top was carefully circled by a line of small stones, with a diameter of 3m, narrowing towards the base. It was filled by a lion *orthostat*, probably one of a pair originally placed at the entrance of the temple. The lion was found buried together with a bull figurine, a fragment of another stela, two bowls and a bronze pendant (Yadin 1961: Pls. 324-325; 18:1-3; 276:29; 277:14; 278:11). The items were covered by a heap of stones, which included fragments of other *orthostats*. It is highly probable that the lion was ritually buried after it could not be used anymore, being damaged either unintentionally or by the destruction of level IB. This practice is well-known in the ancient Near East (Ussishkin 1970:124-128). This pit did not include ceramic objects. It was used just once and closed directly afterwards. In the Iron Age, a wall (2505) was erected over this pit.

The second pit (L2156/2182) lay outside the temple precinct in an open space, some 10 m from the temple (Ben-Tor 1989: Plan 20). The area has not been fully excavated. Probably it occupied c. 13x7.5 m in origin, with a depth of 1.4m. Many ceramic objects, mostly sherds, were found in this pit. The 66 published objects include 26 bowls, quite many goblets and stands, and a few chalices, kraters, juglets, rhyta, etc. (Yadin 1961: Pl. 271-276). The finds were similar to those in the temple. Non-ceramic finds included a few basalt objects, a bronze arrowhead, and a small golden disk (Yadin 1961: Pl. 277:1-4, 6-7, 19, 22). Only a few personal objects were found in the temple (like seals, figurines, bronze objects and beads), but except the arrowhead and the disk, none was found in the pit. Two MB Syrian objects, a basalt figurine and a seal (Yadin 1961: Pls. 330:1-6; 319:1) from the temple (L2123) show that precious objects were handed down as heirlooms, not buried in the *favissae*.

At the NE corner of the temple (L2100), a heap of stones and pottery vessels, among them some stands, was excavated (Ben-Tor 1989:248). Probably this place was used as a storage place for vessels waiting burial in the big *favissa*. A similar installation was discovered in the previous Stratum II (Zwickel 1994:138).

In summary, the two LBII Hazor *favissae* show two different types of ritual burial: one of continuous deposition of offering vessels, the other a spontaneous burial of a large cultic item which lost its sacredness.[8]

Shiloh. Another possible LBII ritual burial is a huge dump (Debris 407) in Shiloh Stratum VI Area D. The city was uninhabited in this period, but the dump dated to the LBI-II period included ashes, stone piles, animal bones, and (mostly broken) ceramic vessels. Of the 104 complete or almost complete vessels, 82 were bowls and chalices, accompanied by juglets (7), lamps (6), goblets (4), kraters (2), and other small vessels.[9] Some of the vessels were filled with bones and ashes. The excavators suggested that an open sanctuary existed on the mound. The pottery vessels used as offerings in the LB open sanctuary were deposited in a *favissa* afterwards. Later in the Iron Age, the *favissa* was removed due to construction works on the mound (Finkelstein 1993:43-47). If the excavators are right and there was only a cult place at LBII Shiloh, the dump probably represents remnants of offerings. The pottery is comparable to the *favissae* at Lachish and Hazor, apart from the higher quantity of storage vessels. The latter can be explained by the distance of the sanctuary from the neighboring settlements (Finkelstein 1993:166). Nevertheless, it is unclear if the vessels from this dump originated from a sacred space.

[8] Another *favissa* was found in Hazor Area A6 – a 4m deep, stone-lined oval pit in the center of the South Temple. It contained numerous bones, ash, and pottery vessels (bowls, chalices, incense burners, and fine-eggshell ware). The temple was dated to the 17th–16th centuries. When abandoned, this favissa was covered with a large stone (Ben-Tor 2000:248; Weinblatt-Krauz 2013:13-16).
[9] Finkelstein 1993:128, Table 6.11. The sherds provided similar quantities: 1502 sherds of bowls and chalices; 52 of kraters; 259 of cooking pots; 91 of storage jars and jugs; and 109 of other vessels, Finkelstein 1993: Table 6.9.

Tel Qashish. An LBII cave interpreted as a *favissa* was recently found near Tel Qashish (in the Jezreel Valley), with more than 200 pottery objects (Van den Brink 2012:421-434). However, steps were hewn in the cave allowing careful placement of intact vessels, and, *in theory*, taking them out again. Additionally, the cave was enlarged and the vessels were piled up carefully, rather than being thrown in. No stones were used to smash them (as at ʻEn Ḥaṣevah, below), and many were found intact, others broken by roof collapse. It is unclear if the vessels contained organic residues. It seems more likely that this is a store place for cultic vessels, or a cache hidden to avoid damage, rather than a *favissa*.

16.4.2. IRON AGE I

To date, evidence of ritual deposition has been proved in only one Iron I site.

Tell Qasile. The Stratum XI Temple 200 (Iron IB, 1100-1050 BCE) was built on the foundations of a previous one (Mazar 1980:20-32; Albers 2004: Part I, 96-102). Building 200 had benches along most of the walls and it yielded rich finds – small offering bowls, beads, figurines and cosmetic vessels – from the SW corner. East of the temple was found a large plastered courtyard with a pit (L125) in it. The pit (diameter 1.9m, depth 1.6m) was sealed by the Level X courtyard (L111) and it cut through Level XII. It contained several layers: a top layer of earth supporting the plaster of Stratum X; a layer of earth (at 20.33-20.56m level; Mazar 1980: Pl. 18:1, 3) mixed with animal bones and sherds covering the 4m radius (L190); a layer of brown clay (20.20m-20.33m), and a layer (20.10m-20.20m) with a concentration of pottery finds. The bottom of the pit (at 19.90-20.00m) was covered with a 10cm thick layer of brown clay with few sherds. Within the dense pack of pottery at 20.19m height, an anthropomorphic libation vessel of a female was found, but it could not be fully restored (Mazar 1980:78-81; Pl. 29; Fig. 18). Therefore, it is plausible that this vessel was already broken when buried. Some but not all of the fragments showed marks of burning, including at the breaking edge. A broken zoomorphic *rhyton* (libation vessel) was discovered nearby, and fully restored (Mazar 1980:101-103, Pl. 35; Fig. 34). The pit also contained two theriomorphic cult masks. One of them had a fitting fragment in L242, a few meters west of the pit; and two other matching fragments in the central courtyard L272, about 6m south of the pit (Mazar 1980:55-56; Fig. 21.22; Pl. 31.2-5). Additionally, a clay *kernos* (Mazar 1985: Fig. 31:8), a horn-shaped vessel (Mazar 1985: Fig. 31:1), and a golden earring (Mazar 1985: 9) were discovered. Most of the pottery was comprised of bowls (37 almost complete and more than 200 sherds), kraters, juglets, flasks, etc. (Mazar 1985:155; Figs. 28-31). The ceramic assemblage from the pit is comparable to that found in the temple (Albers 2004: Part II:97), but it lacks small objects, such as jewelry and cosmetic boxes.

Pit 125, by its position in the temple's courtyard, its layout, and its content, appears to be a *favissa* of the Stratum XI temple. It is not clear whether the different layers in the pit indicate a repeated or a single filling action (Albers 2004: Part II:99, n. 35). Mazar (1980:25) suggested a single action before the construction of the succeeding Stratum X Temple.

16.4.3. IRON AGE IIB

Several structured deposits from the Iron IIB were excavated.

Yavneh. The Yavneh repository pit (Kletter et al 2010) was placed on the top part of the "temple hill", possibly in the vicinity of a sanctuary. Just a brief summary will be made here concerning the act of ritual burial. The upper part of the pit was severely damaged before the excavation. The pit included, among other finds, c. 119 cult stands (Ziffer 2010); dozens of fire pans (Chapter 1, in this volume), one restored four-horned clay altar and one restored stone altar (Zwickel 2010); and one shrine model (Chapter 4, in this volume). The sample of potterysherds published in *Yavneh I* included 3306 fragments of chalices and 2613 small and medium sized bowls, dated to c. 850-750 BCE (Panitz-Cohen 2010:130-131). No precious small objects or metal objects were found. A partial reconstruction of the *action* of ritual burial was feasible (Kletter 2010:46-60; Panitz-Cohen 2010:110-145). The objects were all thrown into the pit within a short time. Most vessels were broken, probably through the act of throwing. Some vessels stayed whole, suggesting that breakage before burial was not conditional. The pit contained ash as well, probably deriving from the contents of bowls and chalices thrown into it, rather than from accompanying rituals. The pit was maybe sealed by crushed limestone, but this is uncertain.

In comparison with known LB and Iron Age *favissae*, the Yavneh pit shows a similar abundance of bowls on the one hand, and a lacking of storage vessels on the other hand. Also, the breakage of the objects and the fact that no small finds were found is comparable to the *favissae* discussed above. This suggests that the Yavneh repository pit may represent a *favissa* of a sanctuary located nearby.

Lachish. The situation in Lachish is rather complex. Yohanan Aharoni (1975a:26-32) concluded that a high place existed in Levels V, IV and III. In level V he described a "cult room" (Room 49) close to the "high place" as

a structure in which some 50 ceramic vessels, a limestone altar, and some metal items were found. The finds, including a small basalt slab described as a *maṣṣebah*, but probably a door lintel (Zevit 2001:214, n. 149), led Aharoni to the conclusion that this room had a cultic function. He also identified in Lachish one *favissa* in Level IV (pit 136) and one in Level III (pit 135).

The interpretation of the building as a sanctuary has been accepted by most scholars (Zevit 2001:213-218; Hitchcock 2011:331-332; Zukerman 2012); but some described it as a storeroom of an open cult place, due to the lack of votive offerings on the benches (Zwickel 1994:278). David Ussishkin (2003:205-211; 2004:105-109; cf. Finkelstein and Silberman 2006:272-273) suggested that the walls of "Room" 49 belonged to different stratigraphic phases. The vessels, according to Ussishkin, belonged to a *favissa* of a Level IV shrine. When the Level III Palace-C Podium was erected, the shrine had to be demolished, and its cultic paraphernalia were buried. Ussishkin's theory deserves attention. If he is right, a pit was dug in Level IV (c. 850-760 BCE), reaching at bottom the floor of Level V. The cult vessels were found at 261.90-262.50m asl (Aharoni 1975a: Pls. 41-43). Accordingly, only about 60cm of the pit was preserved, the rest probably razed by the Stratum III Palace podium. The published assemblage consists of 14 bowls, eight jugs, two juglets, eight chalices, four stands, two incense bowls, one altar (45cm high), three cooking pots, two storage jars, and three lamps (Aharoni 1975a: Pls. 41-43). Aharoni stated, however, that these are more or less complete vessels; leaving open the question if more shards have been retrieved and kept. We cannot know if the vessels were deposited in one or in several actions. The finds could belong to a *favissa* or a cult-deposit, but nothing can be said about an associated open sanctuary/shrine.

Zukerman (2012:28-29) recently objected to Ussishkin's theory, stating that: 1. the level of the published objects (262.00-262.20), except those on shelves, suggests placement on a flat surface. 2. The lime floor was not damaged by digging works. 3. The circular shape of the deposition should be compared to the shape of the objects deposited in Tell Qasile Building 300. Here I can only offer a few remarks regarding these statements. First, the level of the objects ranges from 261.90 (Aharoni 1975: Pl. 41:16) to 262.20. Second, the western corner, where most of the vessels were found, was unpaved (Ussishkin 2003:207; Figs. 3-4). The photos show there some vessels *in situ*, while the rest of the floor has been cleared. Hence, there is no lime plaster in the western corner, which could have been damaged by a pit (Edelman 2008:422). Third, in Tell Qasile Building 300 the ceramic vessels were deposited in and in front of the cavity, between the podium steps and the western bench; thus not showing a circular pattern, but crowded at the NW corner. All the vessels were found on the floor of the shrine, none in higher levels or on the podium, except one stand on a bench (Mazar 1980:27-28; 1985:26, Fig. 8b, Pls. 14-15).

Even less clear are the other two "*favissae*" mentioned by Aharoni (1975a:31). Pit 136 in the street west of the *maṣṣebah* (Aharoni 1975a: Locus 94a, Pl. 59) was filled with broken stones, which may or may not represent a ritual burial of broken *maṣṣeboth* (cf. Bloch-Smith 2005:36). Pit 135, assigned to Stratum III (Aharoni 1975a:31; Locus 116; Pls. 4:2; 58) and situated further south in the same street, contained fragments of terracotta figurines (Pls.12:1; 13:3.4), a red-burnished jug (unpublished), five game-pieces (Pl. 15:8, 9, 11-13) and one carnelian bead (Pl. 16:15). This pit may represent a cult-deposit, or only hidden personal belongings.

Kuntillet 'Ajrud. An example of votive offering and probably ritual burial within the Yahwist religion is shown at Kuntillet 'Ajrud (Ḥorvat Teiman) in the Negev (Meshel 2012:xxiii). The structure has been variously described as a building serving religious purposes (Meshel 1977:271-273; Meshel 2012:13; Na'aman and Lissovsky 2008); a fortress or a caravanserai (Hadley 1993:115-124, with references). Hadley's suggestion that it was a caravanserai is accepted here, but couples with Frevel's suggestion that the "bench room" in the building represented a small wayside shrine for travelers (Frevel 2008:39-40). The site has been dated to the end of the 9th till early 8th centuries (Meshel 2012:245-277).[10]

The "bench room" next to the wall paintings yielded fragments of small vessels, such as lamps, small bowls and a high-based bowl; and Pithos A bearing the famous inscriptions and drawings (Meshel 2012:28, 87-92; Fig. 7.34; Pl. 5.1). A small room (L13) was situated in the northern corner adjacent to the "bench room", at first directly accessible from it, but later blocked by Wall 61, which left a window-like opening between the "bench room" and room L13 (Meshel 2012:30; Frevel 2008:40). A layer of about 0.5m of the corner room was excavated, revealing a mixture of earth, ash, charcoal, stones and also intact pottery vessels, showing traces of fire. Meshel assumed that the vessels were not deposited in a single action, but accumulated over a longer time.

The pottery consisted of six small bowls, six jugs, three juglets, three storage jars, two flasks, one plug, and one cooking pot (Meshel 2012: Fig. 7.35-36; Table 14.1:18). Additionally, two stone bowls (Meshel 2012: Table 14.1:2.9) together with shards of bowls and 'Samaria vessels' were found. One bowl bears the owner's name "Shema'ayaw son of 'Azzur" (Meshel 2012: Table 14.1:2; Chapter 5, No. 1.1). The pottery vessels come from different origins – Israel, Judah and the southern coastal region (Meshel 2012:243-245). The predominance of

[10] Finkelstein et al. (2008:184) date the site to 795-730/720; Singer-Avitz (2009:110-119) to the late 8th century (both follow a Low Chronology).

small vessels distinguishes the "bench room" and the corner room from other spaces in the building, where jars and pithoi formed about 50% of the assemblage (Meshel 2012: Table 7.3). Examining a photo of the corner room (Meshel 2012: Fig. 2.36) suggests that one pithos contained several small vessels. Maybe they were moved from time to time from the benches, collected in the pithos, which was deposited in the corner room when it became full (Frevel 2008:40). Altogether, it seems that the "bench room" is best explained as a niche or a wayside shrine in a caravanserai, where travelers left votive offerings. After some time, perhaps when the benches became full, the votives were stored in pithoi and/or deposited in the *favissa* in the corner room, where (in a later phase) they were inaccessible for further use. Kuntillet 'Ajrud contains the only secure evidence for ritual burial at a place of Yahwist religious activity discovered so far.[11]

Moṣa. In December 2012 a structure at Moṣa, west of Jerusalem, was identified as a temple with a cache of ritual objects. Preliminary reports said that the cache included fragments of chalices, high pedestal stands, animal figurines, heads of male figurines and broken *horse-and-rider* figurines, showing coastal influence (http://www.antiquities.org.il/article_Item_eng.asp?sec_id=25&subj_id=240&id=1975&module_id=#as). Various dates were suggested, in the 9th or 8th centuries.

16.4.4. IRON AGE IIC

I will discuss two Iron IIC sites, 'En Ḥaṣevah in the Negev and a cache found near Ashkelon.

'En Ḥaṣevah. A rich *favissa* placed next to an "Edomite shrine" was discovered at this site (Cohen 1994; Cohen and Yisrael 1995; Ben-Arieh 2011). Building 67 of Stratum IV was situated in front of the fortress. No finds were reported from this building. A trench, cut near the building, yielded 69 (published) pottery vessels, one stone statue and six limestone altars dated between the 7th and 6th centuries. All the vessels were intact when they were put into the pit, and covered with limestone ashlars or *maṣṣeboth* (perhaps taken from the building) after deposition. All the vessels could be completely restored (Cohen and Yisrael 1995a:224). The homogeneous assemblage of pottery consisted of 27 stands, including three anthropomorphic stands; 19 bowls, 13 goblets, four perforated cup-shaped incense burners and six small decorative pomegranates (Ben-Arieh 2011:111-166; Cohen and Yisrael 1995b:26). No evidence of ash or organic residues has been reported, but some vessels showed traced of burning (Ben-Arieh 2011:170). The evidence suggests a singular act of ritual burial of cultic objects, possibly related to the destruction of the Stratum IV fortress. The relatively small assemblage contained mostly vessels used for incense burning. It did not yield precious personal objects (jewels, seals) or libation vessels; and only five small bowls (small bowls are common in other Bronze and Iron Ages *favissae*).

Cache near Ashkelon. A subterranean chamber containing bronze figurines was discovered in 1936 near Ashkelon (Iliffe 1936:61). The actual find spot is not specified. The chamber contained (at least?) twenty three Egyptian bronze statuettes depicting *inter alia* Osiris (7), Harpocrates (7), Apis (3), and Isis Lactans (2); and ten bronze weights.[12] Two of the statuettes are made in local Canaanite style (Iliffe 1936: Nos. 12-13, Pl. 34:1-2). The excavators dated the statuettes to the Persian Period according to pottery found nearby, but in comparison to other Egyptian bronzes, a date in the 7th century was suggested (Uehlinger 1997:129; Stager 2008:161). The chamber has been defined as a workshop (Iliffe 1936:61), a trader's shop (Kamlah 1999:174; Stern 1982a:20; Weiss 2012:466-467), or a *favissa* (Stern 1982a:159; Stern 2001:497-498). Ritual burial of votives is well known in Egyptian sanctuaries (Weiss 2012:463-492). In Memphis for example, Persian Period bronze hoards with statuettes dating to the 25th-26th Dynasties were found in cachets close to sanctuaries (Weiss 2012:422). However, the context of the Ashkelon hoard is unknown. The mixture of votives traditionally belonging to the Osirian cult (the Osiris, Isis and Harpocrates figurines) with those usually donated to the cult of Apis in an animal necropolis speaks against an Egyptian cultic context, since such a mixture does not appear in Egyptian *favissae*. Unfortunately, we have almost no secure data about the context and function of this cache of objects.

16.4.5. PERSIAN PERIOD

Quite many *favissae* or possible *favissae* were found from the Persian Period.

[11] Kathleen Kenyon (1974:139-143; cf. Franken and Steiner 1990: 44-50) suggested that Cave I in Jerusalem was a *favissa* of a nearby sanctuary. This has been correctly dismissed, since the "sanctuary" seems to be a residential building and the pottery from the cave appears to be domestic (Eshel 1995:20-21; Prag 1995:209-220). Additionally, the cave was accessible and the unbroken vessels were not safe against reuse. Samaria Locus E207, destroyed at the end of Phase VI (c. 725-722 BCE), is a trench packed with pottery, burnt bones, terracotta figurines, etc. (Crowfoot et al. 1942:23-24; 1957:137-139; Eshel 1995:21-23). There are signs of well-planned deposition of objects, but the function of the area is not clear.

[12] Iliffe 1936:62-68; Pls. 29-34. Some objects purchased afterwards could originate from the same group (Stager 2008:160).

Tel Șippor. A pit was discovered in a survey at Tel Șippor (Tell et-Tayur) in the Coastal Plain (Negbi 1966:1-22). The excavation that followed yielded small objects of the Persian and Hellenistic Periods, but no structures, probably due to ploughing which (though Negbi did not say so) destroyed the top of the pit. The pit measured 0.8m in depth and $1m^2$ in area, but its exact location and a picture were not published. It contained many broken terracotta figurines and eleven stone statuettes. More figurines and statuettes were found on the surface nearby, maybe originating from the pit.

The published assemblage (118 items) consisted of 53 female and 34 male anthropomorphic figurines, 23 horse-and-rider figurines, and eight various other figures (Negbi 1966:3). Approximately, 75% of the figurines are described as eastern types, including pregnant women, naked women, bearded men, horses, horses-and-riders and a few stone statuettes. According to Negbi (1966:3-5) the rest belonged to western types: *kouroi* and *korai*, mothers with a child, boys, satyrs, feast celebrants, etc.[13] Most of the objects date between the late 6th and middle 4th centuries, but some solid terracottas were dated to the late Iron Age (8th - early 6th centuries), and one plaque figurine was defined as an 11th-10th centuries heirloom. Negbi (1968:8) assumed that the assemblage was collected in a sanctuary and deposited in one single action around 350 BCE. The homogenous content of the pit (comparable to contemporary Phoenician and Cypriot sanctuary sites, see below) and the careful burial prove that the pit represents a *favissa* of a nearby sanctuary.

Tel 'Erani. A small pit has been excavated in Tel 'Erani (Tell Sheikh Ahmed el 'Areini) near Kiryat Gat in the Negev. A Persian Period pit was dug into an Early Bronze Age wall in area D (Ciasca 1963:45-62). The area yielded no Persian Period structures, while in areas A and G, a room, some floors and some pottery of this period were found (Stratum III, Yeivin 1960:123). The pit, which was not published in plans or photographs, included a fill of earth containing various materials not described further (Ciasca 1962:34). It also contained 23 published, mostly broken terracotta figurines, divided roughly evenly between western-style types (mothers with a child, *kouroi,* singers, etc.) and eastern-style types (sitting bearded men, horses-and-riders, etc., Ciasca 1963:50-58).

The variety of figurine types in relation to the total number (23) was quite large. The figurines were dated to 450-350 BCE (Ciasca 1963:60). They resemble those from Tel Șippor, Makmiš, Tel Maresha and Tell eṣ-Ṣafi (Ciasca 1963:63). Since the surroundings of the pit have been disturbed, and only a selection of finds is published, the Tel 'Erani pit can be called a *favissa* only with hesitation.

Tell eṣ-Ṣafi (Gath). In 1899 Frederick Bliss and Robert Macalister (Bliss et al. 1902) found and partially excavated a large "rubbish heap" in the inner part of the Iron Age city wall, covering the whole breadth of the rampart (Area "F"). They assumed that the heap was thrown down the slope after the city wall had fallen into ruins (Bliss et al. 1902:38; Pl. 7). They did not identify a Persian Period structure, but today we know that there was a Persian Period settlement at this site (Avissar et al. 2007:72, 78).

Besides Iron Age and Persian Period pottery, "some hundreds" (Stern 1982:158) broken terracotta figurines were found (37 were published); at least 40 clay masks, "a large number" of stone statuettes, at least 28 Egyptianizing paste amulets, six scarabs, one broken bronze statuette of Sekhmet; part of an *ushabti* figurine (Bliss et al. 1902:39-40); four Babylonian seals of the 7th-6th centuries; fragments of an Assyrian stele; a fragmented metal bowl dated 550 BCE; and other small items, including 300 carnelian beads (Bliss et al. 1902:41-43, 149; Avissar et al. 2007:107, 114).

The whole assemblage has been dated to 500-350 BCE (Stern 1982:178), with some heirlooms from the 7th-6th centuries. The terracotta and stone figurines show a close relationship to the Tel Șippor assemblage. Small finds, such as beads and amulets, have also been reported from Makmiš (below), however, there they were found in a building (sanctuary) and not in a *favissa* (Avigad 1960:92). It is possible that the Tell eṣ-Ṣafi pit is a *favissa*; yet it could also represent the contents of a demolished temple.

Dor. The excavations at Dor brought to light an abundance of pits; two Loci show clear signs of ritual burial. One is a small cavity discovered in Area B, the gate area, at the inner side of the Persian Period fortification wall, between it and the Hellenistic town wall (L288, c. 1x0.6m; Stern 1982b:35-36; 1986:277-284, Figs. 1-2; 2010:5-8). The excavators assumed that the small space was a remnant of a Persian Period *favissa,* whose upper part was razed by the Hellenistic fortification wall (Stern 1986:279). The dismantling of the Hellenistic wall, however, yielded just a necklace of faience amulets and two semi-precious beads (Stern 1987:208 and Pl. 27B). The cavity contained approximately 20 terracotta figurines (four of them complete). In adjacent Loci two broken stone statuettes and some more figurines were found.[14] Fitting fragments of one figurine were found in L228, and of another in L233, indicating that the contents of the supposed pit had been scattered around during the construction of the Hellenistic

[13] Negbi's typology has been confirmed by Stern (1982a:159-183; 2001:490-507).
[14] Loci 233, 207, 244, 290, and 300; see Stern 1986:279 and Fig. 1; Martin 2007:190.

wall (Stern 1982b:37, Pl. 1:2). The heterogeneity of the figurines, which included western and in eastern types (showing Cypriot, Canaanite, Persian and Greek influences), resembles the finds from Makmiš and Tel 'Erani (Stern 1986:282-283; Ciasca 1963:63). As in those sites, the Dor figurines were dated to the late 5th and 4th centuries. The Cypriot stone statuettes were probably the oldest objects, while the female grotesque figurine No. 2674 dates to the late 4th century (Stern 1986:282; Martin 2007:191). Due to the disturbed context, it is impossible to ascertain whether the objects had been buried in one action.

The excavator's suggestion that L228 is a remnant of a pit is highly probable. As the context was disturbed by later works, we have no knowledge about its original contents and the action of burial. The objects attributed to L228 fit a well-chosen selection of votives, buried ritually in a cultic deposit. Possibly the pit represented a *favissa*, but nothing can be said about a nearby sanctuary.

Another pit (L4321, Area C1) was discovered in Dor near the surface on the eastern slope of the mound (Stern 1989:107-124; 2010:14-17; Stern et al. 1995a:165-168; 1995b:435-440). It was dug into the surface L4318, which was attached to the outside of the still-existing Iron Age city wall W4323 (Stratum VI). West of W4323 a residential quarter was built in the Persian Period (Stratum VI Phase 5A/C1, Stern 1995a:29). The upper part of the pit was destroyed by a later Roman Period pipe, so only c. 40 cm of the pit survived (diameter of base 2m). Stratigraphically, the pit belongs to Strata VI or V, Phases 5 or 4 (Stern et al. 1995b:435-436; Fig. 7.1, Photo 7.1). On the bottom of the pit were found three broken clay statues: two male heads (ibid: Fig. 7.2:4-5; No. 4 came probably came from the same mold as a head found nearby, Fig. 7.2:3) and one torso and upper legs of a naked female plaque figurine holding her breasts (ibid: Fig. 7.2:2). Another female figurine, a *kore* wearing veil and necklace, was found a few centimeters above the pit in L4301 (ibid: Fig. 7.2:1). The figurines were all dated to 450-440 BCE (Stern 2010:16).

A lot of pottery was detected within the pit and in adjacent loci (Stern et al. 1995b:436-439; Fig. 7.2:6-36; Table 7.1; Mook and Coulson 1995b: Nos. 132-135; Marchese 1995b:144-145). The excavators assumed that the pottery of these loci belonged originally to the pit/*favissa*, which is possible, but not certain. The bulk of the pottery consisted of Attic and East Greek fine wares, plus some local household wares. Some objects like *skyphoi* and cups are typical Greek *symposion* vessels (Stewart and Martin 2005:86).[15] The items were fragmented and few joins were found (Martin 2007:210). The pottery from L4321 was dated to 540-400 BCE, that of Loci L4336 and L4318 to 440-400 BCE, and that of L4301, directly above the pit, to 450-375 BCE (ibid: Table 7.1). Thus the *terminus post quem* for the closure of the pit is the second or third quarter of the 4th century BCE. We do not know if the pit was filled continuously or in a single course, and if the vessels included organic residues.

The pit was situated in a residential area. The pottery and the figurines give the impression of a purposeful selection of items, carefully buried in a cult-deposit. No sanctuary has been found in this area so far. The cultic action in this case may have been a private one.[16]

Akko. A carefully built pit (L46) was discovered in Tel Akko Area F by Moshe Dothan (Raban 1993:73-98). Area F is a domestic quarter. In Phase 5 (4th century BCE) a pit was installed in square R/2, 1.02m in diameter and c. 0.8m deep. Its bottom, 50 cm below an associated lime floor, consisted of a well-dressed round basalt slab with a carefully hewn rim. The pit was lined with rubble stones reaching 30 cm above floor. It was filled to the top with refuse, sherds of Attic fineware, East Greek pottery, and bones. The surrounding floors yielded similar pottery. Some fitting sherds to L46 were found in L112, west of L46, but in the same Square.

Raban does not say if vessels could be completely restored. Most of the sherds from the pit were encrusted with organic residues (Raban 1993:73-76). The published vessels included drinking, dining, preparing and serving vessels – all "western" imports. Their range is 5th-4th and maybe also 6th centuries. The concentration of *stamnoi, skyphoi, kraters* and *lekanai* is unique in Akko and suggests that the vessels were buried after usage in a festive occasion. About one-third, including ordinary household vessels, was mended in antiquity (Raban 1993:91). Thus, they were in use and repaired over a substantial period of time. Since fitting sherds were found in the surrounding floors, and also typical cultic/votive items are missing, pit L46 gives the impression that vessels used for a special festive meal (*marzeaḥ?*) and buried after it together with the remnants of the food. The burial took place in one action and *inter alia* included vessels which had been kept and repaired over a long span of time (cf. Martin

[15] The excavators emphasize the "Greek" character of the pit denoting four figurines as Greek (Stern 1995b:436), but they may as well be Cypriot (Martin 2007:194). Attic and East Greek fine tableware was commonly used by elite groups in the coastal region and should not be seen as marker of origin.

[16] Three other pits in Dor Area D2 have been called by the excavators *favissae* (L15066, L17072, L30049; Stern 1995c:27-36; Stern 2010:28-29). They yielded a wide range of ordinary household and storekeeping items, bones, shells, and industrial refuse; together with some "cultic" items, such as a bovine scapula bearing a votive inscription (L15066) and fragments of Gorgon masks (L17072 and L30049). This indicates a mixed function – refuse pits with few "cultic" items; but is no proof that these pits are *favissae*.

2007:185-186).[17] It is worth investigating if the burial of the vessels also had a cultic meaning for the participants of such feasts.

Lachish. Three deposits of Persian Period limestone altars have been excavated in Lachish cemetery Area 500 SW of the mound. Deposit L506, just below the surface, yielded 13 altars dated to 550-450 BCE (Tufnell et al. 1953:220, Pl. 108). Cave L515, constructed in the Early Bronze Age, contained human remains, but was not used as a tomb in the Persian Period. A broken horse and rider figurine, a lamp, two dipper juglets, a scarab, an earring and 30 altars were found here (Tufnell et al. 1953:221; Pls. 33:4; 82:138; 89:40.41; 43:48; 56:20; 71:19; Stern 1982a:78). Cave L534 yielded more than 150 mostly fragmented altars, thrown in a cavity formed after the roof had collapsed (Tufnell et al. 1953:226; Pls. 68-70; 71:17.20-27; 43:4-5). Just some of the altars were published, but all date to 450-350 BCE. Persian period storage jars (Pl. 96:517, 522, 525-527), bowls (Pl. 96:568, 575, 580), a pilgrim flask (Pl. 103:675) and a fibula (Pl. 56:29) were also found.

The three deposits were dated to the Persian period (Tufnell et al. 1953:220-226; Zwickel 1990:111; Stern 1982a:185) and they contain *inter alia* a large number of damaged altars, mostly hidden in the above-mentioned cavity. Most of these altars with a small surface were used commonly for incense in private contexts (Zwickel 1990:82-83). Their high numbers in the cemetery suggests use in chtonic or mourning rituals. The three cult-deposits were of objects which had gone out of use, but respectfully discarded. No sanctuary was found in the area.

Finally, it should be mentioned that none of the three Persian Period sites interpreted by most scholars as sanctuaries (Miṣpeh Yammim, Makmiš and the Lachish Solar Shrine) yielded evidence of *favissae*.

16.5. CONCLUSIONS

Ritual burial is attested in the Southern Levant throughout the time studied here, from the LB to the Persian periods. Some twenty examples of cult-deposits have been discussed, showing that the mode of cultic deposition changes from a rather homogenous way in the LB and Iron Age to a broader variety in the Persian Period.

Favissae in the strict sense are attested from the LB (Lachish and Hazor) to the Iron IIC (‘En Haṣevah) periods. They probably also existed in the Persian Period (Tel Ṣippor, Tel ‘Erani, Tel eṣ-Ṣafi and Dor L228), but due to bad conservation there is no evidence yet of a sanctuary-related cultic-deposit from this period.

In spite of their different chronological and regional circumstances, LB and Iron I *favissae* show a quite homogeneous mode of ritual burial. They are all pits situated at a distance of 10m or less from a sanctuary. The objects found in them correspond to those found in sanctuaries of the same periods, only with smaller number of precious items. The objects show the entire repertoire of rituals held in the temple – incense, libations, food offerings, cult related meals, and votive donations.

In the Iron II, *favissae* are attested in Judah, Philistia, and an Edomite sanctuary in the Negev. Although in the cases of Yavneh and Lachish no sanctuaries were documented in the vicinity of the pits, the mode of deposition is similar to that of LB period *favissae.* However, there is a change in the scope of the buried objects. Leaving aside regional differences, Iron II Yavneh, Lachish Room 49, and ‘En Ḥaṣevah contain no precious personal votive objects, such as seals, jewelry, cosmetic items, etc. Instead, stands and chalices form the bulk of the buried objects, attesting to the increased importance of food and incense offering. Similarly, the corner room at Kuntillet ‘Ajrud yielded vessels that were used for offering.

It should be emphasized that the mode of ritual burial in places of Jahwist religion (Lachish, Kuntillet ‘Ajrud) does not differ from that of neighboring regions. No safe example for cultic deposition has been found so far in the territory of Northern Israel.

Evidence of a more private ritual of burial in the Iron II is perhaps given by Pit 135 in Lachish Stratum III, but as the publication is incomplete, no general conclusions can be drawn. ‘Cultic’ items in the Iron Age are often found scattered in household refuse pits (Albertz and Schmitt 2012; Bodel and Olyan 2008; Yasur-Landau et al. 2011). There is no indication of a special ritual act of discarding those objects in a ‘private’ context.

Some of the Persian Period cultic-deposits (Tel Ṣippor, Tel ‘Erani, Tel eṣ-Ṣafi, and Dor L228) may have been *favissae*; but the disturbed contexts prevent definite conclusions. These cult-deposits show a significant amount of votive figurines. Comparable finding of figurines in large numbers have been made in the nearby sites of Makmiš, Tel Maresha and Tel Halif (http://www.cobb.msstate.edu/dig/LRP-1999-01/; Avigad 1960:92-96; Erlich 2006:45-59). Such an abundance of figurines is limited to a small region in Idumea and the coast, which was under Phoenician influence at the time. In Tel Ṣippor and Tel ‘Erani, the ritually buried figurines represent the only proof

[17] Cf. Martin, 2007:185-186; regarding *marzeaḥ* meals in towns at the Phoenician coast, see Luke 2003:47-48.

for cultic activities. The dump of Tel eṣ-Ṣafi with its broad variety of finds resembles closely the objects found in the Makmiš sanctuary. It shows a wide scope of cultic-activity, including meals and deposition of precious personal belongings.

In contrast to the above mentioned cult-deposits, which show evidence of public votive offering, the cult deposits at Akko, Dor L4321 and Lachish Area 500 belong to more private spheres. Probably the Greek *symposion* vessels found at Akko and Dor L4321 were disposed after a *marzeaḥ* held in a small circle. The Lachish Area 500 altars indicate that chtonic or mourning rituals were held in the cemetery area.

The variety of ritual deposition in the Persian Period cannot be explained by regional differences, as virtually all the sites were under Phoenician influence at the time. Rather it indicates that different kinds of ritual action produced different kinds of ritual burials. The cult-deposits of the Persian Period show the deposition of votive figurines, probably at sanctuaries. They received also objects used in ritual activities, like *marzeaḥ* meals and chtonic or mourning rituals, held at non-official places within domestic, residential and workshop areas and cemeteries. Unlike the situation in the Iron Age, Persian Period 'cultic' items were often found in household and industrial pits, where they did not receive respectful and structured deposition. This fact suggests that not the *objects* were sacred, but their use in a special ritual *action* which transferred them into the property of the Gods, thus demanding that they will be hidden from dishonorable grasp of humans. In consequence, the appearance of 'cultic' items in a pit should not be taken as a proof of their disposal in a cult-deposit or as an argument for the existence of a nearby sanctuary. Only in the context of a verifiable structured deposition may 'cultic' items be identified as part of a cult deposit.

Following a closer look at the practice of ritual burial in Judah and Israel, it can be conclusively said that the Iron II Judeans practiced ritual burial. No difference is attested in this period in comparison to ritual burial in neighboring regions. In the kingdom of Northern Israel, no cult deposits and *favissae* have been identified to date. In the Persian Period, both provinces of Yehud and Samaria yielded no evidence of ritual burial.[18]

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[18] Excavations at Tel Beersheba yielded several *favissae* in the Hellenistic temple and in its courtyard, containing small faience, bronze and stone finds. According to the excavators, the pits predated the temple, since they were located beneath the fill of the building (Aharoni 1975b:163-165; Derfler 1993:51-52). Another pit was found south of the temple, dug into the peripheral Iron Age II – Stratum II – street (L866). It contained a small altar, some small finds and mixed Iron Age and Hellenistic Period sherds (Aharoni 1973: Pls. 23:2; 25:5; 29:3; Derfler 1993:226; Giveon 1973:55; Zwickel 1990:84). Since the stratigraphy of these favissae is unclear, they are not discussed further in this paper.

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CHAPTER 17
CULT AND TRADE IN YAVNEH THROUGH THE STUDY OF ORGANIC RESIDUES

Dvory Namdar, Alon Amrani and Raz Kletter

17.1. INTRODUCTION

In *Yavneh I* (Kletter et al. 2010) we published the results obtained through organic residue analysis performed on 17 chalices and two bowls from the Yavneh repository pit (Namdar et al. 2010). In our previous paper we showed that plant materials were consumed in the chalices and suggested that the chalices were likely used as incense burners. In the present study we report the results of additional chemical analysis performed on eleven chalices and on seven juglets from Yavneh.

Juglets are a minor component of the ceramic assemblage in this pit and consist of a few dozen types. The particular juglets examined in this study are called "hybrid juglets". They are small, closed vessels (ca. 6-7 cm in height) with a rounded body and base. Only 12 hybrid juglets were found in the pit (Panitz-Cohen 2010:126). Although the manner in which these hybrid juglets were used is unknown, their presence in a repository pit close to a presumed Iron Age Philistine shrine, suggests that they may have played a cultic role. Hence, as small containers, the investigation of this role through the study of their organic contents was deemed both intriguing and of potentially great significance.

Combining the two sets of data we try to draw some new insights regarding the cultic rituals that took place in the nearby shrine and the trade that was involved in the maintenance of these practices.

17.2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

17.2.1. MATERIALS

All vessels in this study were not washed following excavation prior to the present study. Seven hybrid juglets, some bearing thick layer of dark crusts on their inner surfaces, were sampled as close to the base as possible. All sampled juglets were found together in Locus 13 (Basket No. 7216/2; Table 17.1). A 1 cm^3 piece was taken off the item with a plier and kept in paper bag until analyzed. Solvent extraction was carried out using distilled dichloromethane and methanol, both purchased from Biolab Inc.

Standard scopolin (99% purity) was purchased from Aktin Chemical, Inc., China, in order to confirm its presence and identify its degradation products. According to Aktin Chemical, the scopolin is isolated from the stems of *Erycibe obtusifolia* Benth. using methanol extraction, normal phase column separation and reverse phase column separation. We verified the scopolin structure using Electrospray Ionization-Mass Spectrometry (Fig. 17.2) and Nuclear Magnetic Resonance (for methods see 17.2.2 below). Both were found to match its known structure (Simoneit et al. 2004). Sucrose (99.5% purity), a disaccharide composed of fructose and glucose, was purchased from BioLab Inc.

Solvent extracts of mandrake, golden henbane, desert henbane and Judean henbane, plants that are known to contain abundant amounts of scopolin were prepared using the same extraction method applied for the archaeological samples.

A random sample of 28 chalices from the pit was analyzed for lipid residues, in order to determine whether any cross-contamination had occurred between vessels in the pit. The molecular assemblages detected in the chalices were consistent with their being used as incense burners in cultic activity, as previously reported (Namdar et al., 2010) and was completely different from that detected in the juglets.

A replica ceramic was doped with scopolin standard that was dissolved in tetrahydrofuran, in order to study the organic-inorganic interactions. The replica ceramic's composition comprised Moṣa Formation clay, chalk (calcite), sand (quartz) at a ratio of 60:25:15 (weight %). It was pre-fired in an open air kiln heated to 770 °C for 4 hours. The replica ceramic was free of lipids prior to use. However, to preclude any extractable lipid contamination, its surface was sonicated 5 times using dichloromethane and methanol, for 20 minutes each time, followed by

heating to 900 ºC. Afterwards, the replica ceramic was kept in a paper bag and was never touched by bare hands. The extraction methods used for the replica ceramic were similar to those applied to the archaeological samples. Blank replica ceramics were treated similarly and were included in each batch extracted.

Eleven chalices were analyzed together with the juglets, in the same manner reported here for the juglets. The complete set of 28 chalices included in this project were collected from five different loci of the pit, from the uppermost (Locus 8, close to the surface) to the lowest part (Locus 16, at the bottom); thus representing the entire stratigraphy of the pit (Table 17.2). The chalices were sampled at the meeting point between the bowl and the leg. Seventeen of the 28 chalices (marked by an asterisk in Table 17.2) were previously reported by us (Namdar et al. 2010).

17.2.2. METHODS

Lipid extraction. The extraction methods applied for the analysis of the additional Yavneh chalices and juglets are similar to those previously reported (Namdar et al. 2010; Gadot et al. 2014). In brief, the samples (1g each) were extracted twice with 10 ml of 2:1 (v/v) dichloromethane:methanol followed by sonication for 10 minutes. The tubes were centrifuged for 5 minutes at 3500 rpm. The supernatant was removed to a clean glass vial. The accumulated solvents were evaporated under a gentle stream of nitrogen. Prior to analysis 100 µl of *N,O*-bis(trimethylsilyl)trifluoroacetamide containing 1% trimethylchlorosilane was added to the dry extracts followed by heating at 65 °C for 20 minutes. One µl of each sample was injected into the gas chromatograph (GC) with mass selective detector (MSD). GC/MS analyses were carried out using a HP7890 gas chromatograph coupled to a HP5973 mass spectrometer (electron multiplier potential 2 KV, filament current 0.35 mA, electron energy 70 eV, and the spectra were recorded over the range m/z 40 to 800) using a splitless injection mode. An Agilent 7683 autosampler was used for the sample introduction. A 30 m, 0.25 mm ID 5% cross-linked phenylmethyl siloxane capillary column (HP-5MS) with a 0.25 µm film thickness was used for separation. Helium was used as a carrier gas at a constant flow of 1.1 mL s^{-1}. An isothermal hold at 50 °C was kept for 2 minutes, followed by a heating gradient of 10 °C min^{-1} to 320 °C, with the final temperature held for 10 min. The injection port temperature was 220 °C. The MS interface temperature was 300 °C. Peak assignments were carried out with the aid of library spectra (NIST 1.6) and compared with published data and pure standards.

Water extraction. The dark crust found in some of the juglets was subjected to water extraction. As dark crust was not found on juglet No. 2256, a fragment of this juglet was broken off the ceramic vessel with pliers and subjected to water extraction. The inner and outer parts were separated with a scalpel and ground manually to separate powder samples in an agate mortar and pestle. 0.5g samples were extracted with 2mL of distilled water followed by sonication for 20 min. The tubes were set to settle overnight and the supernatant was removed to a clean glass vial. The water was evaporated in the hood chamber, where vials were placed on a heating plate and heated at 40°C for 2 hours. Prior to analysis, 150 µl of *N,O*-bis(trimethylsilyl) trifluoroacetamide containing 1% trimethylchlorosilane was added to the dry extracts, followed by heating at 60°C for 20 min. One µL of the sample was injected into the GC/MS.

Nuclear Magnetic Resonance spectroscopy (NMR). Scopolin standard samples – both fresh and after being extracted from the doped replica ceramic – were dissolved in pyridine d5 99% from MSD LOT d-142 and analyzed using a ^{1}H NMR. NMR spectra were obtained at 400.13 MHz (1H) using a Bruker DRX 400 spectrometer and at 500.20 MHz using a Bruker Avance II 500 spectrometer.

17.3. RESULTS

17.3.1. JUGLETS

Seven fragments of hybrid juglets found in the repository pit of Yavneh were analyzed for their lipid contents; their identifiable residues are presented in Table 17.1 (below). One juglet contained scopolin, a well-known hallucinogenic agent found in plants (Malikov and Saidkhodzhaev 1998; Murray et al. 1982). In the same extract, relatively large amounts of monosaccharide and scopoletin were also found (Fig. 17.1). Monosaccharide and scopoletin are the immediate breakdown products of scopolin (Fig. 17.1; Kai et al. 2006).

The total lipid extracted from this juglet was approximately 20 µg per gram ceramic, which is unlikely to be a result of contamination (Evershed, 2008). The scopolin-breakdown products were also found in two other juglets, but were completely absent from 44 other vessels (chalices and bowls) analyzed from the pit (see Namdar et al. 2010).

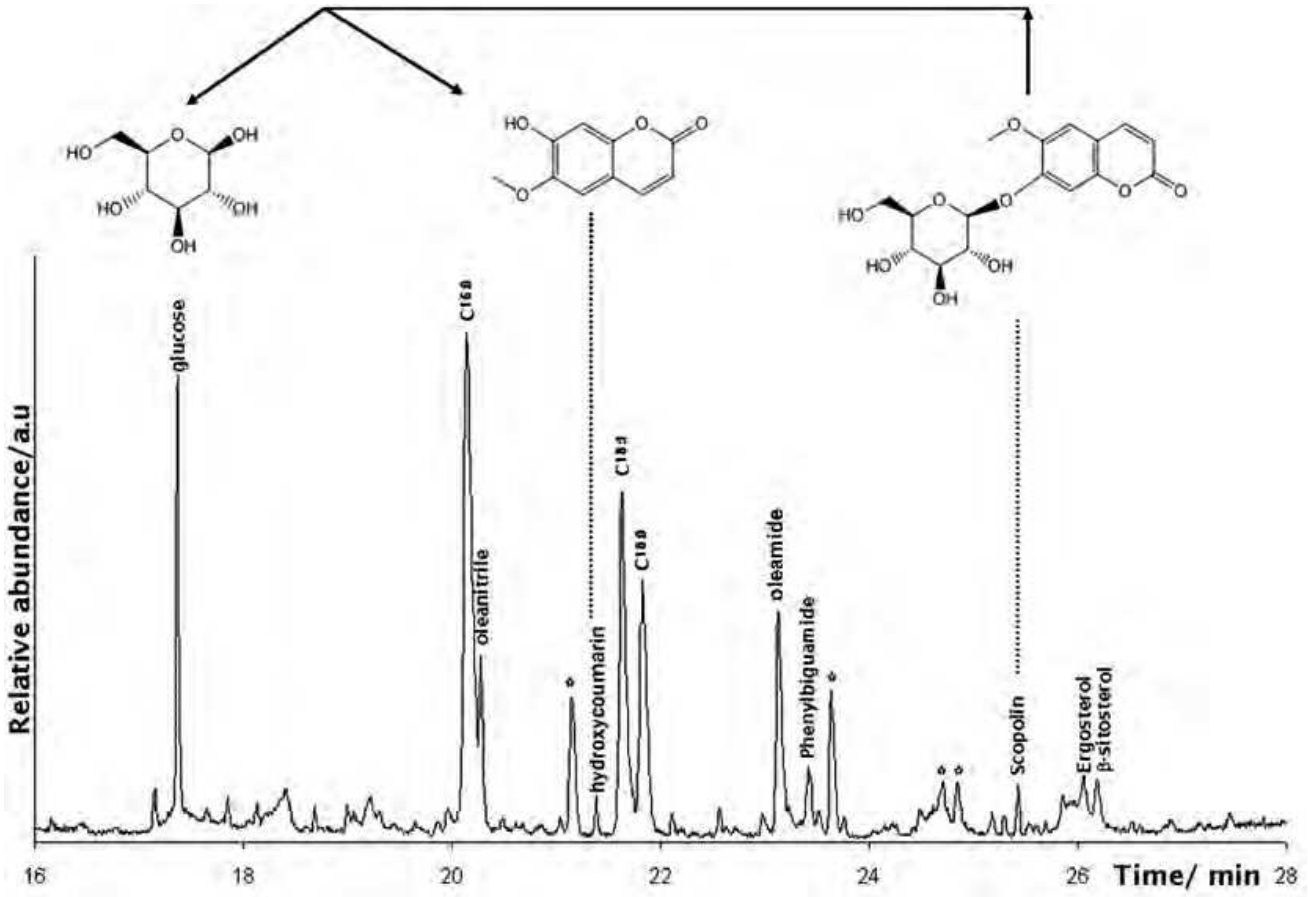

Fig. 17.1: Gas chromatogram of organic extract from hybrid juglet, sample no. 2256 (L13 B7216/2). * = plasticizer, column or silylation contaminant. $C_{n:x}$ = fatty acid with n carbons in its chain and x degree of saturation.

The identification of scopolin was confirmed by comparison to a commercial reference plant-extracted standard (see method section for details). Mass analysis of the silylated standard scopolin showed the same fragmentation pattern as the scopolin extracted from the juglet (Fig. 17.2a-b). The match between the fragmented masses of the archaeological scopolin, the standard scopolin and the NIST standards library is high (Fig. 17.2b-c). As the molecular ion was not observed using GC/MS, the pure standard was introduced also to direct ESI-MS and the molecular ion was expressed ($[M+H]^+$ and $[M+Cl]^-$) (Fig. 17.2c).

Nevertheless, two intriguing mismatches were observed. The first was when we noticed that the 264 m/z fragment typical of scopolin (Fig. 17.2c) was missing from both the archaeological extract and the scopolin standard, when both were analyzed using the same instrument (Fig. 17.2a-b). This absence seems to derive from a different ionization mode in one (WIS) of the two GC/MS instruments used. When the standard scopolin was injected into another GC/MS instrument (HUJI), this ion was observed (Fig. 17.2d). The lack of 264 ion is typical of disaccharide and may help in distinguishing between scopolin and sucrose. Nevertheless, other mass breakdowns (such as ion 437) and clear difference in retention times strengthen the identification of the archaeological compound as scopolin.

The second mismatch was observed as the 497 m/z fragment, exhibited in the archaeological extract in relatively high intensity (Fig. 17.2a; 361:497; 3:1 by ions peak height), was not observed in the standard compound (17.2b, d) nor in the NIST library (Fig. 17.2c).

The lack of 497 m/z fragment is more challenging, and cannot be related to any procedural aspect. We explored three different possible venues to explain this observation: 1) the plant from which the scopolin originated; 2) the aging processes; and 3) the organic-inorganic interactions that the absorbed compound experienced.

A. The plant originating the scopolin. Scopolin is built from hydroxycoumarin (scopoletin) and a monosaccharide. Although in nature the scopoletin is found bonded with different monosaccharides, all are named "scopolin". Thus, different plants used today by Bedouin of the Israeli Negev, were solvent extracted and analyzed in the same way the archaeological samples were obtained. All these plants (mandrake, golden henbane, desert henbane, and Judean henbane) contain abundant amounts of scopolin. However, the 497 m/z fragment was not detected in any of the local plants analyzed. Parenthetically, we note that the scopolin extracted from all the local plants is composed of scopoletin combined with furanoside (probably fructose). Our imported scopolin standard was ex-

tracted from *Erycibe obtusifolia* and contained scopoletin combined with pyranoside (namely galactose or glucose). That might be related to the fact that the plants originate from two different families, the Solanaceae and Convolvulaceae, respectively. Although both families extracts showed no fragmentation bearing the 497 fragment, more imported plants should be studied before this suggestion can be ruled out.

Moreover, out of 133 items from Yavneh that were studied petrographically, the only imported pottery vessels were juglets (Ben-Shlomo and Gorzalczany 2010). This raises the possibility that the analyzed containers, as well as the constituents stored in them, were not local. However, the imported juglets that were identified by Ben-Shlomo and Gorzalczany were all Cypriot juglets (see Smith, Chapter 9, in this volume).

B. Ageing mechanism. An alternative explanation to the presence of 497 m/z ion may be found in the time during which the molecule was aged (about 3000 years) before extraction. In order to investigate the potential ageing effect, scopolin was heated to 100 ºC for a period ranging from 2 days to 9 months. The results show that under these conditions the peak of 497 m/z fragment was not developed.

C. Organic-inorganic interaction effect. A third possible explanation for the presence of the 497 m/z fragment in the extracted compound is that the original scopolin went through a structural modification as a result of interactions with the active ceramic interface. When scopolin was applied on a standard ceramic using tetrahydrofuran (THF) as a mediating solvent and then extracted in the standard extraction method, the 497 m/z fragment immediately appeared and observed in similar intensities as it does in the archaeological extract (Fig. 17.2e; note that 413 and 555 m/z fragments were created as well). This means that a structural rearrangement occurred when the scopolin is adsorbed to the inorganic substrate which does not allow scopolin to be tetra-silylated and, hence, breakdown differently under the electron beam. The scopolin can be analyzed by GC/MS only when silylated. Natural scopolin has 4 hydroxyl groups (Fig. 17.1) and thus it is tetra-silylated and the masses of 361, 264, 191, 170 and 129 are typically formed (Fig. 17.2; Fliniaux et al. 1997). The 497 m/z fragment derives from a scopolin that is only di-silylated (molecular weight+2TMS). While the archaeological extract seems to be in the di-silylated form, the native standard scopolin does not, and its mass fragments match the tetra-silylated configuration. This structural deformation may suggest that two hydroxyl groups are inactive or not available for silylation. When the extracted scopolin was submitted to NMR spectroscopy and compared with the NMR spectrum of pure scopolin, two new and unknown minor peaks were formed in the 3.6 and 4.1 area. No other differences were recorded between the pure and the absorbed compound. This may hint to a change in the hydroxyl groups of the compound, but the affirmation of the exact spatial structural deformation remains open for further investigation.

Scopoletin was identified in two other juglets from Yavneh (Table 17.1). Stability simulations showed that scopolin is highly hydrolyzed spontaneously into scopoletin and sugar in the presence of any polar solvent. We cannot unequivocally suggest that this molecule was derived from scopolin, as it can also be formed from other coumarins. However, the fact that scopolin was identified in one of the juglets, increases the possibility that the scopoletin found in the other two juglets was also the result of scopolin breakdown.

No attempt to identify the monosaccharide species was done; however, the presence of the monosaccharides was verified using the water extraction method. As the scopolin is immediately degraded in the presence of water, no scopolin was detected in any of the water extracts, whether it was extracted from the ceramic item or the surfaced dark crust.

We note that relatively high amounts of oleic acid and monoolein were associated with the scopolin related compounds in all 3 juglets, suggesting that plant oil was used to extract, preserve, or apply the scopolin stored in the juglets (Dudd et al. 1998). The presence of oleamide and oleanitrile, which could be due to a reaction of oleic acid in a basic environment, can also be attributed to the presence of a plant oil in the sample (Pecci and Cau Ontiveros, 2010).

Sterols such as β-sitosterol are also present in the scopolin containing juglet and the two juglets with presumed scopolin breakdown products (Table 17.1). These sterols indicate a plant derived component in the residues (Copley et al. 2001; Kimpe et al. 2002). Low levels of diacids may also indicate a plant oil component in the residues of the juglets as well (Regert et al. 1998).

Post-depositional contamination is always a concern when dealing with organic residues extracted from excavated pottery. In this study, the possibility of major contamination from soil is excluded as each group of items – juglets, chalices and bowls (previously reported by Namdar et al. 2010) – exhibit a distinctive assemblage of lipids in its extract, although were found together in the same loci/pit. The presence of degradation-sensitive acylglycerides, sterols and diacids in other vessels (Table 17.1), presumably reflects variations in the burial microenvironments (Regert et al. 1998).

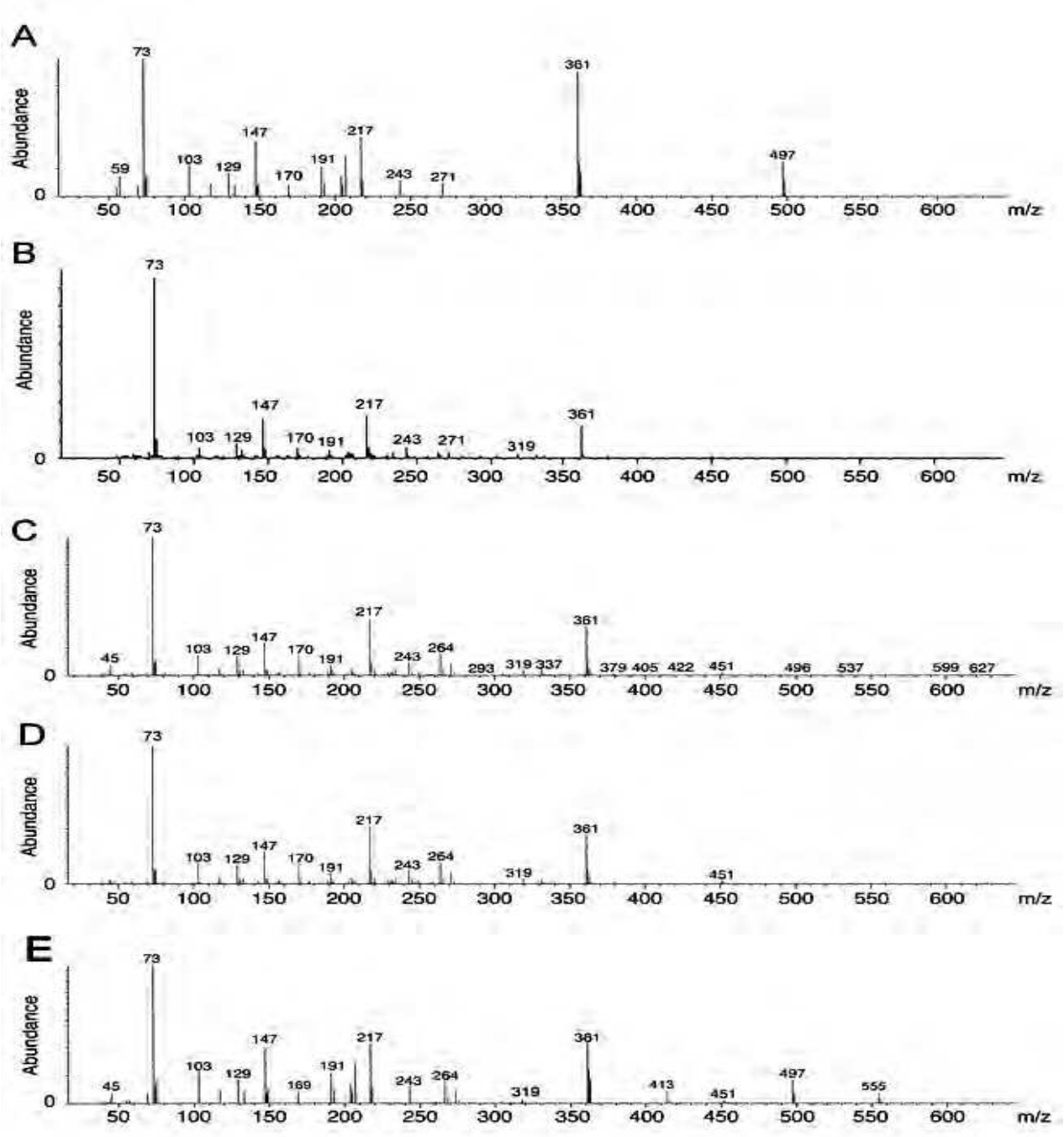

Fig. 17.2: Mass spectra of: A. scopolin in juglet sample 2256 (L13 B7216/2); B. plant-extracted scopolin (purchased from Aktin chemical LTD, China), injected in WIS; C. NIST library of scopolin, tetra(trimethylsilyl) item #218772; D. plant-extracted scopolin (purchased from Aktin chemical LTD, China), injected in HUJI; E. standard scopolin extracted from a standard ceramic, using THF as a mediating-solvent.

The fact that the juglets have a fairly uniform assemblage of indicative molecules is consistent with the suggestion that scopolin and its presumed breakdown products reflect the manner in which the vessels were originally used.

17.3.2. CHALICES

In *Yavneh I* (Kletter et al. 2010) we published the results obtained through organic residue analysis performed on 17 chalices and two bowls from the Yavneh repository pit (Namdar et al. 2010). Chalices are vessels composed of open bowls atop elongated 'legs' or bases. They appear in many sites in the Southern Levant from the Neolithic period onwards (Amiran 1969). They are common in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages (Amiran 1992; Fassbeck 2008; Maeir and Shai 2006) in Philistine sites (Amiran 1992; Maeir and Shai 2006), both in domestic as well as cultic contexts. The manner in which they were used has long been debated. Some scholars view them as daily utilitarian

objects, others as cultic objects for burning of incense (Turner 1979; van den Brink et al. 1999). However, all the chalices from the repository pit of Yavneh were found fragmented, suggesting that they were intentionally damaged before being disposed of, or as part of the disposal ritual (Panitz-Cohen 2010:120-124; Pls. 28:1; 167-170; Gadot et al. 2014; Panitz-Cohen, Chapter 7, in this volume). In our previous paper (Namdar et al. 2010) we showed that plant materials were consumed in the chalices and suggested that the chalices were likely used as incense burners.

Here we analyzed 11 more chalices from the repository pit of Yavneh. The additional chalices analyzed repeat and support the earlier obtained results. Almost 60 percent of the analyzed chalices contained similar indicative molecular assemblages (Table 17.2; Namdar et al. 2010). These differ significantly from the molecular assemblages extracted from the bowls, or from the juglets (for which see above). We therefore conclude that at least the compounds that make these assemblages unique reflect the past use of each type of vessel and that this signal has not been obliterated by extraneous molecules.

The indicative compounds detected in the chalices can be generally summed up to contain molecular composition we named "myristate-derivatives", all by-products of trimyristoylglyceride (=trimyristin) degradation. Myristic acid and isopropyl myristate were detected in all 16 'positive' chalices. The presence of myristaldehyde and myristyl alcohol, the reduction products of myristic acid, was also noted in some of these chalices. Monomyristoylglyceride was detected in one chalice. But, as the parent compounds were not preserved in the extracts we cannot identify the sources of these compounds unequivocally.

In addition to the myristate-derivatives, in some of the chalices several plant biomarkers such as isoborneol and camphoric acid were detected. In other chalices, the myristate-derivatives were accompanied by biomarkers indicative of heated animal fat, such as high molecular weight ketones and cholestenone (Davídek et al. 1990; Evershed et al. 1995; Raven et al. 1997), monopalmitoylglyceride and monostearoylglyceride, together with pentadecanoic ($C_{15:0}$), margaric ($C_{17:0}$) and nonadecylic ($C_{19:0}$) acids, all consistent with the lipids being derived from ruminant fats (Evershed et al. 1997).

The fact that triacylglycerols were not found in any of the total lipid extracts of the chalices, while diacylglycerols, monoacylglycerols and free fatty acids were abundant in most of them, also suggests that hydrolytic degradation of the acyl groups occurred (Evershed et al. 2002).

17.4. DISCUSSION

The finding described in this chapter is of singular interest as scopolin is a well-known plant derived hallucinogenic agent. Plants containing this compound include *Artemisia* (*absinthium* or *minor*), *Hyoscyamus boveanus* or even the well-known *Arabidopsis thaliana*. Scopolin is known for regulating the activity of the hormone serotonin and as a result reduces depression (Arnett 1995). Scopolin also causes delusions, in which simple visual images in natural colors are typically seen (Arnett 1995). This toxin is easily absorbed through mucous membranes, for example, by mastication (Ellenhorn and Barceloux 1988). Ethnographic observations document the use of scopolin-containing plants (*Hyoscyamus boveanus*) by the Bedouins in order to 'become drunk', in the sense of "getting high" (Pennacchio et al. 2010). The Bischarin Bedouins of Egyptian eastern desert occasionally mixed the flowers of Egyptian henbane (*Hyoscynamus boveanus* Asch.) with tobacco (*Nicotiana* sp.) and smoked the mixture for its mind-altering effects (Goodman and Hobbs 1988). Bedouin thieves in Egypt used the smoke of henbane burning leaves to induce a state of narcosis in their victims (Osborn 1968).

It is the first time that scopolin has been identified from antiquity. We have ample observations for its modern use as psychoactive agent by local populations, and the plants producing it are endemic. The use of other plant materials for psychoactive activities in the past is known (Merlin 2003). One example is opium (Bisset et al. 1996; Karageorghis 1976; Koschel 1996; Merrillees 1962; Sherratt 1991). Thus, the presence of scopolin in the juglets from the given context may suggest the presence of hallucinogenic materials at Yavneh.

Such materials could be used in the ancient Near East for cult and for medicine. In cult, they could be used for religious activities, such as precognition and prophecy. Prophecy in an altered state of mind is known all over the ancient Near East (Block 1995; Nissinen 2003; 2010). Unfortunately, we have no direct evidence how this altered state of mind was achieved. The best data comes from Greece, such as the Pythia at Delphi and also other 'ecstatic' cults, but descriptions are contradictory and do not clarify the exact customs (Kraemer 1989; Maurizio 1995).

The fact that mind-altering molecules were detected in deliberately damaged ceramic items found in the Iron Age repository pit at Yavneh (scopolin in juglets; possibly nutmeg in chalices as was previously published –

Namdar et al. 2010), together with hundreds of other cultic items, suggests that these molecules were used for ritual activities in the past. These observations shed light on aspects of the ritual habits of the Philistines.

17.5. CONCLUSIONS

The additional analysis of chalices reinsures our previous suggestion that these items were used for burning plant materials. We cannot as yet identify the plants used in the chalices, but use for burning incense is a likely explanation. Many of the burning marks on the Yavneh chalices appear in the upper parts of bowls, both inside and outside, near the rim. The inner base of some chalices was even cracked from the heat. These observations, along with the organic residues analyses, are consistent with the use of chalices from Yavneh as incense burners.

As scopolin is a well know hallucinogenic agent, its presence in the Yavneh repository pit is consistent with cultic activity. The uniqueness of this type of juglet and the very small number of juglets found in the repository pit (only 12, against an estimated number of 1700 bowls and 1400 chalices, see Panitz-Cohen, Chapter 7 in this volume), may point to the fact that the use of these juglets was confined to one special material. Coupled with the data regarding the chalices that were found in the same pit, these observations shed new light on what is known about the cult of the period and support the conclusion that these vessels were votive objects.

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Table 17.1: Lipids identified in Juglets from Yavneh (L13 B7216/2).

Lab no.	Lipid analysis				
	Markers	Fatty acids	acylglycerides	Sterols	Others
2256	glucopyranose, glucose, hydroxycoumarin, phenylbiguamide, scopolin, furanose	$C_{16:0}$, $C_{18:1}$, $C_{18:0}$	MAG_{18}	ergosterol, β-sitosterol	oleanitrile, oleamide
2260	glucose, hydroxycoumarin	$C_{12:0}$, $C_{16:0}$, $C_{18:1}$, $C_{18:0}$	MAG_{12}, MAG_{16}, MAG_{18}		cytosine, C_{12}ol
2255	hydroxycoumarin, $diacid_{16}$	$C_{16:0}$, $C_{18:1}$, $C_{18:0}$	MAG_{18}		
2259	$diacid_{14}$, $diacid_{16}$	$C_{14:0}$, $C_{16:0}$, $C_{18:1}$, $C_{18:0}$	MAG_{12}		
2258		$C_{16:0}$, $C_{18:0}$, $C_{20:0}$			
2262		$C_{16:0}$, $C_{18:0}$			Alkanes
2261		$C_{16:0}$, $C_{18:1}$, $C_{18:0}$			

$C_{x:y}$ = Fatty acid with *x* carbons and *y* degree of saturation; MAG_x = monoacylglycerol including fatty acid with *x* carbon chain; C_xOl = alcohol with *x* carbon chain; $diacid_x$ = diacid with *x* carbon chain.

Table 17.2: Lipids Identified in Chalices from Yavneh

Locus/Lab no.	Lipid analysis					
	Markers	Fatty acids	Glycerides	Alcohols and sterols	Ketones	Others
Chalices Group 1						
16/7463/2*	isopropylC_{12}, isopropylC_{14}, aldehydeC_{14}	$C_{12:0}$, $C_{14:0}$		$diol_{15}$		
12/7123/2*	isopropyl C_{14}, aldehydeC_{14}	$C_{14:0}$		C_{14}ol, C_{16}ol	K_{11}	
12/2222	isopropyl C_{14}	$C_{14:0}$, $C_{18:1}$				
12/2223	isopropyl C_{14}	$C_{14:0}$, $C_{18:1}$				
12/7123/1*	isopropyl C_{14}	$C_{14:0}$		C_{12}ol	K_{11}	
12/7139/1*	dihydromethyl jasmonate, isopropylC_{14}, aldehydeC_{14}	$C_{14:0}$				
14/2000*	isoborneol	$C_{14:0}$, $C_{22:0}$, $C_{24:0}$				
15/2009*		$C_{14:0}$, $C_{18:1}$	MAG_{18}			
12/2221	$diacid_{16}$		MAG_{18}			
14/2224		$C_{18:1}$, $C_{20:0}$, $C_{18:2}$		C_{16}ol		*n*-alkanes
Chalices Group 2						
15/2003*	camphoric acid, cholestenone	$C_{12:0}$, $C_{14:0}$, $C_{17:0}$, $C_{18:1}$, $C_{20:0}$	MAG_{18}, DAGs		K_{31}, K_{33}, K_{35}	
14/2005*	cholestenone	$C_{14:0}$, $C_{17:0}$, $C_{18:1}$, $C_{19:0}$, $C_{20:0}$, $C_{24:0}$	MAG_{16}, MAG_{18}		K_{31}, K_{33}, K_{35}	
12/2220		$C_{9:0}$, $C_{15:0}$, $C_{17:0}$, $C_{18:1}$, $C_{19:0}$, $C_{20:0}$		C_{18}ol	K_{31}, K_{33}, K_{35}	glycerol
14/2007*	cholestenone	$C_{14:0}$, $C_{17:0}$, $C_{18:1}$, $C_{20:0}$, $C_{22:0}$, $C_{24:0}$		sitosterol, β-stigmastanol		
14/2011*	isoborneol	$C_{14:0}$, $C_{15:0}$, $C_{18:1}$, $C_{22:0}$, $C_{24:0}$	MAG_{16}, MAG_{18},			glycerol
15/2232	isopropyl C_{14}	$C_{14:0}$, $C_{15:0}$, $C_{17:0}$, $C_{18:1}$, $C_{20:0}$, $C_{22:0}$, $C_{24:0}$	MAG_{14}	C_{14}ol, C_{22}ol		
Chalices N/A						
8/2002*						Phenols, *n*-alkanes
15/2006*, 2230, 2001*						*n*-alkanes
16/7463/1*						*n*-alkanes
14/2004*						*n*-alkanes
8/2008*						*n*-alkanes
14/2226						glycerol
14/2227, 2229, 2225, 2010*						

$C_{n:x}$ = Fatty acid with *n* carbons and *x* degree of saturation; $Y_x$ol = alcohol with *x* carbons; K_x = ketone with *x* carbons; MAG/DAG = mono-/di-acylglyceride (respectively); * = Vessels previously published in Namdar et al 2010. In all samples $C_{16:0}$ and $C_{18:0}$ were detected, here mentioned only fatty acids other than those two.

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CHAPTER 18

CONCLUSIONS: YAVNEH, INCENSE, VOTIVE OBJECTS AND PHILISTINE ETHNICITY

Raz Kletter

Yavneh Volume I (Kletter, Ziffer and Zwickel 2010) included chapters on the history and archaeology of Yavneh; the excavation and stratigraphy of the pit; the 'regular' pottery, a cassid lip, residue analysis of chalices, clay and stone altars, and mainly the cult stands (a full catalogue, catalogue of figures detached from stands; discussions of location in the pit, breakage patterns, iconography, petrography, meanings, and functions). Yavneh Volume II completes the publication of the repository pit. First we summarize the former chapters.

18.1. SUMMARY OF FORMER CHAPTERS

The Yavneh *FIRE PANS* (Kletter and Ziffer, Chapter 1) are formed of a lamp-like bowl, often perforated at the base, with an attached handle. Based on handles, we estimate that the repository pit included c. 60 fire pans in total. The shape of the fire pans (handle, open edge at the side opposite the handle, perforations at the bottom in most examples) and the burning marks indicate their use for scrapping/moving hot coals and presumably for burning of incense above the coals. The long history of metal and ceramic fire pans, from the third millennium BC onwards, is reviewed. Fire pans are quite rare in Iron Age Palestine/Israel, but they are often found in cultic contexts, such as the metal shovels from Dan and the bowls with handles from the 'En Ḥaṣeva *favissa*. The Yavneh fire pans find close parallels with Aegean fire pans of the LB and Iron Ages, which were studied by Georgiou and Buchholz. They were often found in cultic contexts (sacred precincts near altars, bothroi, etc.), probably used only once and discarded after being broken. The use of such vessels for incense-burning is also documented in written and pictorial sources, especially in the Pylos linear texts and the West House fresco from Thera/Santorini.

In the Bible, metal fire pans/shovels (*maḥtāh*) are mentioned in relation to the Jerusalem temple. Some shovels were related to the temple's lamps, others to the altar; they were used for scrapping and moving hot coals from/to an altar. In "priestly" stories (mainly Lev. 10 and Num. 16-17, also Lev. 16:12), which reflect post-exilic times, we hear about rituals performed with fire pans that include burning of incense (probably sprinkled on the coals) in fire pans. The verses are not very explicit, but it seems that the coals were taken from the large (animal sacrifice) altar of the Tabernacle.

Although there is a large time gap between such biblical sources and the Yavneh finds, similar vessels have been used for a very long period and thus, we can compare the sources and use the Yavneh fire pans in order to understand better the shape and function of the biblical *maḥtāh*. Medieval artists have presented the biblical shovel as a closed vessel with a lid; but the biblical shovels were similar to the Yavneh fire pans: an open, shallow bowl-like vessel with a handle. The fire pan was held by one hand. With this knowledge we can understand what happened to the rebels Nadab and Abihu (Lev. 10:1-2) and to Korah and his followers (according to the version of Num. 16:35): they offered incense to God by lifting up their fire pans with burning incense inside towards heaven; God answered in the most proper, symmetrical way: sending back from heaven to earth fire that consumed the rebels. The rebels' sin – the 'alien fire' – was not related to offering of incense *per se*, to the use of certain "approved" private/official fire pans, to a specific composition of the ingredients of the incense, or even to the origin of the coals used for the ritual. The sin was that these people 'had no license' to perform this ritual. Not the fire was 'alien', but the persons were; that is, they were 'outsiders' who (according to the logic of the stories) lacked the authority for performing such rituals.

Traces of incense were not found in the Yavneh fire pans, but this is hardly surprising, since the incense did not come in direct contact with the pottery, as it was sprinkled on the coals.

Written, pictorial and archaeological evidence from later periods shows the continuation of similar fire pans in various contexts. Notable is the appearance of shovels in rabbinical sources and synagogue mosaics. At

Sepphoris, the *maḥtāh* is depicted in detail, showing the vessel in gray (fitting a metal vessel) and the interior in reddish-pink color with dark red spots, apparently denoting burning coals. At the same site clay examples of fire pans, both rectangular and round, have also been found. In the Roman-Byzantines periods deep, closed fire pans (e.g., Peled 1974) become common. Such closed vessels are used until now in churches all over the world; since medieval times, artists who were unaware of the shape of the biblical *maḥtāh* wrongly portrayed it in the form of such late, closed vessels.

A limited *EXPERIMENT WITH FIRE PANS* (Kletter, Chapter 2) was conducted, burning coals in modern clay replicas. As expected, the vessels fit this use, and the handles, although short, do not heat up and are comfortably held while coals are burning inside the pans.

Fragments of a *KERNOS* (Kletter, Chapter 3) were found in the repository pit. It had three spouts in origin, but only one was retrieved, in the shape of a bull. *Kernos*-bowls (bowls with hollow rings and attached zoomorphic spouts) are known from Iron I and early Iron II Philistia. *Kernoi* (ring vessels, with various spouts, not just zoomorphic) are more common in late Iron Age II Philistia, especially at Ashdod. Yet, they appear earlier in Philistia and elsewhere in the southern Levant. They were most likely cultic vessels used for libation; is not clear which fluids have been used (various have been proposed). Some *kernoi* have very narrow inner passages, or even lack passages, so their use was symbolic rather than functional.

The Yavneh *SHRINE-MODEL* (Kletter, Chapter 4) is an intriguing find. The petrographic analysis suggests a Phoenician origin; no contemporaneous parallels have been found so far in Phoenicia, though. We suggest that shrine models were not meant to accurately represent real temples. They evoke the temple rather than represent it; hence, they are not "models" in an architectural sense. Many rectangular shrine models show a temple façade that includes components of a religious 'scene' found also on cult stands (pillars, lion protomes, standing females, etc.). Unlike cult stands, shrine models have only one storey, one central opening ('door') and one inner room (cubiculum) without divisions. Although the façade can be heavily decorated, the real focus of shrine models lies inside – in the holy of holies. Data was collected on all shrine models from the Southern Levant and five types were classified:

Type A – round shrine models. The shape of these models is dictated by their manufacturing from jar-like objects, so they are the least 'architectural' of all shrine models. They served as containers, presumably for figures of deities/attributive animals, based on the Ashkelon model with its calf. They have a door that could be secured with a lid to prevent the loss of the figure. This is the earlier series of shrine models, beginning in the MB period and common in the LB and Iron I periods. They are quite common in the rift valley area (Kinneret, Tel Hadar, Hazor, Dan, Kamid el Lōz, etc.).

Type B – rectangular Phoenician/Cypriot shrine models. This series is the latest one (Late Iron Age/Cypro Archaic), appearing in Phoenicia and Cyprus. Its items are quite small, with high frontons and distinctive symbols (mainly disc-and-crescent) and painted motifs. Most items have built-in figures inside, often schematic, including males and females, probably representing deities. There are no closure mechanisms, since the figures cannot fall out. Many items lack provenance, but some were found in tombs.

Type C – rectangular "Jordanian" shrine models. They are said to come from central Jordan, but none has a secure provenance. Based on iconographic comparisons (for example, the molded female drummers and the volute capitals) they can be dated to the Iron II period. They have porches with large frontons resting on two pillars. No figures were found inside these models, but figures often adorn the front: birds, female drummers, lions, etc. Model C6 has an attached stool, interpreted as a double throne for a pair of deities, but much more likely a single throne with a divided back-frame, intended for a single deity.

Type D – early rectangular shrine models: The best parallels to the Yavneh shrine model are those of Type D. They start in the LB at Kamid el-Lōz, but are more common in the Iron I and early Iron II periods. They are not homogeneous: a few are squat (perhaps transitional between Types A and B-D); but most are rectangular with rounded edges (an easier, sturdier shape to construct in clay). Some have closure mechanisms or carry applied figures, others do not.

Type E – Rectangular 'boxes': relatively small, box-shaped objects lacking figures. Their meaning is uncertain; not all seem to fit even a definition as shrine models. They range in date from the LB to the late Iron Age and are not homogeneous and also widely distributed.

Quite many shrine models were found in relation to temples, including 3-4 in one temple (Kamid el- Lōz, Tell Deir 'Alla). Early shrine models depict volute capitals, proving that the latter had nothing to do with Assyria. The slanting roof of the Yavneh model recalls the stone shrine model from Kh. Qeiyafa. This is not a realistic fea-

ture, but probably means of enhancing the entrance and the viewer's look inside. The Kh. Qeiyafa stone model shows forerunners to Doric *triglyphs*, but does not solve the problem of their meanings. They do not seem to be wooden beams of a roof, but maybe a decorative feature. Perhaps the biblical ark originated from such early shrine models; but the biblical descriptions are open to several interpretations. The stone model neither proves specific relations with the Solomonic Temple, nor presence of 'ethnic' Judeans at Kh. Qeiyafa.

What temple is alluded to by such shrine models? The earliest rectangular model from Kamid el-Lōz does not evoke the Kamid el-Lōz sacred precinct. Shrine models with a porch and two pillars evoke the large, usually long-room *in antis* temples with direct axis and two free-standing entrance columns. Excluding a few 'forerunners', these temples appear in the Levant from the Middle Bronze II to the Iron II periods, and are not limited to one people or culture. The two entrance pillars did not have structural function, but – as Yachin and Boaz in the Jerusalem Temple's – symbolic meanings, which are not well-understood.

Such shrine models "telescope" various inner divisions, focusing on the façade and on the holy of holies. On the façade, some models show a religion 'scene', which included figures of goddesses, attributive animals, and symbols. This 'scene' has close ties with that shown on many cult stands from Yavneh. In the holy of holies, these shrine models probably had in origin miniature cult statues (built-in with many Type B models). In theory, shrine models could also be used empty, suggesting rather than presenting the deities 'flesh and blood'. Yet, we have no way to ascertain this and should not take it for granted. Early jar-like shrine models (Type A) most likely contained figures, since they are very simple objects, lacking resemblance to real temples. They could not evoke anything from their shape.

We have little evidence about function/s of shrine models. Many were found in cultic contexts, others in domestic contexts or tombs (in Cyprus). If they were containers for small metal figures of deities, they could have served as miniature portable temples. In this role they could be part of a temple's paraphernalia; but perhaps also replacement for temples in small places lacking unique temple buildings.

ZOOMORPHIC VESSELS (Kletter, Chapter 5) were found in the repository pit: one nearly complete vessel and fragments of a second. Both depict bulls with large openings at the back and spouted heads. Wheel-made zoomorphic vessels appear in Iron Age Israel, Judah, Transjordan, and Phoenicia. Similar vessels with 'knob' or 'button' shaped tails are found in 7th c. Ekron; but also in 8th c. Lachish and Tel Beer Sheba; perhaps even earlier at Megiddo. It is assumes that zoomorphic vessels were used for libation; but other interpretations are possible.

At least seven round wheel-made *PAINTED STANDS* (Kletter, Chapter 6) were found in the repository pit (their total number in origin could be slightly higher). Since these stands are quite sturdy, we think that they were broken on purpose. They were not fully restored, just because not all the pottery from the pit was restored. The stands are quite small (c. 20 cm high) and made of local clay. The paint is applied in horizontal, alternating bands of red and white. Two stands also have applied ridge with 'petals', recalling the drooping leaves on cult stands and chalices. Like the two larger, fenestrated hand-made stands (Panitz-Cohen 2010:124), the painted stands served as basis for bowls placed at the top. Indeed they fit the size of many of the bowls from the repository pit. The bowls were probably used for incense burning, showing marks of burning. The stands do not show such marks since they did not come in direct contact with fire.

Various round incense stands (*thymiateria*) with bowls at the top (detached or formed as one piece), with or without lids, are known all over the Levant. However, small painted stands of the type found at Yavneh are rare; we have not found even one complete parallel elsewhere.

Although a bowl alone can serve for burning incense, it was apparently more convenient or proper to place it on a stand. Perhaps the reason was the anthropomorphic conception of deities. For humans, bending down to the ground it uncomfortable; wanting to smell something we would place it nearer the nose.

The amount of studied *'PLAIN' POTTERY* (Nava Panitz-Cohen, Chapter 7) was significantly enlarged. Forty-one baskets from Loci 12-14, 14b and 15 were studied with a total of 12,853 sherds. They join the 14 baskets (6102 sherds) already treated in the *Yavneh I* volume. In total, about a quarter (55 of 212) of the pottery baskets from the repository pit have been studied.

The statistical analysis covered 12,835 sherds, including 3572 rim parts and only 3 complete vessels, indicating that the assemblage is extremely fragmented. This supports the earlier results and explains why restoration of complete vessels was almost impossible, due to the huge amounts of very small sherds. Using the "eighths" method we estimated the total number of vessels represented by the sample. The 3572 rim sherds represent 652 complete vessels (on average, each rim was broken into c. 20 rim-sherds). Assuming that the sample forms 19% of all pottery baskets (a crude estimation, since baskets vary in amounts of sherds and compositions of types), we

estimate that the pit included c. 3250 vessels. Based on the ratio of bowls (53%) to chalices (45%) in the sample, we estimate that at least 1720 bowls and 1400 chalices were thrown into the pit. No doubt the real number was higher, since the upper part of the pit was damaged and some pottery was lost.

Bowls were dominant in Loci 13 and 15, but much fewer in Loci 12 and 14, as was already felt during the excavation. However, chalices were numerous in both Loci 12 and 15.

A total of 3254 sherds (26% of the entire sample) show signs of burning; they include 35.8% of the bowls (2460 of 6871 bowl fragments) and 13.5% of the chalices (794 of 5853 chalice fragments). Roughly a third of the burnt bowl fragments (33.6%, 827 sherds) is burnt inside, while two-thirds (63.4%, 1560 sherds) are burnt both inside and outside. With chalice bowls, nearly four-fifths (78%, 621 sherds) are burnt on the inside, while 3.9% are burnt on the outside and 12.8% are burnt on both sides (a negligible number shows other patterns).

The new sample confirmed many of the results obtained in *Yavneh I*. Only two new bowl types (BL8-9) and two new chalice types (CH3-4) have been added. The assemblage is typical to the southern coastal plain (Philistia), with some affinities to pottery in Judah and the Negev areas. Comparisons to the main types (bowls and chalices) are found mainly in sites like Ashdod X-VIII, Tell Qasile X-VIII, Tell eṣ-Ṣafi A3, Tel Batash IV-III and Ekron III-II. The present study confirms the chronological conclusions reached earlier, dating the assemblage between the late 9th and early 8th centuries BC. The typological range is limited; the pottery probably exhibits accumulation occurring in a relatively short period of time.

A special focus was dedicated to formation techniques of chalices, involving manufacture of modern replicas by Daphna Zuckerman. The various stages and different procedures indicate a very specific and centralized mode of production, most likely catering exclusively to the needs of the temple, perhaps in a special temple-owned "retainer workshop". The potters who made the Yavneh chalices also have specific technological features or a "style" that identifies them in comparison to chalices made elsewhere.

Three additional *PETROGRAPHIC ANALYSES* have been made (David Ben Shlomo, Chapter 8) – two round, painted stands and the inscribed bowl. All belong to Group 1a, the major petrographic group in the Yavneh pit, which represents clay derived from local *Hamra* soil.

Fragments/vessels of *IMPORTED CYPRIOT POTTERY* (Joanna Smith, Chapter 9) were found in Loci 13 and 15 in the pit. They are listed and classified mostly as belonging to Type III and transitional III-IV, and a few probably of Type IV. Type IV probably appeared much before 750 BC (based on Tel Rehov), and the date of these fragments fit the date suggested by Panitz-Cohen for the local pottery. The Cypriot imports include mainly small juglets, probably for perfumed oil.

Liora Kolska-Horwitz identified the *DOG BONES* (Chapter 10) from the pit as *in situ*, undisturbed remains of crania, trunk and limbs of an adult Pariah dog. Dog burials are known from quite many Iron II and Persian Periods sites in the Levant, including intentional burials at Dor, Ashdod, and Ashkelon. At Ekron, Ashdod and Tel Dor the burials are perhaps related to cult. There are no cut marks, but the dogs could have been sacrificed in various ways that do not leave marks on bones. Dogs could be sacrificed to quite many deities, including the Mesopotamian healing goddess Gula and the Greek healing god Asclepius and his Phoenician equivalents Eshmun/Melqart. However, the Yavneh dog bones may be best seen as part of a local Philistine custom, perhaps of Aegean origin.

Liora Kolska-Horwitz also discussed *ANIMAL REPRESENTATION* (Chapter 11) in the Yavneh cult stands. The aim was to define the animal species and gender from an archaeozoological perspective. Most animal figures belong to lions, bovines, and caprines. The lion figures were mostly males with manes, but in some cases they could be either male or female (lionesses). Lion bones are documented from Philistine sites, and both African and Persian lions lived in the region. Bovine figures belong to domestic cattle, either long horned *Bos tauros* or short horned *Bos indicus* (Zebu) – two species known in the region from bone remains and iconographic sources. While the figures are not specific enough, the horns seem to fit *zebu* cattle; two examples (where the back is seen) lack humps and are perhaps cows. The caprines are quite schematic, but according mainly to the shape and length of the horns they are probably wild male goats. They could depict wild bezoar (Persian) goats or Nubian ibexes, but the bezoar seems a more likely identification.

The identification based on zoological features fits well the iconographic discussion (Ziffer 2010). The bovine protomes and heads shown in frontal position can represent bulls, based on the status of bulls in various sources. The only two examples lacking humps and therefore suggestive of cows are not indicative for frontal protomes and heads. The identification of one fire-pan handle is the only point of difference: Kletter and Ziffer (Chap-

ter 1 in this volume) suggest a ram, based on comparisons to some Persian period parallels. Horowitz suggests a lion (male, female or even cub; Chapter 11). There is no reason why it cannot be a lion, but more similar objects are needed in order to verify the identification. In any case, such archaeozoological analyses open our eyes to questions of species, gender, and age of animals represented in iconographical sources.

A one word *DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION* (Chapter 12) on a bowl rim-fragment is discussed by Reinhard G. Lehmann and Kristiane Novotny. The inscription was written by a quite experienced scribe and it belongs to a southern Levantine Hebrew or cognate script dated paleographically to the 8th – early 7th centuries BC. The suggested reading is *l'zz* – from a root meaning "strength". It could denote a personal or a divine name, or an epithet ("the mighty, strong one"); even – though less likely – a verbal form meaning "for strengthening" or "for refreshment".

Although we have mended roughly a quarter of all the pottery baskets (Panitz-Cohen, Chapter 7 in this volume), only this short inscription was found. All the other, thousands of pottery fragments that passed the pottery restoration were not inscribed. In other words, votive bowls and chalices did not require an inscription. Unfortunately, one cannot know the exact meaning of the inscription. A god or goddess *'zz* (or similar) is not attested in Iron Age Philistia; hence the reading as a personal name is more likely. The inscription may denote that one bowl belonged to *'zz*, or was a dedication from *'zz*.

Wolfgang Zwickel discusses more *STONE FRAGMENTS* (Chapter 13) found in the pit. A catalogue of 39 items is presented in the chapter. Most of the items are small fragments of limestone, some soft, others hard; it is impossible to say with certainty to which objects they belong to in origin. Most are not natural pebbles or stones, but worked items. They show worked/polished facets or sides, and some also show traces of fire. Zwickel divides the 'leg' fragments into four types, based on shape. Two larger stones can be natural or parts of *masseboth* or statues. Some pieces seem to be 'legs' or 'horns' – they could be parts of horned altars, similar to the one restored and published in *Yavneh I* (Zwickel 2010). Similar legs are known from cuboid 'incense boxes' which are mostly dated to the Persian Period.

In *THE WORLD OF CULT STANDS* (Chapter 14), Zwickel reviews Late Bronze and Iron Age cult stands in Palestine/Israel and neighboring regions, searching for the historical and cultural place of the Yavneh stands in comparison. Zwickel converses with the views expressed in *Yavneh I* (Kletter 2010b; Ziffer 2010), and expresses his own, independent views. He uses the term "cult stand" as a general term for all types, including round and rectangular shrine models (discussed separately in Chapter 4, in this volume). Zwickel defines six types of cult stands:

1. "Snake-houses" are globular or beehive-shaped cult stands with 'doors', typical to the late LB and early Iron Ages and found in a limited area in the northern Jordan valley (Hazor, Tel Dan, Tel Rehov, Tell Deir 'Ala, Kinneret, and Tel Hadar). Comparisons are known from Ugarit, Munbāqa and Ashkelon. These are not snake houses as Yadin suggested, but probably miniature shrines. Perhaps the doors were closed at night or used in special ceremonies.

2. Globular or beehive-shaped cult stands from LB Age Kamid el-Lōz. They have doors with two columns on the sides. They could originate from Egyptian chapels or shrines.

3. Stepped cult stands, probably representing buildings with several stores. They are typical to Beth-Shean in the 12th-10th centuries BC. Most of them have a square plan and 'windows' with applied human- and animal- figures. Parallels are known from Middle and Late Bronze Ages Basmusian, Shemshara and Nuzi.

4. High stands with nearly square ground plans and painted decoration or applied figures. They appear in the LB, Iron I and early Iron II periods in the Jezreel Valley at Megiddo, Ta'anach, and Tel Rehov; but also at Kh. 'Atārūs in Jordan. These cult stands have parallels from the area of the Euphrates bend in Mesopotamia.

5. Shrines with open fronts (defined as shrine models by Kletter, Chapter 4 in this volume). They are documented from Tel Rekhesh, Tell el-Far'ah North, and Kh. Qeiyafa (Iron I and early Iron II). In addition, a group of at least eight items lacking provenance is usually attributed to Jordan, perhaps originating from Iron I-II Tombs. These items show trees, columns, naked goddesses, birds, etc.; perhaps related to Asherah. They too probably served as miniature temples, and could be closed like the items of Group 1.

6. Altar-like cult stands. These cult stands are limited to the 11-10th centuries BC at Megiddo and Pella. They are smaller than the high stands with nearly square plans (Group 4), but show similar figures. They usually have a basin at the top, perhaps for libation. These cult stands are probably related to similar square stands with basins known in MB-LB Mesopotamia (at Emar, Shemshara, Munbāqa, etc.).

The Yavneh cult stands are different in shape from all these types and so far have no clear parallels, neither from Palestine nor from the Aegean World. Yet, the decoration and figures are rooted in the ancient Near Eastern and especially Southern Levantine tradition. So by the 9th-8th centuries BC the Philistines, who presumably made these stands, were well acquainted with local Levantine iconography.

Irit Ziffer offers *SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON THE YAVENEH CULT STANDS* (Chapter 15). This is an update to her discussion of the iconography of the cult stands in *Yavneh I* (Ziffer 2010). Ziffer discusses the open work of Philistine cult stands (Tell Qasile, Yavneh, Ashdod), tracing its origins to 12th century Crete. From Crete, one can draw a connection to clay imitations of metal tripod stands, which start in Cyprus in the 11th century BC. At roughly the same time we find such openwork in the Southern Levant, at Dor and Nahal Patish, and this tradition continued into the Iron II (e.g. at Tell eṣ-Ṣafi). The tradition of open work shows the ongoing connections of the 'Sea Peoples' with the west.

Similar open work in clay is now known in a fragmented cult stand from Kh. 'Atārūs in Jordan. The excavator thought that it is unique, but the figurines show affinities to Yavneh. This adds to evidence from other sites (Beth Shean, Pella) suggesting that some groups of Sea People perhaps arrived to the Southern Levant from the Kingdom of Palistin in the 'Amuq Plain.

Ziffer also discusses the attachment of stands CAT91-92 to wheels, again pointing at possible Cretan origins; and the identification of the biblical '*opalîm* as phallus-shaped objects, following Maeir.

Based on her forthcoming PhD Thesis, Nicole Strassburger discusses criteria for *LATE BRONZE TO PERSIAN PERIOD FAVISSAE* (Chapter 16) from the Southern Levant and reviews all the examples that can be classified as *favissae* (and selective examples that should not). While archaeologists used the term *favissa* rather liberally, Strassburger suggests that the core meaning of *favissae* is the action of making votive or other cult-related objects unavailable for further use. So, for example, *favissae* were probably sealed to avoid further use, and the objects were likely broken intentionally before or during deposition. We expect to find objects of cultic nature, evidence for rituals, remnants of cult meals, and certain relations to finds from temples in the same area/period. Of course, not every site will show the entire gamut of these features. Strassburger would define as a *favissa*/ritual deposit only the cases that show some relation to temples and contain objects comparable to those found in temples.

Following this definition, Strassburger finds only two secure *favissae* in the LB Age (the Lachish Fosse Temple pits and pits at Hazor Temple H); and one possible *favissa* at Shiloh. The recent finds from Tell Qashish are a storage place or a hidden cache of cultic finds, rather than a *favissa*. In the Iron I only Tell Qasile shows secure ritual depositions. However, several *favissae* can be dated to the early Iron II period (Yavneh, Lachish, and Kuntillet 'Ajrud, and – if the preliminary reports are accurate – also Moṣa). From the late Iron Age there is a secure *favissa* at 'En Haṣevah, and perhaps also at a site near Ashkelon. Quite many *favissae* were reported from the Persian Period, notably at Tel Ṣippor, Tel 'Erani, Tell eṣ-Ṣafi, Dor, Akko, and Lachish, though there is not enough evidence to prove their exact nature, and most can only be classified as possible *favissae*.

Altogether, some 20 *favissae* and possible *favissae* appear throughout the LB-Persian Periods. In the LB and Iron I periods, *favissae* are composed of pits very near (less than 10m) to temples, with objects that correspond to those found in temples, only with fewer numbers of precious small finds. In Iron II *favissae* we no longer find precious personal objects, but mainly pottery vessels (stands, chalices) attesting more to food and to offering of incense.

No safe *favissae* have been found so far in the area of the Kingdom of Israel. In the Persian Period there are no secure *favissae*, only possible ones, but they show a larger variation of deposits typically with many votive figurines in Idumea and the Coastal Plain, perhaps related to temples. Other deposits at Akko and Dor are perhaps related to the private sphere, e.g., to mourning rituals or *marzeaḥ* meals. Interestingly, *favissae* were not found in relation to the three Persian Period places identified as Temples/Shrines (at Makmiš, Lachish, and Miṣpeh Yammim).

Iron II places that are considered to be related to Yahwistic cult (Kuntillet 'Ajrud, Lachish) show evidence of *favissae*, but they are not significantly different from *favissae* found in surrounding regions that were related to other deities. The customs of ritual deposition in the Iron Age, at least as far as they are documented in the archaeological remains, are similar all over the Southern Levant.

Dvory Namdar, Alon Amrani and Raz Kletter report on *CULT AND TRADE IN YAVNEH THROUGH THE STUDY OF CHEMICAL RESIDUES* (Chapter 17). Scopolin was found in a hybrid juglet from Yavneh. In three more juglets the probable breakdown products of scopolin were identified (out of seven juglets analyzed in total).

Scopolin is a well-known hallucinogenic agent. It is documented in various local plants (*Arthemisia*, *Hyoscyamus boveanu* or *Arabidopsis thaliana*), and psychoactive use of these plants is documented among modern local populations. However, the scopolin found in the juglet is not identical to these known local plants. I could be imported from the Far East, or originate from some unknown local source. We do not know its exact use at Yavneh, but it could be used as a medicinal material or for hallucinatory purposes, for example in the context of oracles and prophecies.

The chalices were used for burning of plant materials, most likely incense. Additional samples taken from chalices support the former conclusions reached in *Yavneh I* (Namdar et al. 2010). The fuel bed differs – plant oil and animal fats were used – but the materials burnt by them were the same in all the chalices. In most of the chalices myristate derivatives were found, perhaps originating from nutmeg used as a hallucinogenic agent; however, this identification is tentative. The same results were confirmed by chalices from other sites in Philistia (Gadot et al. 2014).[1]

18.2. BOWLS AND ROUND STANDS

We return to discuss two issues left open in Chapter 6 (see p. 95, above).

18.2.1. ROUND STANDS, BOLWS, AND ACCUMULATION PERIOD

In Chapter 6 (above) we concluded that the round pottery stands (whether wheel-made or hand-made) functioned as *thymiateria,* that is, stands for bowls placed at the top, which were used for burning incense. Can the relation between the numbers of round stands and bowls in the pit teach us something about the period of accumulation of the bowls in the temple?

There are many factors involved. We do not know if all the bowls were placed on the stands, since some could function also when placed on the ground or on benches in the temple. We do not know the frequency – how often was the offering of a bowl with incense performed? Nor do we know if all the round stands functioned together at the same time. Hence, we can arrive only at a crude guess.

There are two fenestrated hand-made stands and c. 7 small painted stands (the exact number is unclear, since not all the pottery was restored; there may be a few more fragments not yet retrieved). Altogether, we assume a total of nine stands. If they all functioned together, and each was used once daily, in theory they could 'process' 3285 bowls per year (9x365). The estimated number of bowls in the entire pit (1720, Panitz-Cohen, Chapter 7 in this volume), could be spent in slightly over six months. Presumably, one must reduce the tempo – ancient temples were not capitalistic factories aimed at maximum efficiency. We may allow for periods of maintenance and assume that only 4-5 stands were available at any given time. However, the same magnitude is retained, that is, the entire estimated amount of 1720 bowls in the pit can be 'processed' in just a few years. Thus, the Yavneh pit does not necessarily represent a long period of accumulation of objects in the temple.

A similar guess can be reached from another direction. Yavneh was a small city, perhaps home for several hundred families, say 400 at the most. Let us assume that each family gave incense offering once yearly (this is a modest estimation if 'big' events calling for offering included birth of a child, family member falling ill, major festivals, etc.). The 3120 bowls and chalices in the pit would represent c. 8.5 years.

What if the bowls were not votive donations of 'common' people, but part of daily rituals performed by temple personnel? Say one priest offering one incense bowl twice per day, mornings and evenings. The estimated 1720 bowls in the pit would be 'processed' in about 860 days (roughly 2.4 years). Even if we set aside some days without offerings, or use of only 4-5 stands at any given time, the period of accumulation remains relatively short. Such estimations are offered only in order to raise questions. With so many unknown factors, the time frame of the pit cannot be determined with clarity. It could be anything from a few years to fifty or even a hundred.

The estimations do not negate our conclusion that the pit represents votive offerings by the population as a whole. First, there are also many chalices,[2] and it is unlikely that daily offering of incense by priests would involve several types of quite similar clay vessels. Second, in biblical sources, incense offerings involve temple paraphernalia – metal fire pans and altars – not clay vessels as found in Yavneh. For an official incense offer by priests, it would be more reasonable to use a permanent set of metal tools. Using and replacing often clay bowls and chalices would cause a considerable expenditure to the temple, without any advantage.

[1] This study is shared with Dvory Namdar.

[2] The chalices stood independently. With one chalice offered per day, the 1400 chalices in the pit represent a period of roughly 3.8 years.

18.2.2. THE STATUS OF THE ROUND, INCENSE-BURNING STANDS

A further question which we can only raise is the status of the relatively few (c. 7) painted round stands and the two round fenestrated stands. They could be paraphernalia of the temple, housed permanently in it, but used with bowls donated by worshippers as votive objects. If the round clay stands were temple paraphernalia, their inclusion in the pit may have been made as a replacement, perhaps after they have been damaged or broken in the temple. Alternatively, they could be votive offerings too, added by a few, perhaps wealthier worshippers to the more common donation of a bowl or a chalice. Of course, paraphernalia of a temple could also be dedicated by people, i.e., being votive objects; there are no sharp dividing lines here.

Did priests make similar incense offerings using similar bowls and perhaps the same round stands? If so, we cannot differentiate between 'private' and 'official' offerings in the pit. Or, was there a demarcation between votive offering by 'private' worshippers and offerings by priests? For example, the priests could have offered incense on a large altar using metal fire-pans, such as those found at Tel Dan or described in biblical sources (cf. Kletter and Ziffer, Chapter 1 in this volume). Rituals and offerings by priests have a special character, since they carry higher status. An individual's offering represents only the individual and her/his kin or social circle. A priest's offering represents the entire community. Thus, we would usually find a demarcation between offerings of 'clergy' and 'laymen'. Sometimes it can be absolute (only the priests perform certain offerings); but often the differences will be of grade: varying amounts or ingredients; or perhaps addition of some uttered words.

In our view, the vessels in the Yavneh pit represent mainly the worshippers or the 'common people' of Yavneh. We do not have the tools of the priests, since the temple was not destroyed: the temple's paraphernalia remained in the temple.

18.3. YAVNEH, INCENSE, AND ARAB TRADE

In our view, many finds from the pit are related to incense offerings. The archaeological evidence from Yavneh is supported by parallels in other sites; as well as by written and pictorial sources.

18.3.1. BOWLS AND CHALICES

Almost all the bowls and chalices at Yavneh were badly broken, and a significant part of them is burnt. The study by Panitz-Cohen (Chapter 7, in this volume) clarified that for burnt chalices, nearly four-fifths are burnt on the inside; while only 12.8% are burnt on both sides and a mere 3.9% are burnt only on the outside. In my view this supports the supposition that, usually, the burning took place inside chalice-bowls, only occasionally reaching the outer upper parts.

At first it does not seem highly impressive, since "only" 13.5% of the chalices show marks of burning. However, one has to translate the data about sherds in terms of original, complete vessels. Each chalice is shaped as an hourglass with a bowl on top and a flaring base at bottom. Fire inside the chalice-bowl would never reach the 'foot' part. This means that most of the surface of a chalice would not show marks of burning, even if it was used as an incense burner! This is clearly seen in photos of pottery baskets taken after washing and before pottery restoration. The pottery was sorted (separating rims, body sherds, large parts of chalices, etc.). Bases and middle parts of chalices are clean, while burning marks appear inside chalices' bowls (Pls. 63:3; 64:1-2, items marked "2"). We should expect only a fifth or a sixth of the surface of a chalice used as incense-burner to exhibit burning marks. Thus, the 13.5 percent of burnt chalices noted above is strong evidence. It means that the majority of the chalices at Yavneh were used as (incense) burners.

With bowls, some 35.8% of the fragments show signs of burning. About a third (33.6%) of them are burnt only inside, while two-thirds (63.4%) are burnt both inside and outside (Panitz-Cohen, Chapter 7 in this volume). We should again translate the data in terms of whole vessels. In my view it indicates that the burning was inside the bowls, as practically nearly every burnt bowl fragment was burnt inside. Quite many bowls (c. two-thirds) were burnt on the outside too. I assume that this concerns mainly upper parts. During pottery washing we noticed that the bottom of bowl-bases is usually clean of burning marks, which are common on the inside. We cannot present statistics, since bowl bases were not studied separately from other body sherds. However, photographs of baskets after washing show that many bowl bases are clean on the bottom side. For Basket B7316 we flipped the bases upside down; compare the photographs (Pl. 8:1-2). Notice that piles of body sherds (Pl. 8:1, marked "3"), which are placed randomly, show many more traces of burning than the bottom side of bowl bases. Rims (Pl. 8.1, marked "4") are mostly placed with the outside facing up. The fewer rims that are placed with the inside up show marks of burning much more frequently.

The sheer amount of burnt pottery in the pit is impressive: the 'plain' pottery of the Yavneh repository pit is not plain at all. It is part of a cultic repertoire of votive gifts brought to the temple and used for burning of plant materials – most likely incense.

18.3.2. FIRE PANS

Some 60 fire pans (based on handles) were thrown into the pit and a few were found nearly whole or could be partially restored (Chapter 1, in this volume). Some fire pans show burning marks inside the 'bowl' or on the bottom part, fitting use as shovels. The Yavneh fire pans originate from Aegean prototypes, but similar vessels were used over a very long period. Parallels are often documented in cultic contexts, such as the metal fire pans from Iron Age Tel Dan. There are also written and pictorial sources for the use of fire pans over a long period of time (Thera/Santorini, the Pylos texts, the biblical fire pan, synagogue mosaics, etc.).

Later commentators and artists fitted the biblical fire pans to their reality. Thus, in a Luther Bible from 1699, the *maḥtāh* is depicted as a closed vessel with a lid. The artist did not realize that this vessel (still used in churches today) originated only after the Iron Age (Fig. 1:36). Thanks to the Yavneh fire pans we know that Korah, Nadab and Abihu did not swing their improper fire to and fro; they raised it up, bringing it near God. He answered them with a fitting, symmetric answer.

After completing the study of the Yavneh fire pans, we noticed an interesting parallel – though without direct connection in time and place. In South America there are strikingly similar objects – pottery ladles with one horizontal handle that is often phallic-shaped and decorated with the head of a deity. They were held in one hand and used for burning of incense/plant materials in offerings, though some could have other functions too (Kurnick 2009:26; compare also Chapter 1, Pl. 18:1).

18.3.3. PAINTED AND FENESTRATED ROUND STANDS

These stands (Chapter 6, in this volume) served for placing of bowls and they fit in size many of the Yavneh bowls, and presumably therefore were used also as part of burning of incense. Though the shape of the Yavneh stands is unique, there are hundreds of parallels – *thymiateria* – known from all over the Ancient Near East, Assyria, and the Aegean World (Morstadt 2008; 2011).

18.3.4. ORGANIC RESIDUE ANALYSIS

Dvory Namdar (2010) showed that the Yavneh chalices were used for burning of plant materials, most likely incense, using plant oils and animal fats as fuel beds. Further analyses support this conclusion and have also found traces of scopolin in a Yavneh hybrid juglet (Namdar, Chapter 17, in this volume). It could be used for hallucinations in a cultic context (cf. Dannaway 2010). Namdar tentatively identified Nutmeg as one material used in the Yavneh chalices, originating from the Far East. There is growing evidence for Iron Age trade in exotic plant materials from the Far East (Mihindukulasuriya 2012; Namdar et al. 2013; Chapter 17, in this volume). However, this is a tentative identification and the large number of bowls and chalices hints that the materials used were available to the population as a whole; so perhaps materials from endemic species were used too.

18.3.5. HORNED INCENSE ALTAR

One small horned clay altar was found at Yavneh (Zwickel 2010:105-107, Pl. 27:1-2). It is a 'miniature' of the Iron II large stone altars (Gitin 1989; Gitin 2002; Gitin 2011; Eichler 2014) (Fig. 18.1). At Shiloh one hewn, fixed four horned hewn altar was reported (Elitzur and Nir-Zevi 2003), but it is doubtful. At Tel Dothan a broken altar piece was recently found (Gibson et al 2013) – probably *out of situ* and lacking precise dating. Not all the large square stone altars have horns, there are similar hornless altars, as a recent group from 7th century Ashkelon demonstrates (Gitin 2011). Compare 16 large-medium altars lacking horns reported recently from Kh. El-Mudēyine in Jordan (Daviau 2007:128ff). One of them served as a libation altar (Fig. 18.2), but the others were incense altars (Fig. 18.3-4).

A recently discovered Iron I installation at Ashkelon resembles four-horned altars, but did not function as an altar; it raises the possibility that horned Levantine altars derive from Minoan "horns of consecration", though it remains unproven (Hitchcock 2000; Master and Aja 2011: Figs. 7-8). Probably similar stone, hornless altars from Phoenicia spread to the Western Mediterranean, where they were common from the 6th c. BC to the 2nd c. AD in funerary and religious contexts, in Italy, the Punic World, Iberia, etc. (Spagnoli 2012). Early rectangular stone altars without horns appear in Enkomi in Cyprus in the 12th c. BC (Spagnoli 2012: Cat. Nos. 22-25; Courtois 1971:186, 190, Figs. 30-35; Yon and Raptou 1991, Pl. 3: b-c, f; for later Roman Period horned incense altars see Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2008).

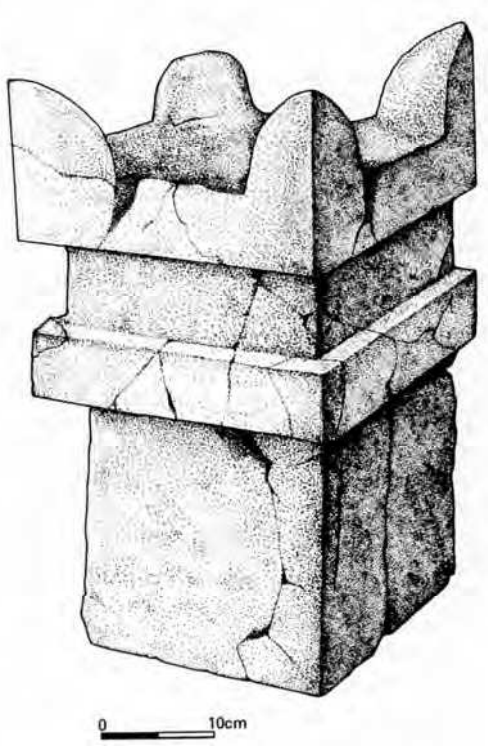

Fig. 18.1: Horned altar, Megiddo
Gitin 2002: Fig. 3

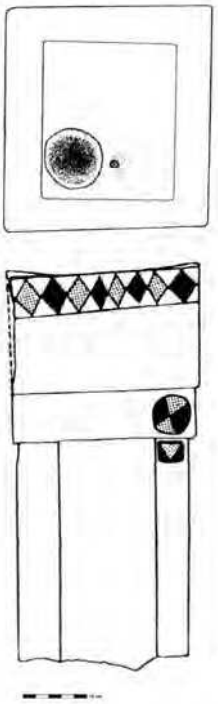

Fig. 18.2: Stepped libation altar
Daviau 2007: Fig.6

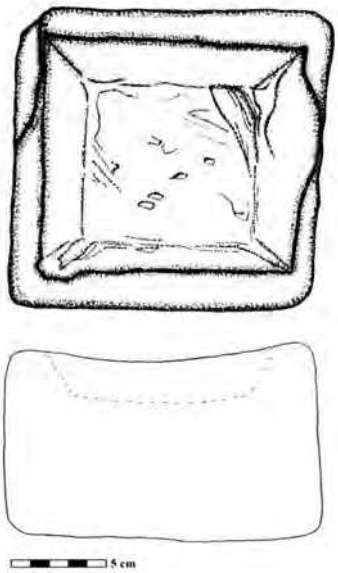

Fig. 18.3: Cuboid altar
Daviau 2007: Fig. 8

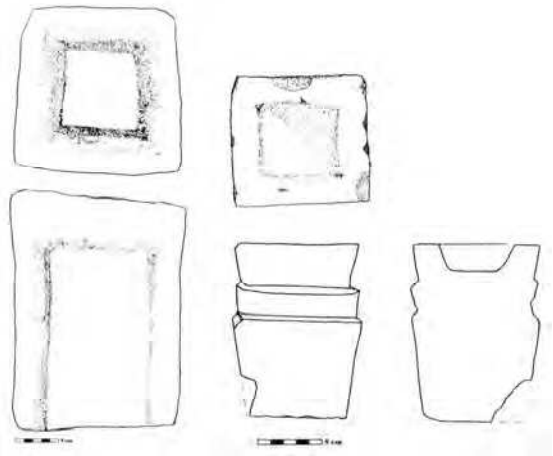

Fig. 18.4: Cuboid altars
Daviau 2007: Figs. 4-5

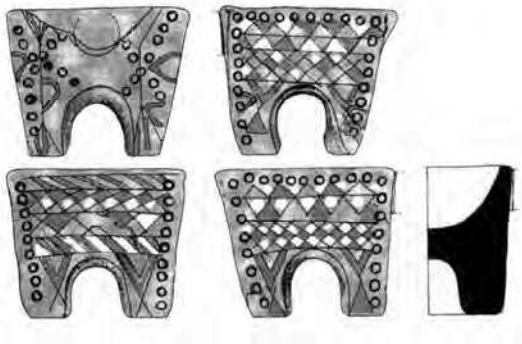

Fig. 18.5: Early Islamic cuboid altar
Le Maguer 2011: Fig. 2

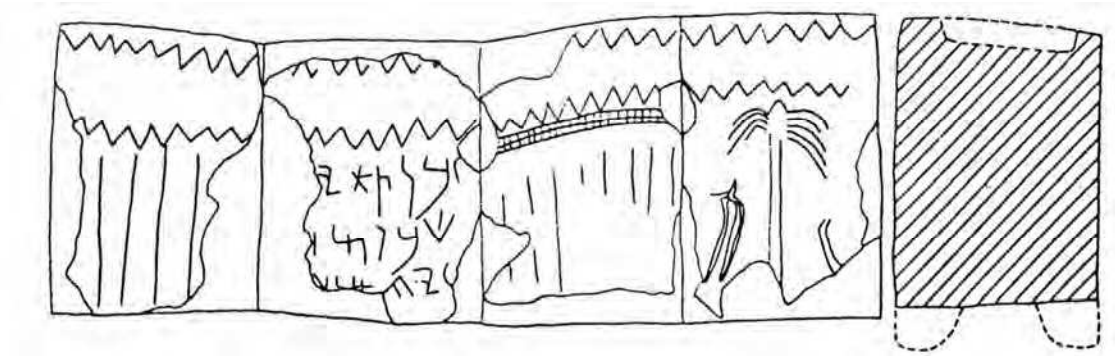

Fig. 18.6: Lachish, cubical altar inscribed *lebonah,* Zwickel 1990: Tell ed Duweir 1.

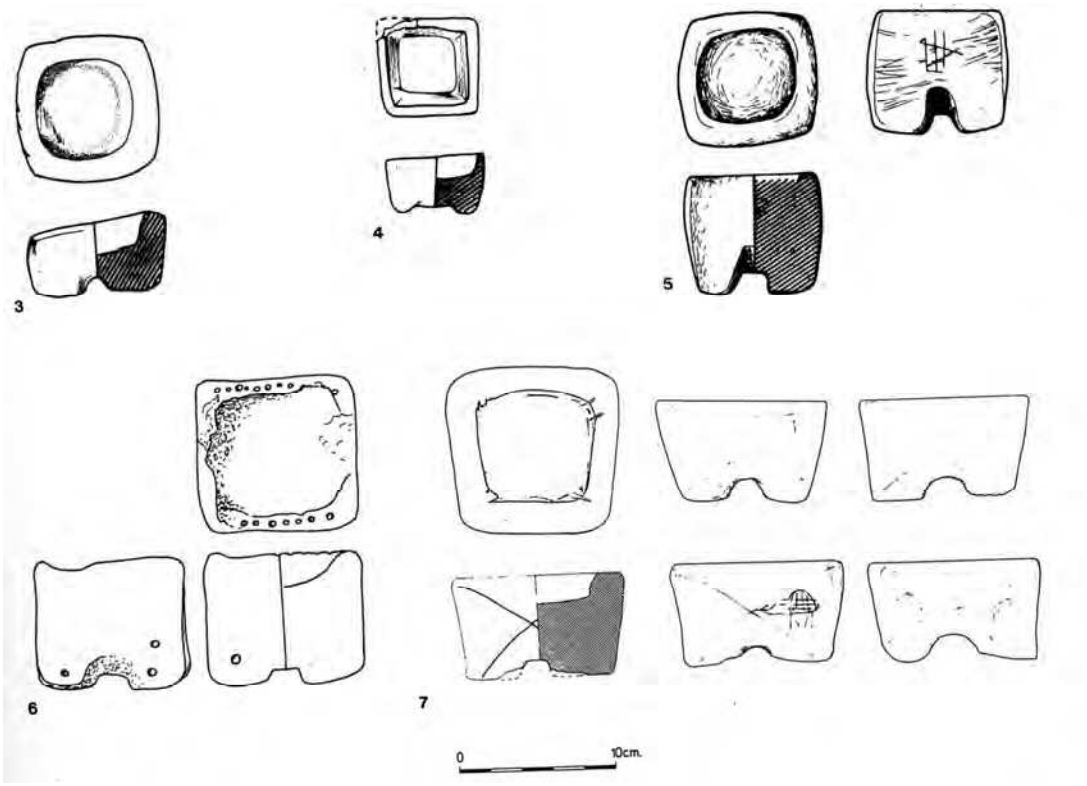

Fig. 18.6: Five altars, Beersheba, Singer-Avitz 1999: Fig. 12

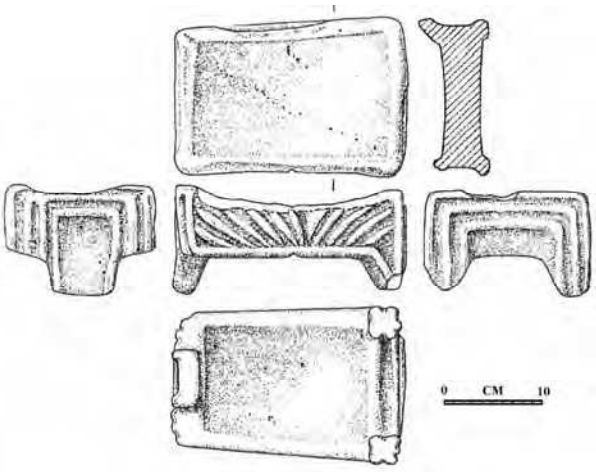

Fig. 18.8: Kh. Qeiyafa, basalt altar
Garfinkel and Ganor 2012b: Fig. 28

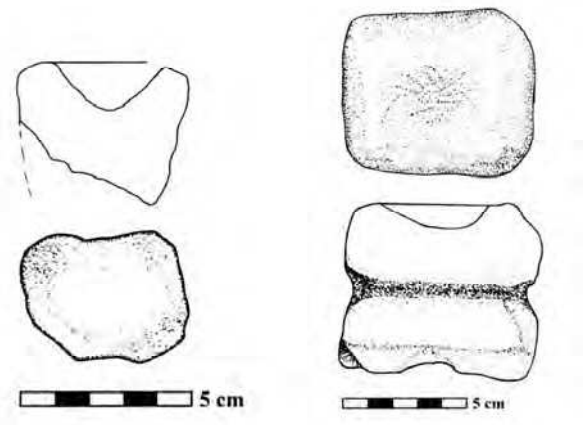

Fig. 18.9: Kh. el-Mudēyine, cuboid altars
Daviau 2007: Figs. 13-14

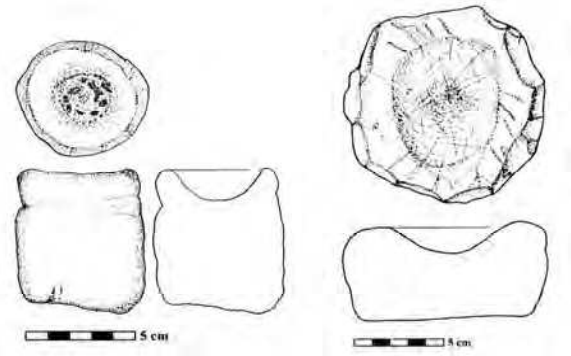

Fig. 18.10: Kh. el-Mudēyine, round altars
Daviau 2007: Figs. 9-10

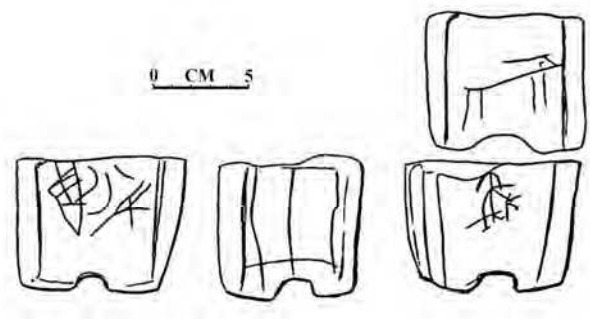

Fig. 18.11: Gezer, cubical altar
Macalister 1912: Pl. 225:9

Gitin (2011) is of the opinion that the Yavneh clay altar is an exception in Philistia, as it is 'too' early. It does not fit the view that Philistine stone altars (such as those from late Iron Age Ekron) are late arrivals following the fall of the Kingdom of Israel. However, one must accept the Yavneh evidence (Kletter 2010:178), and a recent confirmation comes from a very large two-horned stone altar discovered at Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath in a 9th century context (http://gath.wordpress.com/2011/07/25/the-news-is-out-a-large-stone-altar-in-area-d/; Maeir et al. 2013:20-21, Fig. 8).[3] It proves that horned altars similar to those known in the Kingdom of Israel were also used in Philistia before the Assyrian Period.

18.3.6. SMALL STONE INCENSE ALTARS

One nearly complete (restored from fragments) small cuboid stone altar was found in Yavneh (Zwickel 2010:105, Fig. 6.1; Pls. 161:3; 162:1); and several stone fragments shaped as 'legs' or 'horns' with signs of burning perhaps originated from similar altars, but could not be restored (Zwickel, Chapter 13, in this volume). Some of the fragments are perhaps not from altars but from larger objects, such as offering tables; compare the soft stone items found at Kh. Qeiyafa (Garfinkel and Ganor 2009:186-188, Figs. 9.24-28, termed "furniture").

These stone incense altars are forerunners of the cubical incense altars, which start in the late Iron Age, but become more common in the Persian/Hellenistic periods (Tufnell 1953: Pls. 68-71; Shea 1983; Zwickel 1990:87- 90; Hassell 2005; Knowles 2007:56-60). The same shape was still used for pottery incense burners in the Early Islamic period, only with the addition of a horizontal handle (le Maguer 2011:174, Fig. 1) (Fig. 18.5) One cubical incense altar from Persian Period Lachish is inscribed *lbnt'y* – "*lebonah*" (Tufnell 1953:358-359, Pls. 49:3; 68:1; Zwickel 1990:76, 98; Knowles 2007:46-47, 60, n. 26) (Fig. 18:6). Another cuboid stone altar from the National Museum of San'a in Yemen is inscribed with names of aromatic substances, including *lebonah* (Simpson 2002:93, Fig. 33; Zwickel 1990:72). Maybe the cubical altars can be associated with the *Libanoton* held by the hand of an angel, who takes coal from the altar into it and then 'casts' it on the earth (Revelation 8:3, 5; Freund 1999:431). So this vessel was named after the substance (*lebonah,* frankincense) burned in it.

In recent years it has become clear that small cuboid and round stone incense altars were common already in the Iron Age II period. The list offered here – surely not exhaustive – includes c. 60 examples from 21 sites (excluding some doubtful items and items lacking secure date):

1. Tel 'Aroer: two small soft limestone altars from Stratum III, end of 8th century BC. Both are roughly cuboid, described as having short legs that have been worn out; both show burnt residue on the surface (Thareani 2011:205-206, Figs. 3.96-97).[4]
2. Tel Beer-Sheba: Stratum II, late 8th century BC. Seven cubical stone altars with four legs and depressions at the top showing remains of soot were found in this Stratum. Four of them are decorated. They showed remains of soot (Stern 1973:52, Pls. 29:5-6; Singer-Avitz 1999: 41-44) (Fig. 18.7).
3. Tel 'Ira: two incense altars, Strata VII and VII-VI, one roughly cubical, the second oval with four legs, roughly late 8th-7th centuries BC (Goldsmith, Ben-Dov and Kertes 1999: Fig. 14.26:1-2).
4. Tel Malḥata: 14 cuboid incense altars have been found at this site, dated to the 8th-7th centuries BC (Freud and Reshef in press).[5] Most are made of soft limestone, but one is of basalt and has a flat base (no. 10) and one is of clay (no. 13). Most have four legs, some are tall, some cuboid in shape. A few are decorated with engravings of trees and geometric motifs. A few show signs of burning (but some found in a destruction layer are burnt also outside the depression at the top).
5. 'En Haṣevah: six limestone altars from the late Iron Age period (Ben Arieh 2011:159-163, Cat. Nos. 70-75, Figs. 41-43). Only one has four legs, the rest have flat bases. Most are rectangular or rectangular with round corners; but one is round. They all have depressions at the top. One altar (Cat. 75) is red-painted and decorated from all sides with incised motifs, mostly geometrical. Four of the altars show traces of burning at the top (Cat. 70, 72, 73, 75).
6. Kadesh Barnea (Tell el Qudērāt): one small limestone altar with a shape similar to the larger horned altars (T-shape, height c. 16.5 cm), but without horns, was found in a substratum 3c construction fill. Stratum 3c is dated to the early 8th century and the altar maybe predates it (Gera 2007: Fig. 13.4:4). A second possible limestone altar is square, broken (at present c. 4x8cm), and has deep depression with signs of burning inside it (Gera 2007: Fig. 13.4:5, Stratum 3a-b, 8th century). In addition, two clay altars with four legs have been found, one in a

[3] David Eitam (pers. comm.) suggests that this was a four-horned altar in origin, found in secondary context.
[4] Thareani thinks that incense altars are not found in 7th century Judean sites in the Negev, but see Tell 'Ira. When found in sites with mixed Judean/Edomite material cultures, such as Malḥata, how do we know who the owners were?
[5] I wish to thank Liora Freud and Nadin Reshef for data about the Tel Malḥata altars.

mixed Locus and the second in Stratum 2 of the 7th-6th centuries (Gera 2007:215, Fig. 13.2:29-30; for the date of the site see also Singer-Avitz 2008).

7. Qitmit: one fragment of a cuboid altar was found at this cult site, dated to the late Iron Age (Beit Arieh 1995:276, Fig. 6.5).
8. Tel Batash: small votive altar? (Mazar and Panitz-Cohen 2001: Pl. 75:11).
9. Kh. Qeiyafa: one rectangular basalt incense altar with three legs was found broken into two in two sides of room C3. It is decorated with a geometric relief and has a depression at the top (Fig 18.8) (Garfinkel, Ganor and Hasel 2012:140, Figs. 28, 55, 58). Another basalt altar described as similar to it was found in a Courtyard E (Garfinkel and Mumcouglu 2013:136). There are no details yet about burning marks, but the publica-tions available are only preliminary.
10. Jerusalem: two small stone incense altars, cubical, with depressions, were found in Cave 1 dated c. 700 BC (Holland 1977:154, Fig. 9.21-22).[6] Four square stone items (height 20 cm), with depressions at the top, were found in the "House of Bullae" in Shiloh's Excavation; but it is not certain that they are incense altars, as they are different from all the items listed here (Shiloh 1984:19, Pl. 34:2; Herzog 1987:126; Ariel and De Groot 1996:339; Daviau 2009). A basalt object defined as an altar was found in Area E. Only a half survived of this object; it has four legs and a deep depression at the top, and was found in an Iron Age fill (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012:347, Fig. 10.2:3).
11. Tell en-Nasbeh: an altar attributed to Persian Period, but perhaps from the late Iron Age (McCown 1947:237, Fig. 61a, Pl. 84:14; Stern 1973:52; yet see Knowles 2007:67-69).
12. Kh. el-Mudēyine on Wadi ath-Thamad: beside larger altars, eight "miniature" stone altars were found in this site (c. 7th century). Most lack context, but a few date to the temple and pre-temple phases. Some are square or cuboid (Fig. 18.9), others round (Fig. 18.10); they do not show evidence of burning (Daviau 2007:128, 138, Figs. 9-16). However, one of the larger altars from the same site shares the simple cuboid or "block" shape, and was found near the temple with charred floral material and ash in its depression (MT647-5/1, Daviau 2007: Fig. 8, ca. 16x15.5 cm, height 10.6 cm).
13. Tell es-Sa'idiyeh: one rounded basalt incense altar with legs was found possibly in a temple dated to the 11th-10th centuries BC (Stratum XIa). Two more similar altars were found in a bin attributed to the same Stratum. Inside the bin there was also a large basalt altar with horns/legs (preliminary publication, Tubb 1988:38, 46, Figs. 14, 23-24). An altar in the British Museum, Reg. No. 1968.0623.19 from Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, is described as having four legs, 11.2x13 cm and height 17.5cm; but is said to come from the older excavations of Pritchard (none is reported in Pritchard 1985, though).
14. Tell el-Hammam: a round stone incense altar with a depression and signs of burning at the top, from an Iron II context, was mentioned in a preliminary publication (called altar/incense burner; it was related to fertility rituals only because a drummer figurine found nearby, Collins and Aljarrah 2011:15, Fig. 13).
15. Samaria: an altar attributed to the Persian period is perhaps from the Iron Age (Crowfoot et al 1957:466, Fig. 119:2, Stern 1973:52).
16. Gezer: one altar dated to the "Fourth Semitic" period is probably from the Iron Age (Macalister 1912:444, Pl. 225:9) (Fig. 18.11). Other altars from Gezer are later.
17. Kinneret: a cubical limestone incense altar was found in Stratum II (Iron II). It is about 8 cm long (on the complete side) and has a depression at the top (Fritz 1990:46, Pl. 112:1; Kirsi Valkama, pers. comm.).
18. Ekron: most of the published altars from Ekron are the larger, four-horned altars (Gitin 1989, 2002). However some of the published altars are smaller (Gitin 1989: fig. 4); two are rounded, and one of the two lacks horns (Gitin 1989: Fig. 4:9, 12).
19. Ashdod: several altars were probably found in Iron Age Strata; at least one such fragment is published by Dothan and Ben-Shlomo (2005:244, Fig. 3.116:5, with references).
20. Tell Jemmeh: 31 incense altars were found by Petrie (1928:18-19), but it is hard to date them with certainty. Most should be dated to the Persian period, but a few seem to be earlier. One altar may date to "Philistine levels" of the early Iron Age. Three more altars perhaps date to building CD, roughly 7th century (Hassell 2005: Cat. Nos. 2, 4-6; No. 4 is made of clay). Most of the altars show signs of burning.
21. Yavneh (Zwickel 2010; Chap. 13 in this volume).

[6] Two polished limestone blocks from Tel Halif were perhaps *masseboth* and not altars; www.cobb.msstate.edu/dig/lahav.

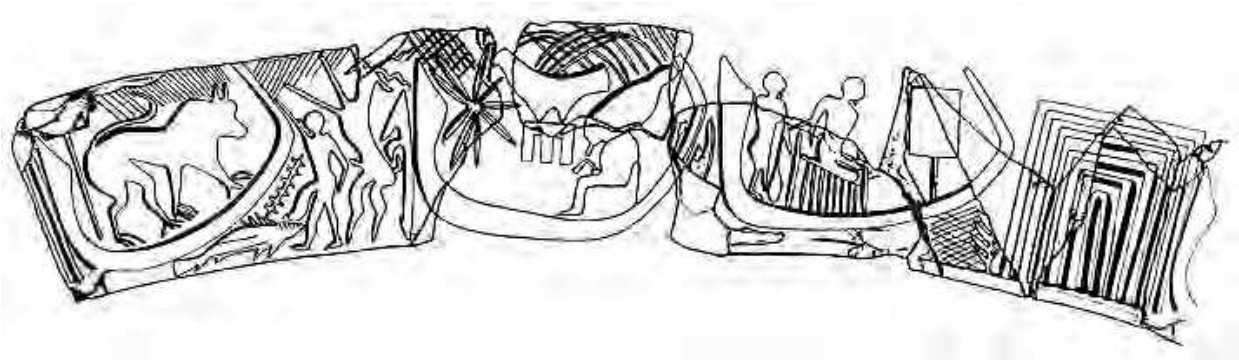

Fig. 18.12: Incense altar scene, Qustul, Nubia; after: http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/qustul.gif

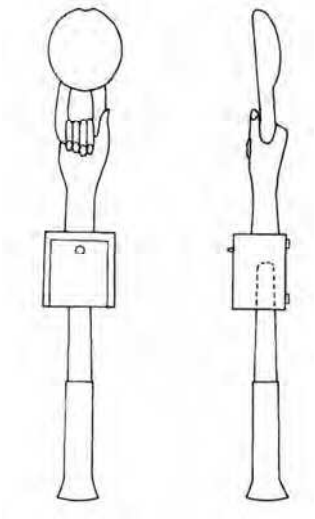

Fig. 18.13: Egyptian *kp*
Roth & Roehrig 1989: Fig. 4

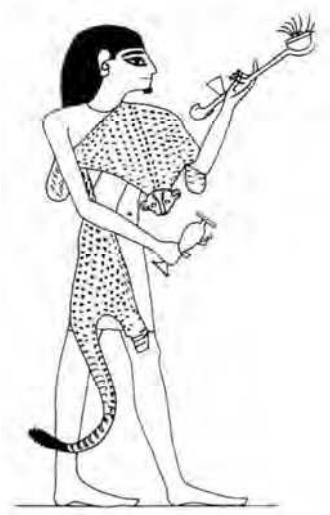

Fig. 18.14: Egyptian *kp*
Roth & Roehrig 1989: Fig. 5

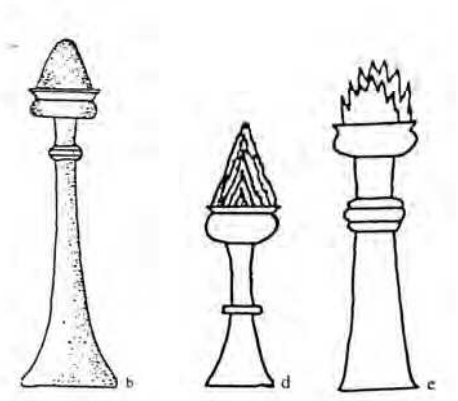

Fig. 18.15: Neo-Assyrian incense burners
Gubel 1989: Fig. 3

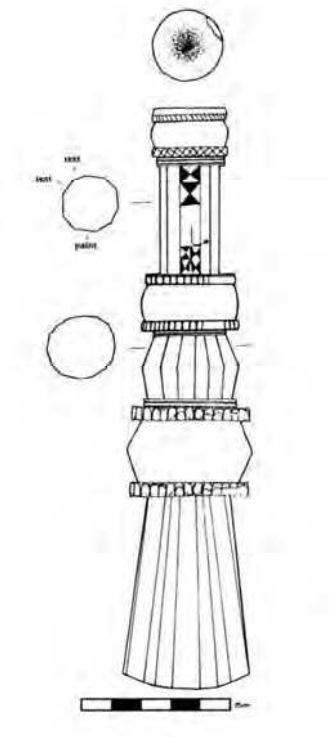

Fig. 18.16: Inscribed *mqṭr*
Kh. el-Mudēyine, Daviau 2007: Fig. 7

Fig. 18.17: Seal from Shechem
Zwickel 2007: Fig. 5.

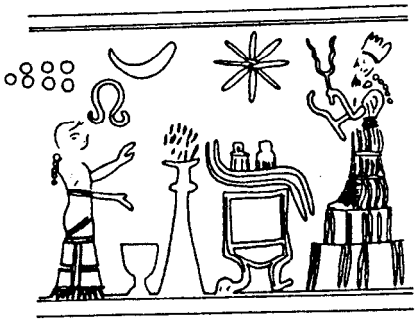

Fig. 18.18: Seal from Tyre
Matthews 1990: no. 533

Notes: I have not included in the list some more items. Several altars from the Negev Highlands lack secure dates (e.g., Cohen and Cohen-Amin 2004:194-195, Fig. 104:1). One large rounded basalt stand, maybe offering table or incense table, was found in LB Beth Shean (Panitz-Cohen and Mazar 2009:747 Fig. 16.2). The incense altars found at Tell el-Kheleifeh (Glueck 1971) are probably post Iron Age. According to Cymbalista, altars from Tell Abu Salima/Anthedon are also from the Iron Age (Cymbalista 1997:128-129, vs. Shea 1983:85-86).

The earliest incense altars in the ancient Near East are probably found in Qustul in Nubia c. 3200-3000 BC. They are round, made of local stone and pottery, and include one elaborately decorated item (Williams 1983; https://oi.uchicago.edu/museum/nubia/aqib.html) (Fig. 18.12). Of course, they have no direct relation to the Iron Age Levantine altars. The earliest altars from Iron Age Israel/Palestine are made of basalt (Kh. Qeiyafa, Tell es-Saidiyeh, c. 10th century BC), perhaps stemming from northern origin. Soft limestone (sometimes chalk or clay) Iron Age altars date mostly to the 7-6th centuries and have a different form (cuboid) than the early basalt items. However, some are from the late 8th century BC (e.g., at Tel Beer-Sheba). The Yavneh stone altar is even earlier, but – like a few other early altars – is simpler: it has a flat base, without the four legs typical of many later altars, and it is not decorated. The origin of these limestone altars is unknown. Early scholars suggested Egyptian origins, later scholars pointed at cuboid altars from second Millennium BC Mesopotamia (Emar, Tell Kannas; Singer-Avitz 1999:43-44). The Levantine limestone altars are made of local stone; we find quite many in southern areas (Arabah Valley, Judean Negev), while in more northern regions they are scarce (Judean Shephelah and Mountains, northern Israel). This distribution pattern, and the existence of similar altars in Arabia (Hassell 2002, though most are later and secure dates are often unknown), may indicate an origin from Arabia. As Freud and Reshef (in press) note, such cuboid altars appear in both cultic and domestic contexts.

18.3.7. WRITTEN/PICTORIAL EVIDENCE

The use of incense and perfumes developed very early. There was a thriving perfume industry in Old Babylonian Larsa, studied in detail by Middeke-Conlin (2014). The first special incense burning vessels appear in the late third Millennium BC in Arabia, Nubia and Northern Syria-Mesopotamia (Zwickel 2005:7; Williams 1983). A text from Late Bronze Age Ugarit gives an example of votive donations offered in relation to a child's illness:

> "Take a pouch of myrrh and place it in Horon's temple,
> Take a new container of myrrh and place it in Ba'al's temple,
> Take tamarisk and place it in the temple,
> And his illness will vanish" (KTU 1.124:5-10, quoted by Watson 2004:135).[7]

In Egypt a new incense burning vessel appears in the 11th Dynasty, shaped as a human arm with a small receptacle for burning the incense at the end and a built-in cuboid container for keeping incense at the middle (Figs. 18.13-14). The Egyptian vessel is termed *kp*, equivalent of the Semitic word *kaf* "hand", probably a loan word (Brunner 1965). Amiran (1962:174) identified the Egyptian arm-shaped incense burner with the biblical *maḥtāh*. An object named *kaf* is mentioned in the Bible in relation to the Tabernacle/Jerusalem Temple (Ex. 25:29; Num 7:14; Jer. 52:18), though its shape is not clear. It weighed ten shekels, c. 113 grams (this was probably the weight of the vessel, not of the incense). It is shown as a bowl on the Titus Arch in Rome and was probably a vessel shaped as a human hand, used for carrying incense rather than for burning it (Fruend 1999:435-439).

An Assyrian inventory tablet of a middle class household property from c. 10th-9th centuries BC mentions *mu-qa-ṭe-er-tú* – a 'censer' (Deller and Finkel 1984:78, 84, line 6). Assyrian reliefs of the conquest of Lachish depict the taking of booty of tall incense stands. In Neo-Assyrian ritual scenes, shown together with offering tables and vessels for libations, we find similar tall incense burners, sometimes shown with flames and/or with petals (Watanabe 1992; Gubel 1989: Figs. 2-4) (Fig. 18.15). Since the 6th century similar incense-burners are common in Phoenicia, Cyprus, Spain, etc.; they appear in seals, reliefs, and steles, in relation to several deities and in religious as well as funerary and 'secular' contexts (Morstadt 2011).

A similar tall round censer, in stone, carrying an inscription that defines it as a *mqṭr,* was found in Khirbet el-Mudēyineh in Moab (Dion and Daviau 2000, c. 800 BC) (Fig. 18.16). Incense stands/altars are shown in late Iron Age seals from Israel/Palestine, perhaps including four-horned altars, but often the drawings are schematic (Zwickel 2007). In some cases a long legged *mqṭr* topped by a bowl is clearly seen (Figs. 18.17-18).

Chalices are shown in a few LB Egyptian reliefs related with Canaanite cities. They show a man holding a chalice with burning incense, trying desperately to appease the Egyptian Pharaoh. One such relief is from Karnak (Keel 1997: Fig. 199) (Fig. 18.19).

[7] One can read either "house" or "temple", but surely the houses of Horon and Ba'al mean temples, not private homes.

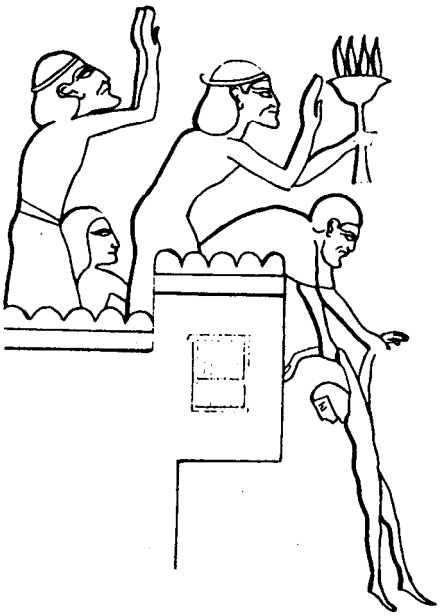

Fig. 18.19: Relief, Karnak (detail)
Keel 1977: Fig. 199

Fig. 18.20: Relief, Beit el-Wali (detail)
Zwickel 2005: Fig. 2

Fig. 18.21: Mt. Gerizim, inscribed stones nos. 384 (1); 383 (2); 389 (3) and 150 (4)
Zangenberg 2012: Fig. 4

Another relief comes from the Rock Temple of Ramses II at Beit el-Wali in Nubia (Zwickel 2005:7-8) (Fig. 18.20). Offerings in chalices were also made on board ships leaving/entering Egyptian ports (Yoselevich 2005:12- 16, 21-23, 33, etc.; Ward 2012; Ballard et al. 2012:163).

In the Bible we find quite many terms and verses dealing with incense. Much has been written on the related verb *qṭr* (Edelman 1985), and on altars, which pertain to large animal-sacrifice altars (the "copper altar"); to four-horned altars; and to the Tabernacle Gold incense altar. The amount of scholarly discussion is huge and we need not review these issues here (see, among others, Haran 1978; Nielsen 1986; Zwickel 1990; Heger 1997; Carrol and Siler 2002).

Temples had large animal sacrifice altars; but stone altars of medium size (e.g., those found in the holy of holies of the Arad temple), partly fixed and partly movable, are mostly incense altars (we follow Gitin 1989; 1992, compare Kletter 2010:178). Both types were temple paraphernalia. The much smaller (sometimes termed 'miniature') movable altars listed in Chapter 18.3.6 (above) were certainly incense altars; but they could function in various contexts. When found in a *favissa* of a temple, they are votive objects donated by worshippers, not the temple's paraphernalia. Being small and lacking handles, they do not fit use in rituals that involve moving burning coals/incense in front of audiences, and the amount of smoke they emit is limited. Hence they fit better individual use (though the contexts – meaning places of use – could vary).

We have already discussed (Chapters 1 and 18.3.2, in this volume) the biblical fire pan and the sources related to it. An important aspect to stress is the origin of the fire. As stressed by Heger and Nihan, the "alien fire" was not offensive itself; only it was not commanded by God (Heger 1997:57-63; Nihan 2007:580-582). The "rebel" stories of Leviticus and Numbers involve high-ranking priests performing with fire pans in or in front of the Tabernacle. The fire came from the Tabernacle – Nadab and Abihu probably took the coals from the large altar (cf. Lev. 16:12). Fire pans were part of the tool-set of altars (and of lamps too). An altar was "lit" with the help of fire pans, which transferred burning coals from a central/permanent source of fire. In other words, fire pans and altars formed *an organic system* – as the biblical stories convey. One could offer incense on a fire pan; but the coals had to be taken from an altar or from a central, permanent fire. Therefore, Haran's (1957; 1960) separation between "altar ritual" of incense offered on an altar, and "censer ritual" with different incense offered on a fire pan, is a scholarly creation that harmonizes biblical sources; but does not fit ancient reality. The Bible does not envision a unique "censer ritual" separate in time, place, and meaning from "altar ritual". This understanding is important for interpretation of biblical stories, but also for understanding the role of incense in Iron Age cults.

The stories of Korah, Dathan and Abiram do not condemn offering of incense *per se*, only its offering by persons perceived as unauthorized. Whether the stories are aimed against a certain group of priests, and whether specifically against Zadokites or Aaronites, it is difficult to say; they are certainly not in favor of Levites (Meyer 2013). Presumably at some earlier time, before these stories, incense offering was not yet limited to priests. Based on Ezekiel 8, Heger (1997:87, cf. Knowles 2007:63-64) reached the conclusion that at the time of Ezekiel incense offering was "a legitimate spontaneous custom, performed by the people on various occasions" (he thought that the fire did not come from the Temple). Nihan too suggested that the editors of the Bible were forced to treat the subject of incense offered by censer, since it became much more popular in Persian Period Yehud, "when the wealthy elite became increasingly involved in the trade of incense with Arabian tribes" (Nihan 2007:585). This presupposes imported Arab incense, while we know that there were many incense altars and incense-related vessels (such as chalices) already in the Iron II period, including at Yavneh, preceding the growth of the Arab trade. Local materials could be used; already in the LB Age, pistachia resin was transported from Palestine to Egypt in Canaanite Amphorae that reached El-Amarna. After reaching Egypt, some of these amphorae were marked to indicate the content: *snṯr*, a term which was usually interpreted as incense (Stern et al. 2003, with references).

18.4. THE BIBLICAL *MQṬRT*

The term *mqṭrt* appears in the Bible only in Ezekiel 8:7-13 and twice in II Chronicles (26:16; 30:14). The story in Chronicles 26:16 is pro-Aaronide: it tells that only the sons of Aaron have right to offer incense (at least in the Jerusalem Temple). Hence, when King Uzziah tried to offer incense with a *mqṭrt* held in his hand, he was inflicted with leprosy. The Chronicler expanded here on II Kings 15:5, matching Uzziah's leprosy with a fitting sin (Curtis and Madsen 1910:447; Williamson 1982:338-339). According to II Chr. 30:14, in the context of Hezekiah's re-

form the people threw all the *mqṭrwt* (in plural) in Jerusalem to the Kidron Valley. Commentators understand *mqṭrwt* here as altars for burning incense (Curtis and Madsen 1910:474; Williamson 1982:369). In the two places nothing is said about the shape of the *mqṭrt,* though it could not have been too big or heavy if King Uzziah held it by hand.

In Ezekiel 8:11, seventy elders of Israel offer incense with a *mqṭrt* held in their hands before some sort of "abomination" engraved or drawn on walls of a courtyard, chamber, or underground chamber (?). A date c. 592 BC appears earlier in the chapter. However, verses 7-13 are notoriously difficult:

> [7] "And he brought me to the door of the court; and when I looked, behold, there was a hole in the wall. [8] Then said he to me, "Son of man, dig in the wall"; and when I dug in the wall, lo, there was a door. [9] And he said to me, "Go in, and see the vile abominations (*htw'bwt hr'wt*) [Gr. without *hr'wt*] that they are committing here." [10] So I went in and saw; and there, portrayed (*mḥqh*) upon the wall round about (*sbyb sbyb*), were all kinds of creeping things, and loathsome beasts (*kl tbnyt rmś wbhmh šqṣ*) [Gr. only *kl šqṣ*], and all the idols (*wkl-glwly*) of the house of Israel. [11] And before them stood seventy men of the elders of the house of Israel, with Ja-azani'ah the son of Shaphan standing among them. Each had his censer (*mqṭrt*) [translated in Gr. as *thymiaterion*] in his hand, and the smoke of the cloud of incense (*'tr 'nn hqṭrt*) [Gr. without *'nn*] went up. [12] Then he said to me, "Son of man, have you seen what the elders of the house of Israel are doing in the dark, every man in his room of pictures (*mśktw*)? For they say, "The Lord does not see us, the Lord has forsaken the land" (RSV Bible).[8]

Ackerman (1989:268) observes that "Ezek. 8:7-13 is one of the most obscure passages in the Hebrew Bible". Halperin (1995:90) agrees that "scholars have long realized that this text is riddled with problems from beginning to end and have offered a wide variety of solutions to these problems". A few of the suggestions are reviewed here, focusing on more recent ones:

1. Ackerman (1989). In a well-argued, critical study, Ackerman reached the conclusion that the text describes a *marzeaḥ* ritual. Ackerman accepts the Greek version for v. 10, seeing the animals' images as a gloss attempting to explain the *šqṣ*, "image" (for *šqṣ* and *tw'bwt* as idolatry and abominations see Ganzel 2008). Many former scholars (including Albright and Zimmerli), though acknowledging that the "animal images" were a later gloss, nevertheless claimed that the ritual involved animal images, perhaps of impure animals, from Egyptian origins (Ackerman 1989:272-273). Since in her view *šqṣ* implies unclean food in sources from roughly the same time (such as Isa. 66:17 and Lev. 1), the text describes a *marzeaḥ* ritual with a meal offered to idols engraved on walls. This was a regular, accepted ritual in the Jerusalem Temple, which Ezekiel condemned not just because of engraved figures and food from impure animals (contradicting priestly laws); but since the ritual was dedicated to some other deity than Yahweh (Ackerman 1989:280).

Ackerman's text criticism is excellent and her interpretation is possible, yet the ritual does not seem to me to fit a *marzeaḥ*. The text describes the elders offering incense before wall engravings/reliefs, holding a censer by hand. There is no table of food; there is no mention of eating and of drinking; there is no mention of music and no relation to death/funerary rituals – missing are the typical features involved with *marzeaḥ* (Amos 6:4-7; Ackerman 1989:275-278; cf. Dijkstra 1996:95-97; Nijboer 2013). In addition, the *marzeaḥ* is not held in a temple but elsewhere, sometimes in a house owned jointly by the participants.

2. Halperin (1995). In a psychological reading, Halperin understands the term *mśkt* as "(wicked) imagination", rather than a physical place. Therefore, the elders' abominations are Ezekiel's hidden fantasies, which he projects on them. Naturally, it all comes down to sex:

> "The dreadful chamber in the polluted temple, where the "elders of the house of Israel" burn incense to images of loathsome creatures, is Ezekiel's representation of the female genitals… and hence it is not surprising that a son of "shaphan", a representation of the male genitals, should appear – standing – within this chamber" (Halperin 1995:112).

Ezekiel is fertile ground for psychoanalysis, but one does not feel much enriched by Halperin's conclusions. We seek also knowledge about Ezekiel, the elders, the period, the cultic customs; not just a reduction to one psychological super-motive that explains everything.

[8] Cf. the *mqṭr* in Exodus 30:1; and the plural form *mqṭrym* in II Kings 23:5, rendered in the MT as "those who offer incense". Maybe it should be read "incense burners" instead, since nearby verses too discuss instruments rather than people.

3. Dijkstra (1996). Following Zimmerli, Dijkstra suggests that Ezekiel 8 is not a purely fictive vision, but vivid recollection of Ezekiel's observations and experiences that reflect real customs in the Jerusalem Temple towards the end of the pre-exilic period (before 597 BC). In her view, the other cults in this chapter are of local origin, even if they incorporate new elements. The "statue of jealousy" in verses 3-5 is of the Asherah (*qn'h* should be amended to *qnh*, "brings forth, create"; hence, the statue of the Goddess "who brings forth the livestock"). The cult of Tammuz in Ezekiel 8:14-15 is perhaps an old local Canaanite cult; while the cult of the Sun in 8:16 is also based on old local traditions current already in the Late Bronze Age. Hence, Dijkstra looks for local cult also concerning verses 7-13. In her view, Ezekiel entered a secluded large room, whose walls were decorated by "every kind of abomination (*šqṣ*) and all the idols of the house of Israel". The words *tbnyt rmś wbhmh* are a later gloss, but a correct one, since *šqṣ* means impure animals, as in Deut. 4:17-18. So the decorations were probably of gods together with their symbols or paraphernalia, like a star or bull for Ba'al, lions or snakes with the naked Goddess, etc. (Dijkstra 1996:95-96). Dijkstra tries to tie the cults together as rituals related to an autumn equinox festival, based on the date of entry of Ezekiel to Jerusalem (Dijkstra 1996:94-97). Thus she is ready to accept Koch's suggestion that the gloss about animals in verse 10 relates to stellar constellations, since in this case a connection can be found with the autumn equinox (Dijkstra 1996:97).

Dijkstra's study is thorough and original, but some of her assumptions are doubtful. There is no certainty about the dates in Ezekiel. The date discussed by her does not have to indicate the date of the visits/visions in Chapter 8. The calendar used in Judah is also not well known. More crucially, there is no real evidence to relate Ezekiel 8 with the autumn equinox. As Dijkstra notices, wailing for Tammuz is expected in summer, not in autumn. The various cults in Ezekiel 8 do not fit the frame of one specific festival. Ezekiel tries to show that the people of Judah are sinners not just during one festival, but permanently. They are doing horrible abominations in the Jerusalem Temple not just a few days per year, but on a daily basis. Hence, we need not try to assume that the cults are related to each other, or to a specific holiday.

4. Schurte (2007). Schurte takes the Greek and MT versions of Ezekiel 8 as two distinct sources, none clearly superior to the other. He restores an original text without verses 7b-8, describing a ritual in an open place or courtyard in the Temple, with 70 elders burning incense in front of some abominations (*šqṣm*). This was a local, legitimate ritual at the time, which Ezekiel interpreted negatively. Later, the MT version added the passing in the wall, the *mśkt*, the *rmś* and *bhmh*, relating the ritual to a room or courtyard surrounded by walls. The Greek version further shortened the MT, probably understanding it as an Egyptian type of cult, performed in an underground chamber/tomb.

Hence, Schurte claims that in origin the ritual had nothing to do with Egypt, as many commentators including Keel, Schroer (1987:72-75), and Zimmerli assumed (because they understood the location as underground rooms and the wall reliefs with animals as Egyptian or Egyptian-inspired). These aspects were added later. Schurte also stresses that mythical animals are not indicative of Egypt; they existed elsewhere, for example, in Assyrian and Babylonian arts.[9]

5. Odell (2009). Based on the elders' words in Ez. 8:12 ("Yahweh does not see us; Yahweh has forsaken the land"), Odell assumes that the "creeping beasts and loathsome animals" were *not* idols of rival deities. Many commentators point out that the animals are a secondary addition, since they are missing from the Greek text and they seem incompatible with the "cleaning" performed by Josiah's reform and with the descriptions of the Solomonic Temple in Kings. They also believe that we have here a vision, not real things that existed in the Jerusalem Temple. Odell (2009:195-200, Figs. 1-4) interprets the idols on the basis of Keel and Uehlinger's (1998) iconographic study. She chooses four seals as especially important – those showing goats and scorpions and a person venerating a caprid. The wall carvings:

> "Reflect longstanding local traditions of symbolizing divinity by way of theriomorphic representations. Just as Ezekiel claims, the "beasts and creeping things" are Israelite images" (Odell 2009:199).

It is far from certain what Odell makes of this pictorial data. The plurality of the images in Ezekiel suggests to her that Asherah is not involved alone, but multiple deities, while the location at an outer gate of the Temple does not fit Asherah, the consort of Yahweh, but some lesser beings. While Keel and Uehlinger (1998) did not find any

[9] See also Bechtel (2011:95-100). He notes that there are numerous proposals for the nature of the idols of "creeping things", with references to various Near Eastern cults. There is hardly enough data in the text, but the logic of the story is that these engraved images were rivals to Yahweh. Ezekiel perhaps denigrates them and does not present them 'properly'.

evidence for anthropomorphic images of Yahweh, Uehlinger (1997) later accepted that they existed. Odell (2009:200) claims that "Keel and Uehlinger have lost sight of the basic meaning of venerating images" in that the animals were not an end, but only the means to communicate with a higher being. Presumably this being is Yahweh and therefore, Odell reads the images as compatible with Yahwistic cult. Her conclusion is that Ezekiel described a "traditional" scene that fits Yahwistic religion: the elders were appealing not to images of 'foreign' deities, but to intermediaries of Yahweh. Their sin was not worshipping other gods, but venerating images of lesser beings outside the Temple, rather than the real God inside (Odell 2009:208-209).

While Odell made a step in the right direction, it is obscured by her argumentation. The four seals that she brings as evidence are early (Iron Age IIA) and do not come from Judah, but from the Kingdom of Israel/Phoenicia. Using them to restore the cult in the Jerusalem Temple is problematic. A more serious objection is that there is no reason to resort to seals in order to understand Ezekiel 8:7-13. Nothing in Ezekiel is related with seals – it is a scene in a temple with probably large-scale images on walls. In such context, comparisons to small-scale seals should not be the first option. Indeed, why choose particularly seals with scorpions and goats, and not seals with various other animals? Iron Age seals from Palestine show a wide variety of animals that can be related with various deities. Not Keel and Uehlinger have "lost sight", but Odell, because the iconographic material is open to different and at times conflicting interpretations; it should not be interpreted "flatly". Can seals found outside Judah, not from the time of Ezekiel, tell us which animals he saw in his vision? Can they really tell us that it was part of Yahwistic and not some 'foreign' cult? If, as Oddell suggests, Ezekiel's vision is both realistic and Yahwistic, why is Ezekiel so strongly opposed to the elders' deeds? The elders complain that Yahweh forsakes the land; this indicates that Ezekiel blames them for forsaking Yahweh. Maybe we should not accept this accusation at face value, but it does not fit an interpretation of "kosher" cult practices that sin only in small technical details (compare Bechtel 2011:98).

No definite answer can be given if the scene implies real customs in the Jerusalem Temple, or dreams/fantasies of Ezekiel. One can reduce some aspects as secondary, but the elders burning incense are grounded in the text. It is also impossible to detach the incense-offering elders from some cult images, because if there was nothing around, to whom did the elders make an offering? We are somewhere in the Temple, even a courtyard is not an endless place, so the elders were surrounded by walls (whether of a cave, room, or courtyard). We conclude that the elders offered incense to images on walls. Ezekiel grasps the entire scene as an abomination. So far is clear, and the words of the elders that "Yahweh has forsaken the land" clarify that the elders forsook Yahweh. Thus their abomination, at least in Ezekiel's eyes, was not Yahwistic cult. Ackerman (1989) also thought that the engravings were not images of Yahweh.

As Ackerman (1989) observed, the engravings or reliefs on the walls were fixed, implying repeated rituals, not one exceptional event. Compare our conclusion (above) that the abominations were made on a permanent basis, not during one specific festival.

In my view a key to interpreting Ezekiel 8 should be the understanding that it reflects a time when the Jerusalem Temple no longer exists. With these visions, Ezekiel tried to explain the destruction of the Temple. Not only the cults were abominable, but also the people's behavior to Yahweh and his Temple. They forsook Yahweh (v. 12) and they turned their back to the Temple (v. 16) – an utmost symbol of dishonor. Vile behavior and 'foreign' cults are used here as reasons for the fate of the Temple. These are not "real time", accurate descriptions. They should neither be forced to harmonize with other biblical sources about the Temple, nor dismissed as irrelevant phantasies. Dreams and fantasies are not completely detached from reality (Dijkstra 1996; Duguid 1994:65-67). Biblical fantasies are grounded in specific times and places (Ben Zvi 2006:56).

Looking for engraved walls, one needs not seek far-away Egyptian or Babylonian customs. Ezekiel's scene can be based on images current in Iron Age Near Eastern temples.[10] The images come in plural (not one image, but several, either repetitive or of different figures). They appear "round about" (*sbyb sbyb*), that is, not just on one wall, but on several walls surrounding the space. Ancient Near Eastern temple entrances, corridors and halls were decorated by reliefs and statues of various deities, animals, and mythical creatures (for example, at 'Ain Dara, Abu 'Asaf 1990; Novak 2012). Ezekiel's hall or courtyard surrounded by reliefs/*orthostats* is echoed in the religious scene of Iron Age figurative cult stands, Yavneh included. These cult stands portray a scene related to temples, even if they are not exact "architectural replicas". Of course, details and styles of cult stands vary greatly from place to place, and so could the identity of the figures.

[10] Already Dijkstra (1996) argued that the cults in Ezekiel 8 were of Cana'anite origin.

Were the walls of Jerusalem's Iron Age Temple decorated with such figures? This remains an open question. We have no direct archaeological evidence from the Jerusalem Temple itself; figurative cult stands are rare in Judah; and we do not know how far the vision of Ezekiel is based on real customs.

What, then, was the *mqṭrt*? Brand (1953:290-291, n. 73) suggested that it was similar to tripod cups (cf. Zwickel 1990:3-61) and to Greek/Phoenician *thymiateria*. Blenkinsopp (1990:54) understands *mqṭrt* as thuribles, that is, closed metal censers suspended from chains, a type common in the Byzantine and later periods. Heger (1997:55) translated *mqṭrt* as "censer". Keel thought that the elders used incense-arms of Egyptian type (Keel 2004:44, Figs 44-45). Schroer followed him and identified the *mqṭrt* as a hand-bowl of Egyptian origin (*kp* vessel, Schroer 1987:72). Schurte (2007:419) concluded that it could be identified with an Egyptian *kp*, but also with portable incense vessels known from Palestine, such as the Räuchertassen (=perforated cups) and Räucherkatchen (=cubical incense burners). Knowles understood *mqṭrt* as "censer" (2007:63-64). So did Duguid; but in his view it was a private ritual (Duguid 1994:112-113). Boertien (2013:290) briefly identified the biblical *mqṭrt* as "incense altars" in plural, but did not discuss Ezekiel 8.

Today the point of departure for understanding the biblical term *mqṭrt* should be completely different. As we have seen, an object termed *mqṭr* was discovered in an 8th century BC context at Kh. El-Mudēyine, Jordan (Dion and Daviau 2000; Daviau 2007:134, Fig. 7). This was a tall, rounded incense burner – a *thymiateria*. Therefore, the biblical term *mqṭrt* most likely denotes a similar object. In Modern Hebrew, final "t" is a feminine or diminutive ending, which can also change the word's meaning (e.g., *'aron* = cupboard, *'aronit* = small cupboard; *yad* = hand, *yadit* = handle). This is not the case in biblical Hebrew, and biblical terms do not match exactly principles of modern typologies. The Kh. el-Mudēyine *mqṭr* is too heavy for lifting by one hand, so the *mqṭrt* (which was held by one hand) had to be smaller and lighter than it. Other than the *maḥtāh* (which was a bowl-shaped vessel with a handle, as Yavneh demonstrates), the only incense burning object that fits holding by one hand and resembles the shape of the Kh. El Mudēyine *mqṭr* is the chalice. We suggest that the biblical term *mqṭrt* denotes a chalice.

In Malachi (1:11) Yahweh says:

"From the rising of the sun to where it sets, great is my name among the nations, and in every place incense is offered (*mqṭr mgš*) to my name, even a pure offering (*wmnḥh ṭhrh*)".

We do not wish to delve on the complex issues whether Malachi speaks about present or future, real or metaphoric offering. There have been many emendations to the difficult words *mqṭr mgš.* Most scholars read here *muqṭar* as a noun meaning incense/frankincense; the LXX reads "incense offering", giving the usual term for incense – *qeṭoret* – in the Bible. Heger (1997:194) noted that *muqṭar* cannot signify the material which was burnt, yet offered no other solution (see also Wickam 2009:114, with more references). Based mainly on Psalms 141:2, which says "may my prayer be set before you like incense, may the lifting of my hands be like the evening sacrifice", Wickam (2009:115) suggests that it is "completely within the boundaries of the word [*muqṭar*] to interpret prayer, instead of physical offering". This is not convincing. Prayer and incense offering are neither contradictory nor equals that can be freely exchanged in Psalms 141:2. They are complementary actions. The incense offering is often accompanied by prayer. However, prayers do not have to be accompanied by incense offering (and *vice versa*). Reading *muqṭar* as "prayer" is a harmonization, trying to avoid interpreting Malachi and Psalms as dealing with physical incense offering.

We suggest reading *mqṭr mgš* not as a noun meaning "incense", but as a noun meaning the tool for burning the incense. Thus, Malachi 1:11 speaks about every place where "an incense-burner is being presented". Of course, presenting a lit incense burner means offering incense. Whatever explanation is accepted for the time and identity of those who make this offering (Wickham 2009:114-123), Malachi apparently interprets positively an offering of incense outside Jerusalem (Knowles 2007:66).

The beginning of the Arab incense trade and the domestication of the camel require separate discussions (Grigson 2012; Heide 2010; Horowitz 2008; Jasmin 2006; 2009; Kuhrt 1999; Peacock and Williams 2007; Potts 2003; Rosen and Saidel 2010; Sapir-Hen and Ben-Yosef 2013; Singer Avitz 1999; Thareani 2007a-b). While the Arab trade could have begun by the Iron II Period, since camels had already been domesticated, imported frankincense and myrrh were probably quite expensive at this time and various local materials could be used (e.g., Groom 1981; Merlin 2003; Stern et al. 2003; Watson 2004). There is no direct evidence that connects the Yavneh pit with the Arab trade (small stone altars may form a link, but at present this is by no means certain).

18.5. MT. GERIZIM, INSCRIBED VOTIVES AND TEL DAN

18.5.1. NEW DISCOVERIES AT MT. GERIZIM

In *Yavneh I* we did not discuss the Mt. Gerizim finds, which have been published in two volumes (Magen et al. 2004; Magen 2008).

The site begins in the Persian Period, but little survived or could be exposed of the temple from this period (Gudme 2013:54-56; Zangenberg 2012). In the precinct were found c. 400 inscribed stones, mostly from the Hellenistic and Roman periods (for the date and identity of the worshippers and cult see Dušek 2012:5-60; Gudme 2013:78-84; Schorch 2013) (Fig. 18.21). Unfortunately, only one inscription was found *in situ* (no. 223). The stones carry (mostly Aramaic) inscriptions, usually written by a skilled scribe; perhaps the process was done under the temple's supervision. The inscriptions are mostly dedicatory or votive inscriptions – a donor asks for the God's blessing. There are two types of formulae (Magen et al. 2004:13-16; Zangenberg 2012:411-412; Gudme 2013:71-72):

1. The shorter formula begins with the words "that which offered", followed by the donor's name, sometimes the place where the donor comes from, and the people for whom the dedication was made, often "for himself, his wife and his sons".

2. The longer formula is similar, but adds at the end "for good remembrance before the God in this place."

Most of the inscriptions do not mention what the dedicated object was. It could be the stone itself, and indeed, two inscriptions do mention "this stone" as the dedicated object (Magen et al. 2004:17). However, perhaps the donors paid for the stones, so the actual donation was monetary (Gudme 2012:5-6; Gudme 2013:86-88).The verb *qrb*, "to bring near", is used in the inscriptions, though usually it means a sacrifice and not a votive gift. The donor made the dedication for himself/herself and for family members; often "for good remembrance" (Cf. Neh. 5:19, 13:31; for the memorial formulae and comparable inscriptions see Gudme 2013:91-132). Most donors are male; some are female, and rarely both husband and wife are mentioned (Magen et al. 2004:18-21; Gudme 2012:3-4; 2013:73-76).

Unfortunately, the name of the deity was not mentioned, but it was clear to the worshippers who he was. He was Yahweh, as mentioned in one Persian period Hebrew inscription (no. 383). Two other inscriptions (nos. 150-151) mention *'dny* (אדני – "Lord"); but most mention *'lh'* (אלהא), a generic term for "god" in Aramaic (Magen et al 2004:22-23; Gudme 2012:3; Gudme 2013:72).

18.5.2. DEFINITIONS OF VOTIVE OBJECTS AND GIFTS TO THE GODS

Votive practices are common in many societies and periods and literally anything can serve as a votive object (Gudme 2013:6). Gudme noticed that especially classical scholars have discussed votive practices, usually focusing on the votive object and not on the practice of giving, because material objects survive and are found by archaeologists (Gudme 2013:5-6). The term "votive" can be defined in two ways:

1. Sacrifice made in fulfilment of a vow – a narrow definition according to which the gift must be related to a vow. This was a highly common custom in the Greek and Roman worlds, so the expression "vow fulfilled gladly willingly deservedly" became a standard short formula, "VSLM", inscribed on numerous votive objects. However, when this formula is lacking we often cannot know if an object was given in relation to a vow or not. Inscribed objects are a minority among votive objects (Gudme 2013:8-9).

2. An object given as a gift to a deity. This broader definition is widely used by archaeologists. It is also employed by us in the Yavneh Volumes. In general, a votive offering is "a response to an occurrence in the life of the group or individual. It is a non-compulsory dedication, but it may be habitual and customary" (Gudme 2013:10). It can express thanks for a past event or hopes for the future; the motivations vary and are hard to distinguish from the objects. The votive gift is often associated with a prayer. Some stress the notion of votive objects as durable objects, separated from "sacrifices" which are one-time events. However, the fate of the object is similar from the point of view of the donor, and there is no firm border between these two kinds of gifts to the gods (Gudme 2013:10-15).

Giving gifts to the gods is modeled on gift-giving between humans. The aim is to create a "lasting and beneficial relationship" (Gudme 2012:8; 2013:31-33). However, with gods the relation is extremely asymmetric: humans ask for 'big' things (health, happiness, life), but have relatively little to offer. Giving a material object that lasts for a long period, such as the inscribed stones at Mt. Gerizim, creates

> "a visible and tangible link with the deity: it turns the one-time gift into a long-lasting relationship. The stone 'reminds' the deity (who resides in the temple) of the gift and of the giver" (Gudme 2012:8-9).

A permanent gift displayed in a temple also functions between humans: it communicates a message to other visitors in the temple, giving prestige to the donor as well as to the deity in the eyes of the worshippers. A deity that receives many donations may become more important (Gudme 2012:12; 2013:34-35).

18.5.3. INSCRIBED VOTIVE OBJECTS

Since Gudme studied the votive objects at Mt. Gerizim, she naturally focused on the inscribed votive stones. She suggested that:

> "The durable votive object and in particular the inscribed durable votive object ensure that the votary and his act of worship will be remembered by the deity and thus the durable votive object creates a visible, tangible and constant link between god and man in a way that non-durable votive objects do not" (Gudme 2013:13).

The Gerizim stones are long-lasting on account of their material, but what turns them into effective long-lasting votive objects is not the material, but the inscription. Before the spread of script the only comparable long-lasting gift would be a statue in the form of the worshipper, which would have been an expensive object. Similarly, until the 19th century AD only well-to-do persons could hope to leave statues or protomes of themselves on their graves. The invention of enamel plaques allowed the middle classes to join this custom. In the period of the Yavneh repository pit, at a small Philistine town, the use of script was probably limited and votive gifts (except one, see Chapter 11 in this volume) were not inscribed. Yet, was there a fundamental difference *in feelings* between Yavneh and Mt. Gerizim? Were the dreams, hopes and thanksgiving feelings of the people of Yavneh fundamentally different from those of Mt. Gerizim?

We should not interpret the durability of the votive object as an index for longevity of feelings of donors. In earlier periods, the use of script was limited, but people did not conceive their relationships with deities as temporary affairs. We, writing academics, tend to believe in the power of the written word, so the 'plain' gifts of Yavneh may seem to us ephemeral and short-lived. However, to the Yavneh worshippers these gifts were perfect for maintaining long relationships with the gods. The crucial point was in the giving. Once the gift was made, the donor had no reason for doubt. What happened to the object was immaterial to the donor, because the object belonged now to the deity. If the votive was given for a past event, a thanksgiving gift, there was no need for it to be "permanent". If it was a gift in expectation, the test was in the fulfilment (or not) of the request. There was no major difference between an inscribed object and any other object, both could succeed or fail. In this regard, gifts to deities were even less predictable than gifts to human beings. Donors had no guarantees; the powers of votive objects, whether inscribed and durable or uninscribed and temporary, were similarly limited. They held only as long as the wish of the donor has not yet been fulfilled – or rejected.

It is a moot point whether inscribed votive objects were meant to represent the donor constantly, so that he would "be exempt" from giving more gifts as long as the inscribed object remained in the temple. If this was the case, one inscribed votive object equaled the value of several uninscribed ones. However, in my view there was no such fundamental difference. A person who placed an inscribed stone at Mt. Gerizim, but fell seriously ill a year later, would still need to seek help and perhaps give more gifts in the hope of alleviating the danger. There would be no fundamental difference between such a person and a person who dedicated a bowl or a chalice at Yavneh. The explanation lies in the circumstances, not in a fundamental difference between inscribed/uninscribed votive objects. Mt. Gerizim was probably a more central temple, and inscribing a stone was a costlier process. The pilgrims most likely did not all live nearby or visit this temple very often. Hence they often wished for entire families on one stone. At Yavneh, cheaper votive objects were given by locals. If the power of the Mt. Gerizim stones lasted longer, it was connected to the fact that they were costlier for donors.

The inscriptions at Mt. Gerizim express the hopes that the deity will remember the donors, and that visitors will read and perhaps pray for those mentioned in the inscriptions (e.g., Gudme 2013:124). This does not prove that people believed that such inscribed objects worked as "replacements". Deities do not forget things, unless they intend to on purpose.

The 'show off' addressed to other people at the temple existed, of course, but perhaps only a minority of those involved with Mt. Gerizim could read (for example, the priests). Yet, the reading minority was an influential minority.

I would stress one more aspect of both votive objects and sacrifices: the act of giving. The object moved from the donor's ownership to that of the deity. If a donor left in the temple an inscribed object or a statue or a simple object, it was now part of the deity's possessions. Thus, there is no wonder that votive objects "with practically no exceptions" remained at temples (Gudme 2013:16). Not just durable/inscribed objects, but any votive object had to pass from the ownership of the donor to that of the deity. The deity's domain was normally the temple; hence the act of giving in the temple (or other cult places – shrines, peak sanctuaries, etc.) was a necessi-

ty. Perishable gifts, such as animal sacrifices and burning of incense, could be made anywhere; but giving of material objects had to involve cult places outside the private domain.

18.5.4. MT. GERIZIM AND TEL DAN

One must note a comparison which seems to have escaped notice in relation to the Mt. Gerizim inscriptions – the dedicatory bilingual Greek and Aramaean inscription from Tel Dan. This inscription on a limestone block (25.6x18.2 cm, 3.2 cm thick) was found upside down under a Roman period pavement, above a Hellenistic pavement, in the sacred area. Avraham Biran (1981) dated it to the Hellenistic period and read:

> "To the God
> Who is in Dan
> Zoilus made a vow" [lines 1-3, Greek]
> [In Da]n Zoilus made a vow to the g[od]" [Line 4, Aramean] (Biran 1981:146, Fig. 4) (Fig. 18.22)

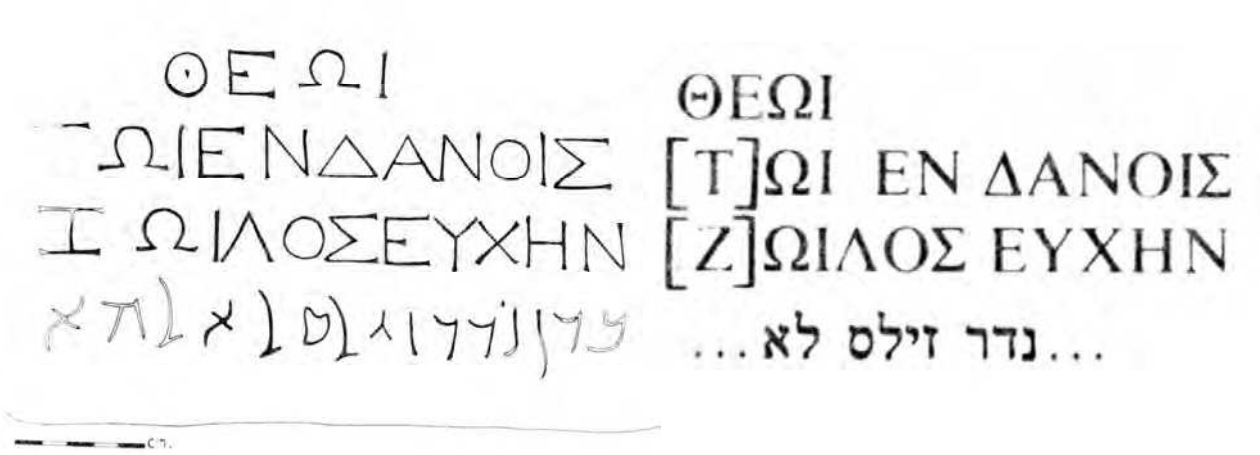

Fig. 18.22: The Tel Dan inscription (Biran 1981: Fig. 4).

The beginning and end of the Aramean line is missing, so the reading "in Dan" is mostly restored; while only the first letter – aleph – survived from the word "god"; the suggested restoration is לאלהא. Biran suggested that:

> "The name of the deity is not given, contrary to the usual custom in Greek inscriptions… It appears that Zoilus made a vow to a well-known local deity" (Biran 1981:147).

The Greek word "*danaois*" can mean "in Dan" or, alternatively, "the people of Dan" in plural. Biran mentioned that in Amos we find a similar reference to swearing by the "God of Dan" (Amos 8:14); so the god in the inscription is not a Greek god; but Biran left the question open, who is this God in Dan.

Responding in the same volume, Iakovidis (1981:150) concluded from the Greek words "to god" that the god is male; while Flusser (1981:149) suggested that the reading should not be "to the god of [the place] of Dan", but "to the God who is in the district of the *danaoi"* (=the people/tribesmen of Dan). In the Hellenistic period such a form is unattested for the (biblical) people of Dan. So Zoilus made a dedication to a local god at Dan, at a time when the locals had vague memories of an ancient tribe that once lived there and had a cult to a god, "whose name also became unknown; but Zoilus did not know that this god was the God of Israel."

This theory is unconvincing. It leads back to the Danites and to the God of Israel, but cuts them completely from Zoilus and his dedication. Who would make a dedication to a "forgotten god" of an "ancient people", a god so utterly forgotten that even his name was no longer known? Can a god lose his name, and yet keep his cult and worshippers?

Tzaferis (1992:129-130) marked that the sacred area at Dan continued to function until the Roman Period and was abolished only in the 4th century AD, but we have no data if the same god was worshipped after the Iron Age. The assumption that remnants of the Iron Age Israelite Danites could still exist in the Hellenistic Period, keeping their ancient cult, seemed to him improbable. In the Hellenistic period the area was inhabited by pagan (Hellenized) Itureans and various Greeks or Greek-speaking people, so the cult at Dan must have been pagan. However, the god at Dan could be the same old god, who was just incorporated into the Hellenistic World. So the "new" people at Dan, as the bilingual inscription proves,

> "Knew about this [old] god and retained a sort of living memory of its worship at Dan. They also knew that this deity was the god originally worshipped by the ancient tribe of Dan … The deity worshipped at the local *Hieron* at

> Dan in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods was none other than the traditional one of the Danite tribe (Tzaferis 1992:131; reading "*danaois*" as "in Dan").

Noll (1998), who focuses more on the Iron Age god at Dan, suggested that it was the god Hadad! He claimed that Iron Age Dan was an Israelite city only for about one century. The Danites, who were of moot ethnic origins, maybe dwelled there; but most of the time they were not under Israelite rule. When the Arameans ruled Tel Dan (based on the Iron Age Tel Dan inscription), Hadad was its god, and Noll believes that this remained so later, except perhaps for a short time under Joroboam II. The idea that Hadad was the god of Dan would explain "the biblical hostility toward Dan and the god of Dan… For biblical tradition Dan was both nominally 'Israelite' and wholly apostate" (Noll 2006:23).

Noll's suggestion is not convincing. The biblical hostility towards Dan comes explicitly against the Kingdom of Israel and its cult, from either 'northern' prophets (like Amos) or Judean sources. These biblical sources are not interested in foreign cities and their cults. We do not hear biblical complaints against Edom worshipping Kemosh or the Philistines worshipping Dagon. Mockery, yes; but biblical authors as a whole accepted that in other Kingdoms other gods were worshipped. Dan was despised for its cult precisely because this cult was not "foreign", but "Israelite"; it was identified with the Kingdom of Israel, people grasped as "brothers" of "us" in Judah. Dan was troubling for the biblical writers because they had to separate their 'pure Yahwism' from the cult of the Kingdom of Israel, which was also a cult of Yahweh/El!

Oren Tal (2006:49) read the Aramean inscription in a slightly different way, but without discussing it. He thought that the name of the deity is not mentioned, but according to the singular it was one god, maybe "a local Ba'al". Millar (2006:30-31) mentions this inscription as the only formal bilingual Greek-Aramean inscription from Syria (excluding *ostraca*). Millar suggested reading at the beginning of the Aramean line not *[bd]n* ("in Dan, vows of Zoilus to the god"); but *[h]n*: "[This] is the vow of Zoilus to the [God in Dan]".

This reading is not possible, because there is no place on the stone for more words in line 4, after the (partially restored) word "god"; so one cannot restore Dan at the end of this line. In addition, removing Dan from the start and restoring it at the end makes no change. The Greek version has Dan, so the restoration "*bdn*" in the Aramean version is reasonable. Millar concluded that whether Zoilus was a Syrian who learned Greek, or a Greek who learned some Aramean, "a rustic cult centre saw worship directed to its nameless deity" (Millar 2006:31). Millar did not try to specify, who this nameless deity was.

While we can rule out Hadad, the exact identity of the god of both Iron Age and Hellenistic period Dan remains an open enigma. An 'anonymous god' appears in Palmyra in inscriptions that are dedicated "to Him whose name is blessed forever" (Gudme 2013:118, with references); but again, it can be a god well-known to worshippers, just not recorded in the inscriptions. In any case, the formula "god in this place" cannot be taken as indicative only of Yahwistic cult, at least not for Palmyra. We know that Mt. Gerizim was indeed a Yahwistic cult center, based on the few inscriptions that do mention his name. The Dan Hellenistic inscription with its comparison to the Mt. Gerizim stones hints that at Dan too there was a cult center to Yahweh, which survived until the Hellenistic period. The Aramean generic term for god, *'lh'* (אלהא), could perhaps be read in a narrower sense as the name for El/Elohim, one of Yahweh's names.

The question is whether the biblical references to the cult of Yahweh/El in Dan portray the early Iron II reality there under the Kingdom of Israel; or only a much later reality reflected by the Hellenistic Tel Dan inscription? The first option seems to me more plausible; but we cannot start discussing here the Dan Iron Age inscription, the biblical golden bulls, the story of Micah and the Danite migration, etc.; it requires a separate volume.

18.6. UPDATES

18.6.1. A MODEL SHRINE FROM HELIKE

The roof of a shrine model recently found in Helike, Greece, is oval, fitting Greek Temples in this period and the first temple at Nikoleika/Helike itself. This model dates to the 8th century BC and is decorated with scenes that include chariots and figures sitting beside a tripod, an object rich in symbolic and religious values. The model was found in a temple and is a ritual object, perhaps votive (Gadolou 2011:253-254).

18.6.2. BARREL JUGLETS

In a study on Cypriot barrel juglets, Ayelet Gilboa dated one from Yavneh to her "Phase 2" of the later Iron IIA period (Gilboa 2012:140). This juglet postdates Gilboa's Phase 1, which in her view ends c. 890/900 BC. Gilboa's dating fits well the date for the Yavneh assemblage reached by Panitz-Cohen.

18.6.3. OTHER STUDIES

In a review of *Yavneh I*, Yasur-Landau (2011) suggested that the *favissa* could be related to festivals rather than daily cult (for another review see Bieberstein 2011). A short summary on the repository pit was recently published (Kletter 2013). The full report on the 'En Haṣevah finds saw press (Ben Arieh 2011) and was very useful for the present volume. Pinch and Waraksa (2009) summarized votive customs in Egypt: small votive objects were not mandatory, but commonly dedicated in temples from early times. Since the Middle Kingdom, the custom was limited to large 'State' temples, but people could represent themselves worshipping deities on stelea set in sacred precincts and royal cemeteries. Hathor and other female deities received huge amounts of small votives. In the late New Kingdom new modes of dedications appear, such as prayers written on temple walls or curving of feet on pavements and roofs. In the Late and Ptolemaic periods votives were very popular and caches of them were found near temples, with petitions inscribed on small statues of animals/deities; also on terracottas. Votives were made specifically for cult, and had a wide range of value. Both men and women dedicated them, often in temples during festivals or when visiting temples at times of personal crisis. Most votive objects carry formulaic inscription rather than personal ones. The giving was likely accompanied by rituals/prayers. Most of the objects are found in pits or dumps. Probably it was considered sacrilegious to recycle or destroy votive objects; they were also buried in pits within temple precincts. A study of votive miniature vessels and figurines from Archaic Period Nemea suggests that votive objects were not necessarily broken when buried (Barfoed 2009:67-69). A beautiful catalogue of Egyptian metal statuary is called "gifts for the gods" and many of them no doubt were, but the book is focused on the art and not on votive practices (Hill 2007). An interesting study is devoted to storage of food in religious contexts, but focused on storage as indication of wealth/power (Kyriakidis 2001). For ingredients of aromata used with incense stands in cultic contexts see Jursa 2009.

18.7. NOTES ON AUTOMATIC POSITIONING

When we gave the stone fragments (Chapter 13, in this volume) for computerized drawings in Jerusalem, we were told that the program would position the items automatically. It is interesting to check the results.

I have years of experience with positioning worn-out, small fragments of clay figurines. Often it is difficult to place such objects in correct positions.[11] This happens mainly when one cannot decipher the meaning of the fragment. Take as an example a horse figurine. Most of us know how a horse looks. We have seen horses enough times (whether in reality or on screens). We are not familiar with details perhaps, but we know that the leg of a standing horse is roughly vertical. Thus, when given a leg fragment of an *equid*[12] figurine, we would almost always place it correctly. However, when only a middle body part exists, the position would be more often wrong, since the part is less easy to identify. One can sometimes identify the position of a body part according to broken areas, such as round contours of legs that broke off.

In order to find the correct position of a broken fragment, we have to 'restore' in our mind the shape of the complete object. When we do not know what the complete object is, we cannot identify the fragment; it may be too small, worn-out or irregular; or the complete object might be a rare one that we do not know (such items should be placed as unidentified items at the end of the catalogue). In other words, the position of an object is correct when it is based on correct identification of the nature of this object.

To the computer one image is not more meaningful than others; if you put an unidentified fragment in a program that gives automatic positions, it will give an automatic position; although with unidentified objects there is no 'correct' positioning. Identification of an object ("this fragment is a leg of an animal figurine") is based on human intelligence. The computer can 'recognize' a figurine leg and place it in accurate position, but it would all stem from the intelligence of the programmer. The program will work well if the programmer can translate into the software the human knowledge about shapes of horses and their rendering in certain types of figurines.

Sometimes the position is conventional, rather than exact. Take horses-and-riders as an example (Kletter and Saarelainen 2014). In the Ancient Near East riders lacked reinforced saddles (treads), so the only effective riding

[11] Sometimes an object is also published in a wrong position, e.g., Kletter 2012:169, Fig. 6.3. In this case it was not my fault.
[12] *Equid* is used here since often we cannot distinguish the exact species in ancient figurines.

position was sitting (in peaceful contexts, riders could also sit sideways). When the horse stood still, the rider's upper body was roughly vertical. When riding, the upper body swayed according to the movement of the horse. This is the 'correct' position of ancient horse riders. However, in ancient clay figurines the riders were often shown slanting forward, following or even attached to the neck of the horse. The slanting position is the 'correct' one for most clay figurines. When a rider is broken off the horse, we can often identify the fragment as a rider; but drawings and pictures show such riders in vertical positions. This is a convention, which results from identifying the body part as a human figure. For humans, the vertical position of the body seems natural, and archaeologists have accepted this convention in the case of broken-off horse riders' bodies, though strictly speaking it is not the 'correct' position. The computer can calculate such factors 'automatically', but only if the programmer is aware of them and has managed to translate them into the software.

Twenty-five stone fragments from Yavneh were drawn in 'automatic' computer positions (Figs. 13.1-25 above). The same items were photographed in positions chosen by us (Pls. 47-56, in this volume). In order to show the stones from various angles, we often pictured stones not in their 'correct' position.[13]

For three stones, the automatic (computerized) and our own positions are similar (Chapter 13: items 1, 21, 33). In seven cases the automatic positions are turned roughly 90 or 180 degrees from ours, therefore, they can be seen as similar (Chapter 13: items 5-6, 9-10, 13, 22[?], 23). However, for 15 stones, our positioning differs considerably from the computerized one (Chapter 13: item 2-4, 7-8, 16-17, 18, 24-25, 27-29, 31-32).

What is the 'correct' position of stone fragments? For some irregular, mainly small stone fragments, we have no 'correct' positioning, since we do not know what they are. Possibly they are inner parts of larger stones, so any positioning is arbitrary (for example, Pls. 58-59). Many fragments have straight, worked sides or facets. These are man-made objects – see how different they are from one natural, completely irregular pebble (item 14, Pl. 50:2). We cannot restore the exact shape of the original objects (cf. Zwickel, Chapter 13), but we assume that most were parts of cuboid objects and some were legs or horns. The 'correct' position for such fragments would match the straight sides, assuming that the original, complete objects stood on flattened, horizontal surfaces (floor or bench). While we do not claim that our positioning of the photos is always correct, it follows this reasoning and is more meaningful and hence better than the automatic positions of the same stone fragments. I would discuss three items as examples:

Item 8. The correct position is shown in Pl. 49:1 right – the stone resting on its base on a table. It is probably part of a cuboid object with tapering sides. Picture Pl. 49:1 left shows the object from an angle, in order to present its three nicely worked sides; while picture Pl. 49:1 center shows the broken inner part. None of the computerized drawings of this item (Fig. 13.8) managed to convey the nature of this fragment.

Item 17. The automatic drawings placed this item in tilted positions (Fig. 13.13), although this is a quite regular piece, with a thickened part (Pl. 50:4 middle, section on the right). Clearly the upper edge or rim is parallel to the edge of the thickened part. It is a quite flat fragment; its original nature is unclear, but the position in the plate is far better than the computerized one.

Item 31. This item is shown from the side in Pl. 55:1, and from 45 degrees placed on a flat table in Pl. 55:2 right. It is a roughly triangular 'leg', possibly of a cuboid altar (if tuned upside down, it could be a horn; but then one has to assume a quite large, horned altar, though we lack other stone fragments that fit such an altar). The computerized drawings (Fig. 13:23) are tilted; the stone could never have stood in such a way.

Our positions are based on the straight facets/sides, and on assuming symmetric forms of the original objects. The 'automatic' position failed in the case of many of the Yavneh stone fragments, probably because the program is tailored for other objects than fragments of cuboid stone vessels. This can be fixed and computerized drawings can be of great help in visualizing stone fragments and in their study (e.g., in matching fragments of heavy architectural items, which cannot be easily shifted by hand to find connected pieces). However, automatic positioning is never "independent" or "objective" (pace Sergi et al. 2012:64), as it depends on the human mind of the programmer behind the machine.

18.8. PHILISTINE ETHNICITY

Problems with identification of Philistine Iron Age ethnicity are not new. One of the first to challenge the identification of Philistine ethnicity was Shlomo Bunivovitz (1990). Based on an interpretation of material finds, he suggested that there is not enough evidence for a Philistine Iron Age I ethnos, since, for example, what we name "Phil-

[13] Pictures that represent positions well are: Pl. 40:2 second from left; 40:3, 40:4 first from left; 40:5; Pl. 41:5 the two left pictures; 41:6; 41:7 left; etc.

istine pottery" in the Iron Age I is composed of a quite limited array of mainly fine wares; while common wares continue local LB tradition.

A more sweeping challenge came with post modernism, when ethnicity and nationalism were no longer understood as 'primordial', given and easy to define by language, kin, shared origins, and material traits. Ethnic boundaries are dynamic and any object can be an 'ethnic marker' – there is no fixed list of traits to identify "pots" with "people" (Barth 1969). The core of the ethnic group is not found in shared material objects, or even in shared history and origins, but in *feelings* and *beliefs* about them (Smith 1986; 1991; Hutchinson and Smith 1996). For an ethnic group to exist it must be separated from "others", so ethnic groups are identified as unique or different by other people, and at the same time, identify themselves as different or separate from all others. As a result, the ethnicity of many ancient peoples in the Levant, which once seemed assured, is being questioned or denied since the turn of the 20th century AD; for example, the Israelites in the Iron Age I period (Skjeggestad 1992; Edelman 1996); and the Canaanites in the Late Bronze Age (Lemche 1985; 1998; see also Kletter 2006; 2014).

The Philistines share a similar fate: in the 1990s some scholars suggested to get rid of the ethnic label and to see them (in the Iron Age I at least) as a mercantile phenomenon, related to economy, rather than an ethnic group (Bauer 1998; Sherratt 1998; for criticism, Barako 2000).

The debate goes on as archaeologists mainly try to 'work around' the problem of identifying ethnicity from archaeological remains. Peter Wolinski (2010) posed the main question as how to 'extract' ethnic groups in general, and the Philistines in particular, from the archaeological record. Wolinksi calls for a wider definition of Philistine material culture as

> "Anything that was used by the Philistines, regardless of its ultimate origin, whether foreign [to Philistia] or local" (Wolinski 2010:593); so the "ethnicity of the user determines the ethnic label given to an item" (Wolinski 2010:594).

Wolinski discussed Philistine pottery and various other finds, and concluded that there were two different situations. In the Iron Age I Egyptian sources mentioned Philistines and other peoples as immigrants, and strong evidence of new material finds indicated arrival of new populations. In the Iron II biblical and Assyrian sources mentioned the Philistines as a strong political entity, but there were barely any 'foreign elements' in the material culture of Philistia. Wolinski suggested that "Philistine ethnicity should primarily be associated with the newcomers of the Early Iron Age", though maybe as a "multiethnic group" (Wolinski 2010:598).

The paper has many merits, but the problem is that the 'ethnic' definition of Philistine material culture brings us back to a dead end. If we are to find Philistine ethnicity from archaeological remains, we cannot rely on Philistine ethnicity in the first place, to determine the nature of the same remains. Wolinski took the ethnicity from written sources, but the result is doubtful: in the late Iron Age, when the historical evidence is much better, the lack of 'new pots' is posed as a problem to the identification of an ethnos. Yet, in the Iron Age I Wolinski identified an ethnos mainly based on the "pots". If we follow a post-modern understanding of ethnicity, we should reach perhaps the opposite conclusions, and prefer the historical sources as more reliable than the assumed Philistine Iron I "material ethnic markers".

The issue of ethnicity and identity is crucial to the recent debate concerning mainly the transition between the Iron Age I and IIA in Philistia. The core suggestion of Faust and Lev-Tov (2011) is that:

> "Due to various processes of boundary maintenance, the Philistines maintained high ethnic boundaries with their neighbours for at least 150–200 years [in the Iron I], before (quite suddenly) losing most of their unique traits in the tenth century BC" (Faust and Lev-Tov 2011:13; cf. also Faust 2014).

Speaking in the name of "advances in archaeology", Faust and Lev-Tov (2011:16) claim that they can identify Philistine ethnicity based on material culture, both in Iron I and Iron IIA periods, and they take as granted that this can be done for Israelite ethnic identity in the Iron I too. In their view, things like bichrome pottery and lack of pig bones are clear ethnic markers, which appear in the Iron Age I but not in the Iron Age IIA. They interpret the changes thus:

> "It is clear, therefore, that the Philistine process of boundary maintenance drastically changed after the Iron Age I. From a foreign and different group – immigrants – that fought for hegemony over the southern Levant, the Philistines became one group among many, with no hope of hegemony over the entire region. Their relations to the other groups were reshaped, and their ethnic negotiation took a different form" (Faust and Lev-Tov 201:24).

We should not be surprised when Faust and Lev-Tov conclude that the change was caused because the Philistines were weakened by their struggles with the new Israelite ethnos:

> "The new state [sic] in the highlands which was probably (if we accept the biblical story in its general outlines) responsible for their [=Philistines'] decline" (Faust and Lev-Tov 2011:25); "It is clear that their main enemy, which significantly influenced their material symbols during most of the Iron Age I, was the Israelite population of the highlands" (ibid: 27)

They add as factors Phoenicia and Egypt (ibid: 24, 27), but this is irrelevant to the main cause. It is ironic that Faust and Lev-Tov, who claim to speak in the name of modern anthropology and archaeology, take for granted "states" in the Iron Age I Levant. Careful scholars warn that there could be no "states" as we know them today in the Ancient World. One can speak of "early states", but one must realize that the "old neo-evolutionary model" of Fried and Service, which separated early states from chiefdoms as linear steps of evolution, is an utter failure. It allowed scholars to find whatever they wanted to, reaching contradictory results that sometimes border on the absurd (Kletter 2004, with references). Faust and Lev-Tov read Barth (1969) and used his vocabulary; but they failed to understand the nature of ethnicity according to Barth. Barth showed that ethnicity is dynamic and fluid. Following Barth, everything can serve as an ethnic marker, but it is very difficult to know which object is an ethnic marker. For Faust and Lev-Tov, everything *is* an ethnic marker, identified easily and without hesitation. Barth and modern scholars speak about imagined boundaries of imagined communities (e.g., Anderson 1983), not material borders "on the ground". Faust and Lev-Tov use the same vocabulary to produce material borders, sort of high Maginot walls that separate nations and ethnic people. Every person must hold a valid ethnic ID, mixed people or people lacking ethnic awareness do not exist, as if they are an abomination.

Faust and Lev-Tov believe that they took their "ethnic boundaries" from independent and objective sciences of archaeology and anthropology. They do not seem to be aware that their ethnic groups are taken from historical (mainly biblical) sources. If we summarize the biblical stories about the Philistines in a nutshell, the Philistines arrived in the Iron Age I to Philistia as a united ethnic group. They fought bitterly with the united Israelite ethnos, which emerged at the same time in the mountains. The Israelites won. Read Faust and Lev-Tov (2011), remove the veneer of anthropology and archaeology, and you re-discover the same biblical story. Following or repeating a story does not 'prove' it.

Faust and Lev-Tov's scenario that the Philistines kept high ethnic boundaries when strong (in the Iron I), but immediately lowered their flags when weakened, bowing to the God of Israel (in the Iron IIa) runs opposite to logic. An ethnic group at the height of its powers does not need to keep 'high ethnic fences' around it. When secure or strong, one can be more open to the outside world. Ethnic boundaries are raised when the ethnic group feels threatened. When an ethnic group senses that its imagined boundaries are in danger, it tries to strengthen them, to ensure the separation of "us" from all of "them". Ethnic groups under threat do not go and "rapidly de-emphasize" (Faust and Lev-Tov 2011:27) their ethnic markers.

In several studies, Aren Maeir used a more sophisticated model of "creolization" to explain the shift from Iron Age I to Iron Age IIA in Philistia (we would not discuss this model or the transition here; but cf. also Stone 1995; Shai 2012; Uziel 2007; Singer 2013). Initially, Maeir did not emphasize ethnicity, but in responding to Faust and Lev-Tov (2011), Maeir et al. (2013) correctly warned from simplistic identification of "pots" and "people". However, they suggested that:

> "Philistine identity was initially focused on maintaining cohesion and preserving continuity with its own past and not with the establishment of an identity *vis à vis* local Levantine populations. Once this identity was established, more dynamic changes followed, including the ongoing incorporation of local features, as they achieved a sense of social connectedness while still drawing on past symbolic behaviours" (Maeir et al. 2013:3).

This is problematic, since ethnic boundaries are usually maintained *vis à vis* existing, real or imagined "others". The past is taken for granted, whether mythical or real; ancient mythical enemies are used for present aims. Compare the Israeli-Palestinian struggle, where some extremists in Israel call the other "Amalek" – an ancient mask used to de-humanize a present enemy.[14]

Despite the differences, both Maeir and Faust share a similar positive view in that they do not doubt the existence of Philistine ethnicity. The real argument is with scholars who neither follow the biblical story, nor believe that the Philistines were an ethnic group in the Iron I period. The best example is a recent paper by Niels Lemche (2012). There is no doubt that Lemche understands and uses post-modern definitions of ethnicity. Lemche points out that definitions like "Philistines" are made on an imaginary level and that we have no emic (inside) sources to prove Philistine ethnicity. We do not know if their division into independent "city states"[15] indicates ethnic diversi-

[14] For other studies on Philistine ethnicity see Halpern 2006-7; Woudhuizen 2006; Killebrew 2005:197-246, 250-251.
[15] A misnomer, as these entities were not cities; we should perhaps call them "city-kingdoms" instead.

ty. Their alleged 'disappearance' from the material culture of the 10th century BC says little, for they could maintain their ethnicity while changing their material culture. Lemche proceeds to dismiss any notion of the Philistines being a "nation"; in his view the biblical stories on the Philistines as arch-enemy of Israel are unreliable, because they allegedly present the Philistines – as also the Israelites – as unified, overall "nations". Finally though, even Lemche admits that the survival of the name Philistia from the end of the Late Bronze Age to the end of the Iron Age and beyond indicates at least in part,

> "Actual usage and identity among the inhabitants of the area said to be Palestine … The Assyrian use of the name points in the same direction" (Lemche 2012:24).

Lemche's discussion is updated and sophisticated, and the stress is placed with justice on the written rather than on the material sources. One may criticize Lemche for not discussing many archaeological finds treated by Faust and Lev-Tov (2011) and by Maeir et al. (2013); but it would not be wise criticism, since these finds are secondary to the core of the debate. However, one must criticize Lemche on other points. First, the notion of "Philistine" as an imaginary definition cannot be seen as an argument against existence of Philistine ethnicity, since following Anderson's "imagined communities" (1983), any large human community (say above the level of a small village), whether a kingdom, a city, a state, or an ethnic group is an "imagined community". These are all imagined communities, not in the sense of "faked" but in the sense of creation; only the ways of their imagining differ.

Second, surely Lemche does not think that modern nations existed in the ancient world. Therefore, the biblical description of the Philistines or the Israelites does not present a "Philistine nation" or an "Israelite nation", even if they used the same Hebrew word which in our time denotes "nation" (*ummah*). The descriptions might be a-historic; but they are not about nations. Hence, one cannot dismiss them as a-historical by claiming that they portray nations ("national unity", Lemche 2012:28).

Third, the dismissal of an early Philistine ethnicity is based on 'negative' evidence – lack of emic sources. Because we have no inscription saying "I am a Philistine" from Iron I Philistia, we cannot prove that the Philistines defined themselves as an ethnic group. However, negative evidence cannot disprove the possibility that such an ethnic group existed. A person living in Ashdod could define himself/herself as belonging to the kingdom of Ashdod, but could at the same time acknowledge shared history, customs and material traits (real or mythical) with people living in Ashkelon or Gaza, and hence, feel that they all belonged to a larger group called "Philistines", marked from other people in the southern Levant.

In sum, I would like to point out three aspects which seem to be little-noticed in the heat of debates about Philistine ethnicity (cf. Kletter 2006; Kletter 2014):

1. In the Yavneh volumes we are using the term "Philistine" to denote mainly the material culture and the people using it; it is not used as an ethnic term. When speaking about Yavneh as a Philistine city, it should *not* be interpreted as if we naively identify each and every inhabitant of this city as an 'ethnic Philistine' just on the basis of some material finds.
2. Siding with Lemche, the question of Philistine ethnicity is basically a question of written sources. Archaeology is not an 'independent source' and it cannot prove the existence of ethnic groups on its own. What sets the agenda for Israelites or Philistines in the Iron Age I is the Bible. Those who believe that the biblical stories are historical at least in part believe in Philistine/Israelite ethnicity; and *vice versa*. Both views are legitimate – a glass half empty is a glass half-full. Only new historical documents will be able to solve the deadlock.
3. An ethnic group is not morally better than other type of human community. Its existence or lack thereof in some early period should not justify modern ideologies. It is unfortunate that a large part of this debate is motivated not by wanting to learn more about the past, but in order to support present-day politics.[16]

Visiting Yavneh again two years after the excavation was a moment of mixed feelings. It was good to be back, but in the meantime the area of the pit found a new use: a dumping place for domestic refuse (Pl. 61:1). *Gloria mundi sic transit.*

I opened this volume with the poem 'Atlantis' by Wislawa Szymborska (p. ix). For almost a dozen years since 2002, Yavneh has been a sort of private Atlantis; occasionally gained, occasionally lost amid the multitude of urgent tasks and mountains of accumulated numbers and details. It is time to start studying another continent, a more or less new Atlantis.

[16] I thank Irit Ziffer for reading the manuscript of this chapter and offering valuable comments.

ADDENDA

Frevel and Pyschny (2014) compared small Iron Age incense altars with Persian Period ones. This excellent study was published after the present chapter was completed. Frevel and Pyschny (2014:121-122, Map 1) listed 29 "miniature" Iron Age incense altars and showed their continuity with later, Persian Period cuboid altars. The Iron Age altars are actually not fewer in numbers than the Persian Period ones. Concerning votive gifts, see the recent study by Berati (2014).

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APPENDIX 1

EXCAVATION FILE – DAILY DIARY

Raz Kletter

INTRODUCTION

Following is a full translation of the Hebrew daily diary of the excavation. Usually excavation diaries are not published, but in the case of such a unique excavation the diary can reflect the 'raw' picture as seen during the excavation time, thus it is valuable for understanding the circumstances as well as the interpretations of the finds. No changes have been made, except for completion of sentences (at time of writing, under the pressures of excavation, sentences were often written in a brief form). These additions are marked by square brackets; Hebrew terms are given in italics. I also added some explanations (in notes) and page numbers. For the sake of completeness, I reproduce here most of the drawings included in the diary.

The diary is part of the excavation file, which includes also Basket and Loci lists (already published in *Yavneh I*), graphic diary (daily plans), work-drawings of most of the figures from the cult stands and other special finds, registration of heights, and Loci cards.

Due to the huge pressure of work in the field, the diary was often written at the end of the day, at office/home. The Loci cards were partially filled already in the field, not (as is more common) in the days following the excavation. By the end of a few weeks of excavating, one can no longer accurately remember by heart details, such as why a certain Locus was opened or closed on a certain day. So I made it a habit to register such details in Loci cards already during the excavation. Hence, such details do not appear in the present diary.

[Page 1] 27 OCTOBER 2012 [SUNDAY]

[Excavation started with] five workers from Ashkelon: Ira, Igor, Gregory, Ya'acov, and Dimah. [We began] a general cleaning of the area, which is limited between a modern paved garden path in the East and an old fence of bushes and iron [wires] of private houses on the West. Left is an area c. 6 m wide, which today forms a depression between two slopes (the eastern slope [was formed] due to the raising of the [garden] path). In this depression water flew and therefore, silt/sand is seen on the surface of the depression.

[Left side of page] Scheme of Loci:
L7 robbery trench + surface + general cleaning
Favissa L8 north of robbery trench; L9 east of robbery trench

A multitude (*hamon*) of sherds was strewn in an area of c. 5x5 m in the depression, around a robbery trench[1] sized c. 1.5x1 m. All the sherds are of the Iron Age and all have a cultic nature – mainly round chalices; there are black marks of burning in many or in all of them, and some are decorated with red/black paint. [There are] also small fragments of rectangular cult stands (?) probably with zoomorphic decoration – a fragment of a lion's head (?) and a head that looks like an ordinary horse figurine have been found. All these are [found] on the surface, mixed and ruined [meaning broken], though almost all the fragments are ancient and not destroyed due to the [recent] robbery. In total we have filled c. 6 baskets within a quarter of an hour, and until the end of the cleaning[2] we have collected c. 15 baskets filled to the rim.

Since 9:00 [AM] most of the workers are dealing with washing [pottery][3] and we have not yet started actual excavation.

[1] In the Hebrew diary this feature was termed "robbery pit" (*bor shod*); but the same word (*bor*) was used for the ancient pit/*favissa*. I changed "robbery pit" here into "robbery trench", in order to prevent confusion between the two. In the diary, the terms "*favissa* pit" or "early pit" were often used for the same purpose, but not systematically.

[2] Meaning the initial cleaning of the surface.

[3] The custom is to wash and sort the pottery baskets during the excavation; in this case, it was especially worrying since the amounts were huge and there was no 'regular' budget. It was soon realized that the limited workforce would never be able to

General photography:[4] slides plus [photographing] the cleaning [=washing] of the pottery.

The surface soil is red *hamra*. The western slope is old, but it too was damaged recently, probably when the gardening was made. Near the [robbery] trench, above it and to the West, there is dark alluvial earth, perhaps from the garden of the [nearby private] house; it does not seem original [to this place].

28 OCTOBER 2002 [MONDAY]

Continuation of cleaning around the [robbery] trench from all directions. We have reached the level that was before the gardening works. Beginning of cleaning inside the [robbery] trench (B7021) – fills inside [the robbery trench]. At the eastern side of the robbery trench, besides it, there is a section where one sees an original concentration of pottery – fragments upon fragments and perhaps half-vessels thrown [into the pit]; this is already a section which had not been robbed. We will clean nearby and photo [it] today. In addition [we] went down in the (recent) slope of the [garden] path west of the [robbery] trench and leveled it up in order to try to locate the limits of the early pit. Towards the south we are limited by the huge boulders of the modern terrace.

Basket 7022 [is] a concentration of all the "UFOs"[5] (that we saw during the washing and collecting [of the surface finds]). Most of the pottery is round chalices, some of them are decorated by geometric red/black patterns; many show signs of burning inside. There are few daily vessels – mainly round bowls with an incised line on the outside, under the rim [schematic drawing included] (Lachish 7th century?[6]); [Page 2] as well as fragments of rectangular/square cult stands with protruding circles[7] and figures of humans and animals.

Towards the end of the day we have finished cleaning the robbery trench and around it. The early pit is larger and it continues northwards, where we have defined [a new Locus] L8. We began a 'clean' excavation = [from] Basket B7026. Sherds are also found in the red earth above the late robbery trench, to the west of it; but there is a 'line' south of which they stop appearing. The earth [in this area] is harder and with more *kurkar*, and has no sherds. Hence we closed L7, its height is not meaningful – it is defined [as surface fills] from the height of the garden path _____ until the bottom of the robbery pit _____.[8]

29 OCTOBER 2002 [TUESDAY]

Locus L7 was finally closed. We begin to excavate the early pit. Its rounding edge at the north is beginning to be exposed. All the area of the pit north of the robbery trench is defined as L8 and divided further by baskets. We opened [Locus] L9 – the area west of the robbery trench. It is much higher, but still has lots of pottery, perhaps the edge of the early favissa pit. [There is a] multitude of pottery, mostly chalices, but also parts of cult stands. In addition, for the first time [we found] a figure [Fig. 1] from a cult stand with evidence that it was attached to a stand (according to the back [side]). It is of a woman, hand-made, with hands on the breasts – from basket B7034.[9] It is covered with white-wash and the back is slightly rounded (concave) [note added 6.6.2006: therefore it was attached to an oval stand].

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both excavate and wash the pottery. Moreover, the delicate figures and parts of cult stands could not be washed in a regular way. So washing was stopped and the 'regular' pottery baskets were washed much later in IAA storage facilities at Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and Beth Shemesh.

[4] Before digital photography, excavators sent films for developing to the IAA photography laboratory and received the photos at a later time. There was no way of knowing in advance if the photos were fine. At Yavneh I decided to make slides and develop them privately, so I would receive the results faster and perhaps be able to photograph some Loci/finds again, if needed. I numbered each film and wrote in the diary some details about the photos made, so as to be able to identify them more easily after development.

[5] Meaning figures, fragments of cult stands and other special finds; collected into this basket from washing and from pottery baskets of this day.

[6] A preliminary (inaccurate) impression.

[7] Meaning the round 'knobs' at the top.

[8] Places for heights empty – we did not measure on the first two days of excavation. The heights were registered later and they are 38.30 for the garden path and 37.32 at the bottom of the robbery trench.

[9] Written 2034, fixed later.

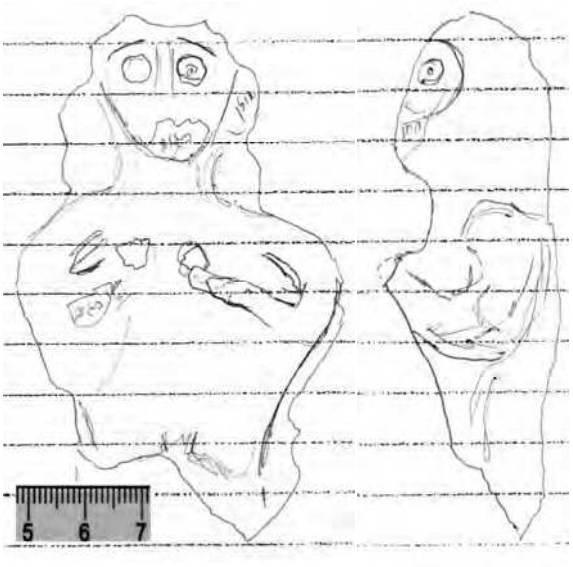


Fig. 1: B7034, figure from Cult Stand

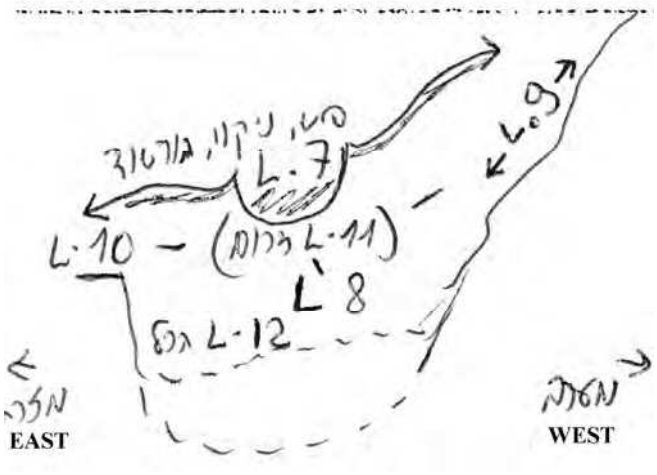


Fig. 2: Schematic section with Loci L7-11

30 OCTOBER 2002 [WEDNESDAY]

We opened Locus L10 south of the robbery trench. We continue to go down in L8. It was found out that all the northern area is part of a [modern] pit where a bulldozer entered in force and turned it upside down – there are marks [of the bulldozer]; and [unlike what we thought earlier, it is] not the original *favissa* pit.

Film II: roughly [photos 8-13]: photos of L8 from several angles; its northern part is finished and the entry of the bulldozer is seen.

At the end of the day: photographing L9 towards the west, there is part of the original *favissa* pit.

[Page 3] The original *favissa* pit is apparent in L9 (photographed at the end of the day, film II), with sherds *in situ* starting from a height of c. 37.93 m. [There is] maybe a white layer of crushed limestone (?) above them. However, the robbery trench partially destroyed [it]; in fact a deep bulldozer's entry created all of L8, with the huge amounts of pottery inside [it = L8]. We cleaned the northern reaches of the bulldozer's entrance and apparently in this direction the bulldozer cut more than the [the limits of the] early pit, since from the north there is no pottery. Probably the bulldozer turned part of the favissa pit and throw it [upside down]. Thus, we have almost no contour of the original *favissa* pit [yet], and perhaps have only its edge in the west, in L9.

[Fig. 2:] scheme of Loci.

31 OCTOBER 2002 [THURSDAY]

The registration [added above the line:] – meaning of course the graphic diary, not the registration of baskets – is done [today] in the office [starting] 18:30; throughout the day we had no time to write [the diary] in the field – the rate of basket [collection] is crazy. First, we went down in L8 with c. ten baskets filled to the top; we also finished the cleaning of [all the area] outside the pit in L10/L11.

Towards the end of the day we took out a basket, B7079 [basket number added above line] from L9 (which was also closed today, so the basket was already registered as [part of] L12). [This, because] the area that we cleaned was full of items and we did not want to leave them [behind until tomorrow] – including several parts of more complete chalices than what we had so far.

In the middle of the day, after deepening [the excavation] in L8 in the eastern part, it is noticeable that we already reach the level from which the bulldozer's teeth rose up.[10] That is, [we are] already in the part of the original *favissa* and not in the part that was lifted up by the bulldozer. Therefore, we closed Loci 8, 9, 10 and all the area was unified into a new Locus, L12 = the original *favissa* pit. The [new] Locus is not on level (since in [the area that was] formerly L9 there are sherds from the original favissa pit, which are higher than in the area of L8); but gradually we will make it level.

[10] The bulldozer sunk its teeth in a curve, going first down and then up; the meaning here is that we already passed the lowest level of the bulldozer's reach.

Larger parts of cult stands began to come out from the area which was not damaged [by the bulldozer/robbery trench]. Next to the edge of the pit in the west, under the bulldozer's teeth, there are parts of cult stands. [They included] first, a round stand = B7067, of which only a small part survived. Slightly north of it is a rectangular/square stand = B7076. Around them [there are] more, smaller fragments collected together with them; as well as several items of heads of humans/animals, etc., collected from pottery baskets (and a few more from [other] baskets today].[11]

We took out stand B7076 at the end of day, working delicately, since we were worried about leaving it until [after] Saturday. We noticed in the field that it has two windows with human figures [inside them] as well as a fragment of a bull's head and a second small bull's head with pointed horns, protected under a fragment of a cult stand. After reaching office, I draw on 1:1 scale the fragments of B7076 [=Cat.15, see *Yavneh I*:20]. It was found out that it is a cultic stand with two human figures that have a 'turban' and arms along the body [Page 4], perhaps [with hands] on the pubic area. Between them there is a tree engraved on the cult stand, and maybe [more] figures (most [of the surface] is covered by encrustation and will require delicate, professional treatment in the future). Above and at the sides, roughly at the height of the figures' shoulders, there are round holes where the bulls' heads were stuck (the grey color of the 'stick' of the [more complete, left] bull's head is a proof that it was fired together with [meaning inside] the cult stand).

[Left side:] Two slide films given for development, 175091, 175092 [+ phone number of the developing company]. Developed; arrived 5.1; from my account, c. 100 Shekels.

From the rounded cult stand there is a fragment with a bull's head (?). (All [these fragments] will be part of B7067), but its continuation is at the moment unclear. There is also a head of a bull with one complete horn from B7077. In addition a human head B7078 was found today and several more heads of animals.

In view of all this [= the finds] we received an extension of two days (S[unday]-M[onday], 3-4.11).[12] All the finds were taken today to [the IAA Office at] Tel Aviv. During the day we were visited by David Amit, A. Gorzalczany, Z. Greenhut, A. De Groot and S. Wolff. Yesterday [visited] Raduan and Shuka Dorfman.

On Sunday we shall work in the united L12, and also sieve from now on all the material that comes out of the pit. The intention is to work more delicately in order not to miss more parts.

In order to make robbing more difficult, the area of the more complete vessels in the west (formerly L9) and in the east in the area of the cult stands was covered by earth [at the end of the day], after we have marked the level that we reached with pink toilette paper.

[Photos] 31.10.2002 during the day: Film III: L9 with the more complete chalices; general the entire pit; L8 from each direction with the marks of the bulldozer's teeth in part of it; L12 with two cult stands *in situ*; and at the end [of the day] two photos of the rectangular cult stand B7076 from close-by.

From cult stand B7076, the frontal fragment with the two figures was placed with the front (the female faces) down, that is, "upside down"; another small fragment nearby, with legs, very crumbling, was placed with the legs upward.

3 NOVEMBER 2002 [SUNDAY]

We went down under what was L8, but now everything is L12. The robbery trench is no longer apparent except its eastern edges. [There are] plenty of sherds. At the north end of the eastern edge [of the pit] there is a special round vessel with legs (?), nearby is a round stand with small windows, of a type we did not have so far. These two [items] are in the section and will be re-photographed (my film IV: 1-7) and will be taken out only towards the end of the day – after photography by Tsila Sagiv. At the moment we level [the Locus] at the height of c. 37.05-37.10 m. As usual, heads, body parts, etc. come out – of animals and humans. They are registered by separate baskets (but the height = the height of the general basket of pottery from which they come; there was no logic to measure their

[11] During the excavation we separated parts and figures of cult stands from the 'regular' pottery – it was necessary for preserving them, since among the crude chalice parts they would have been smashed. It was inevitable that a few small parts were missed, being left in pottery baskets. In addition, though most detached figures were registered as separate baskets, some (usually small fragments) were collected and registered together (as one basket from the same Locus).

[12] This was the first of several such extensions. This mode of "piece by piece" work was damaging, since it forced us to work too fast, trying desperately to retrieve and document all the delicate remains before the end of the excavation. We were never sure that we will be given enough time and we had to make painful compromises.

heights separately). The vessels in the eastern section show that there is another part/edge [of the] *favissa* pit, which the bulldozer did not ruin in this direction.[13] [Page 5]

Photos: roughly [nos.] 7-12 of eastern section + round stand + legged chalice. Hour 9:30; Going down 'III batch'; continuing. Visited us: Pnina Shor, Irit Ziffer, Rivka 'Pukul', my family and other animals, A. Kamaiski and Peter Fogel.

Photo Film IV: roughly 12-16: parts of cult stands near stand B7111 = southeast of pit, including a fragment with a human figure (basket ____). More broken parts and animal heads are found.

We took out the legged chalice = B7105 from the eastern section + a round cult stand with windows (B7104) in order not to leave them available for robbery. In the area of B7111 – roughly southeast corner of the pit there are many fragments of cult stands; photographed, including one fragment with a human figure, photographed in film IV [later added:] (B7128?).

Basket B7120 at the end of the day – a stand with rectangular windows, at least four; and knob decorations, [found in] hard *hamra* soil in the north part of the pit, where the bulldozer did not hit (west and lower of its reach). I did not want to leave due to danger of robbery, so we took out all the exposed parts; the rest was covered by earth and will be taken out tomorrow (Tsila Sagiv photographed [at this] stage the round stand B7104-7105) – roughly at 11:30 AM.

In addition a zoomorphic juglet was found, B7121 – broken, missing head and having [only] one leg; hollow and wheel made, with a neck = spout.

4 NOVEMBER 2002 [MONDAY]

We registered baskets in a crazy rate, with a double graphic diary – [one plan for the first] ½ day and [a second graphic plan for] the second [1/2 day]. – Otherwise [with one plan for the entire day, it] would be filled up and the division [of baskets] would not be clear. Small and medium fragments of cult stands, which were found dispersed in the area, were collected into general baskets of cult stands. Pottery – mainly chalices – [was collected] into baskets by areas; usually heads of animals/humans and bodies were registered as separate baskets, or – at times of pressure – as "from a basket" (as part of a basket of cult stands or of regular pottery). We are below the bulldozer's damage and a lot of grey material[14] is coming from the bottom of the pit at center, where we excavated further down. At the east we left a narrow strip, where one can crouch down in order to work. [There is] a vast amount of chalices, including one huge with windows (B7149, maybe connecting to B7104, but [it is] not certain). Also a chalice (B7104) decorated with leaves (like in Edom).

Impressive parts/sides of cult stands are found, for restoration, including:

*A. B7218, a fragment + a fragment in B7131: corners of stand or stands, height c. 17 cm, slightly rounded, with standing human figures riding on heads of bulls; figurines with breasts and a [male] member – hence hermaphrodite; their hands are along the body or on the pubic area. [Page 6] There are decorations of knobs at the top, which is common for most stands.

*B. A fenestrated cult stand, B7131, with four windows that have lotus pillars (?) – Not certain; possibly they are figures; on the sides there are similar pillars that protrude from the front.

~~*C~~ [crossed out] a slightly rounded cult stand, similar to the former basket B7067, where we saw a protruding bull's head, but in a very bad state of preservation.

*C. Continuation of cult stand B7120 with knob decoration, from the northwestern part [of the pit]; taken out today [but] we have not yet finished [with it], since it is the edge of the *favissa* and the earth [is] *hamra* hard as cement. This cult stand has no figures, but it is highly interesting.

*D. A narrow cult stand lacking figures, size 33x11 cm, preserved height 12.5, with three windows at the long side and above; and at least two windows at the narrow sides (B7142).

*E. During the taking out of cult stand B7128 we found underneath it/inside it two more figures, so probably there were three [in this stand in origin!] (Izaak, Jacob, and Moses?). They [the figures] were protected by the cult stand and were found inside a 'plate' or bowl of a chalice turned upside-down. The taking out was made by the author [of this diary] (while the other workers, mainly Marina and Ira, with the help of E. Kamaiski and Michal Ben-Gal, took out the remaining cult stands).

[13] Meaning it was outside the area reached by the bulldozer. The section is that of L12 inside the pit; at this stage we believed that we roughly cut this section in the middle of the pit, leaving one half for later excavation. As it turned out the part left (L14) was considerably smaller than a half.

[14] This is the first mention of the grey ash layer [L13 to come].

*F. The most amazing cult stand, small but very elegant, was called at first "bird stand" by the workers. It is a cult stand of sphinxes or griffons/lions, size 23x16.5 [cm] and depth 11.5 [cm]. At the lower part of the sides it had two lions with gaping mouths, and four rounded fingers in each leg. Above [there is] an elliptic opening. =B7145.

* In addition, a respectable quantity of animal heads, human figures etc.; their relation [to cult stands] is not always clear – we hope it will be clarified in the pottery mending. From 12:00 to 14:30 we were busy in an effort of taking out the parts of the exposed cult stands, all the work [done] with dental tools, small picks (*dkarim*) and brushes.

Starting on 3.11.2002, al the material from the pit is being sieved. So far it resulted in a large amount of [very small] pottery fragments [of regular vessels], and only one head of animal (which was returned to the relevant basket).

After the end of the day [in the site] I returned to the office, arriving 15:30; drawing and initial sorting + arrangements + meeting with Raduan – till 18:45. I did not manage to check email already for a week.

5 NOVEMBER 2002 [TUESDAY]

We made a ceramic cleaning from the zone of yesterdays' cult stands[15]; then we moved to the eastern zone. There [too we found] parts of cult stands- parts lacking figures or small are taken out (immediately). [We found] a head of a double flute player = B7159

Photos with my small camera Film V:1-3 [Tell] Yavneh from here; 4-6 the ['Temple'] Hill from [the Tell of] Yavneh; later the eastern zone area of baskets B7156-7.

[Page 7] During the first half of the day [we found] a head of a bull (B7155); a "shovel" (*maḥtâh*) – a shallow bowl somewhat deformed (B7158 and a handle B7154), of a type we already found before in the pit, but now with a large body part and not just a handle; and a damaged head of bull from B7155.

*Basket B7159 = a fragment of a woman playing a double flute. Compare the 'musicians' stand' from Ashdod (?). Her hands hold the flute; there are small breasts, ears, disc eyes and 'Hathor'-like hair-dress on the side + central side-lock and two 'tassels' at the back. So far it's the only one of its kind [at Yavneh].

During the second part of the day we concentrated only at the eastern zone, where several cult stands and fragments of cult stands were gradually exposed. One 'batch' of narrow, fenestrated cult stands B7166 was not yet taken out today; south of them – stand/fragments B7167, B7153. In between [we spent] c. 4 hours of work to expose one complete elliptical cult stand with figures B7165. It shows rams [should be: goats] and a tree, symmetric [in execution], at the sides a figure of a goddess and near her legs protruding heads of bulls (one was broken off and is now missing). This is a type of stand that I will call from now on "elliptical + figures" (compare fragments B7128, B7131 of yesterday). Therefore, there are at least 2 or 3 stands of this type at least. The fact that stand B7165 is nearly complete shows that not all the vessels were deliberately broken; some were probably gently placed or thrown into the pit and not broken on purpose. After/while taking out cult stand B7165 there are parts of a figural stand B7168.

During the day we received a lot of help from E. Kamaiski in excavating, packing, etc.; Polina exchanged Dimah and is helping with the delicate work. We were visited by G. Avni, U. Dahari, R. Badhi, P. Fogel and E. Ayash at the end of the day, and I. Ziffer (tomorrow probably Ami Mazar and Saku [S. Ben-Arieh] will come). Eli Yannay came twice and assisted with evacuating pottery baskets to Tel Aviv.

At the south edge of the pit one sees a roof of a cult stand that seems to stand straight, it received the basket (no.) B7161, but we have not yet managed to treat it – tomorrow [we will]. One also has to take out the remains of cult stand B7120 at the northwestern edge. From cult stand B7161 – probably elliptical – there is a central knob slightly broken (the broken part was already collected). B7166 will be treated tomorrow, it is in the eastern border [of the pit], since its edge is found in very hard *hamra* soil. There is no indication yet for the bottom of the pit.[16]

Earth samples: in addition to the hard *hamra* [samples] taken earlier we took two samples of general grey ash, which is found at the center of the pit; and a small sample from a chalice-bowl where the ash was inside. We shall try to make from it not C14 tests but chemical analysis. We have found one olive pit in the grey ash ([placed together with] one of the samples?).

During the day we made a measured plan (c. 10 cm accuracy) so from tomorrow the daily graphic plans will be more accurate.

[15] Meaning: after the removal the cult stands yesterday, we cleaned the area, collecting the 'regular pottery' left there.
[16] We were worried, since we could estimate how much work remains only after knowing where the bottom is.

[Page 8] Afternoon until evening: preparations for tomorrow, office, taking two first [developed] films, drawing most of the cult stands, etc.

Film V: envelope 175590; will be ready Thursday, including burning [on a CD].

After Tsila was on 4.11 and photographed, and also on 3.11, today only I photographed, film V entirely and a little of the beginning of film VI, including [photos of] taking out cult stand B7165 and its initial treatment by Elisheva [Kamaiski]. Also, general views of the four ladies excavating the pit in any possible and impossible way.[17]

6 NOVEMBER 2002 [WEDNESDAY]

Stands, stands, and more stands. We made a general cleaning and started to take out the 'batch' of B7176 [added later on the side: probably a mistake for B7166] – two fragments of a stand or of stands with figures, at the very eastern edge of the pit, with very hard *hamra* soil, hence the going is slow. Nearby there are more complete chalices [than usual], which we will try to remove entire in baskets (B7177-8).

There is a slab of a pillar-stand, under B7166, at the moment only its edge is exposed. It was taken out towards the end of the day = B7181. We first took out B7166/1 [fixed from B7166/2] = the northern one, badly preserved and without figures, with knobs; it was resting upside-down. B7166/2 is south of it and above B7188 – it is much more complete and in a very good state [of preservation]. It is a trapezoid-shaped cult stand [that has] windows, knobs, and rope decoration. One cult stand with corner caryatid figure B7179 remains north of them [= north of B7166, B7188]; we have only started to take it out.

At the center [of the pit there is] a fairly meaningful fragment of a corner of a cult stand with a 'caryatid' figure = B7184. It was drawn before taking out and later on 1:1 [scale].

Today there were relatively few pottery baskets of chalices, since we focused on the cult stands, which are [found] in a sort of concentration at the present height.

The earth at most of the sides is *ḥamra* – this hints that we are getting close to the bottom of the pit[18], while at the center there is still very soft grey ash.

At the north edge of the pit [we found] a fragment of a small cult stand B7144, which will perhaps join the first [discovered] stand, B7076 (?). Nearby is a much broken cult stand, not [yet] treated ([add] fragments of general stand [baskets found today] = B7175, B7176, from the north and south of the area, respectively).

A beautiful, elliptical complete cult stand B7161, probably with figures, [appears] in the north, but we have not yet managed to expose it (tomorrow). In the corner under B7120 there are two cult stands, one simple (not yet registered) and the other composite and with sphinxes – they looked like lions in first sight. It is badly preserved and today we took out its eastern part, which includes two lions, in order not to leave them in the field (this stand is cracked, we used the cracks for this aim[19]) [added on the side at a later date]: this [stand] was later [registered as] B7180. The lions recall Syrian style [lions]: with four teeth, protruding tongue, and gaping mouth – this is based on a combination of all the heads (since no one is complete and only one has a complete tooth remaining – an upper, sharp fang). Wonderful! We also collected separately a number of more complete chalices (B7177-8, etc.). In addition [we found] one cult stand fragment with an animal (bull? demon?), at the corner = B7188.

Today visited: Saku (Ben-Arieh), Ami Mazar, Trude Dothan, Ram Gophna; from the Israel Antiquities Authority – No'am and two others from the team of Y. Levi; also corresponding with Osnat Goez, the IAA spokeswoman, concerning publicity [Page 9].

7 NOVEMBER 2002 [THURSDAY][20]

Continuation of work all day long in the easternmost part, along the entire length of the pit. We took out one complete elliptical cult stand, B7161, with a central figure (woman holding breasts), two heads of bulls at the sides, and two windows at the back. It was stuck and difficult for removing, since a fragment of [another] cult stand B7201 was slanting above the eastern bull's head. B7201, probably without figures, was left for Sunday.

[17] As mentioned in Yavneh I, the pit was limited in area and at this stage we often crouched inside or lied outside with heads and arms above the excavated area.

[18] Probably estimated from the shape of the sides of the pit, which started to 'close in'; '*ḥamra*' here means the hard, natural soil, devoid of finds, into which the pit was dug.

[19] That is, for taking out one part of the stand.

[20] Date wrongly registered as 6.11.2002 in the diary.

We finished dismantling the parts of B7188 = the second sphinxes' cult stand. Several more complete chalices were collected, they are B7197 (two [items], not entirely complete); and B7196 (one [item]).

In general [there were today] many fragments of cult stands, including with figures as well as figures detached from cult stands – some of them are in the general cult stand baskets, [of the] south [area] = B7192; [of the] north [area] = B7193.

[On the left side:] Scheme of Loci:

7, 8 // 9, 10, 11
\ \ | | / /
12 Favissa pit
|
13 Ash+bowls = floor?

We have left part of a cult stand with a figure B7179, since A) We did not have enough time and one should not hurry and tear out rare and fragile creatures; B) To leave something for the planned visit of Shuka on Sunday so that he would understand how complex and gentle it is to extricate such a stand in a good way.

Attached to the *hamra* at the north side and east side of the pit [there is] a large fragment of a "shovel" with a folding handle; at its center [there are] sieving-like holes – first evidence that the few fragments of 'sieves' which we have retrieved earlier belong to shovels [perhaps added later: to remove ash/clean altars?! Holes = to verify that everything was burnt to ashes and would not remain, by sieving [it]?).

Just at the end of the day came out a fairly leveled layer, under the cult stands and piles of chalices, with lots of grey ash, a section that looks like clean *hamra*, and many fragments of rounded bowls with the base-rings and the engraved line outside – it seems that they were placed on purpose, sort of pavement, and several bases were placed (upside down) with the ring up. – Perhaps we are already at the bottom of the pit (and this was part of a purifying ritual/preparing the Genizah?). At the center of this area and in the ash layer we found for the first time a clear vessel [good] for dating – a black juglet = plus minus 10th century BC. It is nearly complete (B7203).

During the day we have been visited by: Eli Yannai (briefly); Alon Shavit; Prof. Moshe Fischer; Yehuda Dagan; at the end of the day [we did] a tour with all the IAA people of the central district (except Edna [Ayash]).

*It seems that the small cult stands were not broken on purpose, at least not all of them; but some were placed in a sort of a line/lines at the edges of the pit and therefore, some were found complete.

Photographs: film VI (?) nearly to its end [Page 10]

10 NOVEMBER 2002 [SUNDAY]

[Photographs:] removing cult stand B7201; film VI roughly 19-21; at the side of the section a protruding trapezoid-like cult stand = B7209 (first photographed with wrong label 7/10/2002); later – until photograph c. 29 – cult stand B7209 in the section and L13 looking down ([label marked] wrongly L14!).

Beginning of excavation in L13, while continuing to use basket B7206.

During the day: photography by Channel 2 team (Hagai), in the office + c. 1.5 hours at the site. At the end of the day – Shuka Dorfman + Raduan; also Yaankale Baumgarten.[21]

11 NOVEMBER 2002 [MONDAY]

During the day, in the north:

1. We took out a cult stand that seems crumbling but was pretty complete [in origin], without figures, B7201. It was photographed *in situ*. It is dismantled [into pieces but it would be] (easy pottery mending).
2. [Found] a fragment, figure B7215 [below line:] photographed *in situ*. Underneath it there is another fragment of a cult stand (a complete side?).
3. At center [there is] figure B7179 photographed *in situ*, also [photographed] by Channel 2, and taken out.
4. In the south a fragment with a figure, attached to the side [of the pit], taken out as part of B7210. In the south a further basket of fragments of cult stands = B7225.

[21] These two lines were written (either by mistake or due to lack of space) at the bottom of page 9 with the notice "to the next page".

In the north we have reached L13 in all the area; lots of ash (two samples [of it] taken) with many sherds, mostly of round bowls (broken but for pottery mending!) in it, [as well as] black and other juglets and fragmented handles and parts of shovels.

In the south actually L12 still continues and only at the end of the day we have reached, around the height of 36.60, the ash. In other words, L12 is nearly finished. However, from the end of the day we started to leave a stair at the south [side of the pit], since we could not be certain that we shall receive enough days to finish the excavation of the pit; it is more urgent to reach the cult stands in the western part [of the pit] defined as L14 – there we started work today (it is difficult to proceed [in L14], as long as one works below in L13).

Today we found also heads of animals/fragments of cult stands with figures, without relation to entire cult stands. Especially important are:

*Fragment B7215 – with a small window and a woman of which [there is] only half a body and a head, and at the side a fragment of an animal head;

*Part of a zoomorphic vessel – head of bull (?) B7222;

*Fragment from B7210 with a window, from the south area in the pit, the window shows remains of two animals – probably a cow and a suckling calf (the well-known motif);

*One more fragment from B7210 – it was glued with the face to the side of the pit, worn out by the *hamra*, and has a figure near a window with the hands beside the windows, perhaps with an animal's head at a knob at the corner of the cult stand (elliptical stand).

*Among the shovel [fragments there was] one, B7211, with a hollow handle.

*Fragment with a ram's head, from B7225.

*In the small juglets there is a variety of forms, it is interesting.

*Today we finished film VI

(Remember changes of L13/L14 and the date [in the photo labels]) (1-18 in the film = [photos of] finds).

[Page 11] [Photography:] Film VII c. 1-4: B7240 – inside the ash with a complete juglet = the basket + also fragments of cult stands.

[Fig 3]: analysis of stratification in the pit; section in western [side] of pit 13.11.]

Visited us – in the morning – Itamar Taksel; David Ben-Shlomo; Arieh Rochman and another lady from the archive (name forgotten due to the pressure); as well as several local [inhabitants], polite and quiet.

[We] went down in L13 in the center and north parts [of the pit]. The grey ash continues together with a multitude of small vessels – mainly rounded bowls, but also small juglets, including whole vessels that we take out as separate baskets. There are also a lot of fragments of cult stands and quite many handles and fragments of shovels. Until 10:00 [AM] also several figures from cult stands came out, but not complete cult stands.

We photographed a lion fragment B7247 and a fragment with figures B7248. The ash descends at least half a meter in depth. Fragments of cult stands continue [appearing] inside it, but not complete cult stands; also heads, animals, etc. from stands.

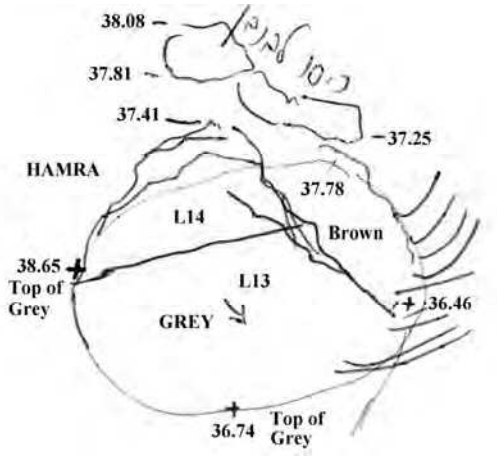


Fig. 3: Stratigraphy of pit 13/1/02

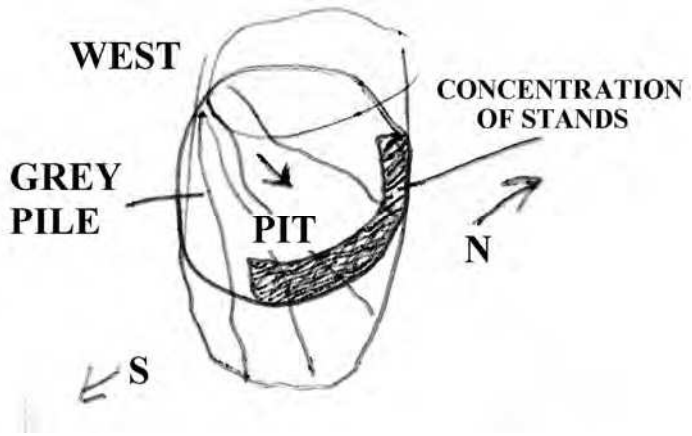


Fig. 4: Location of more intact cult stands

We photographed several juglets *in situ*; bowls which appeared to be complete were taken out as separate baskets, just like complete juglets. There are black juglets and [juglets] with mushroom rim, i.e., fairly early [in the Iron Age II]. Among the fragments there are two lion figures from a third lion cult stand, they are the most complete so far, with applied tongues that comes out [of the mouth], sharp fangs, and small ears (B7247 and ____ [number missing]).

For the first time we found a fragment of a dove (B7254), its head broken off. Also an olive pit and remains of ash (from incense?) [collected] in a plastic [film box] B7246.

We excavated down and reached the bottom of the pit in one quarter [of its area], roughly, in the northeast. In the south a kind of stair is left of the ash Locus L13. However at the bottom the vessels are again glued to hard *hamra* soil and therefore it is hard to clean them (and one cannot hasten – there are figures and fragments of cult stands). We excavated down part of the southern stair of L13 and from there [found] a fragment of a cult stand with a figure in a window; it is apparent that when prepared the figure was too large and when joined the feet were 'folded'. It was found above a fragment (of an animal?) that was attached to a stand and lost (in B7259). At the center a fragment of a "fabulous" cult stand came out, B7248, with two figures, one protrudes upward from the corner of the stand, the other from a window, both are females [above the line:] plus a fragment of pillar, etc. We collected 2-3 [samples] from the complete juglets into plastic boxes [of films] – photography with earth to check composition.

Media: after Channel 2 yesterday and contacts with *Yediot/Haaretz/Maariv* (newspapers), announcements were added in AP, a French agency, Jerusalem Post and several others. Tomorrow is expected local media.

At the lowest part = the bottom of the pit – 36.18m.

Film VII – given [for development]; Film VIII = 400 Asa given to Tsila (only half [of it] is my [photographs]).

At the end of the day [we made] miserable preparations against the rain [forecasted for] tomorrow. There is no 5x5 m [metal construction used for excavation squares] (Raad claims he cannot bring [it], because he has a small car). We built a kind of a tent, but it will not protect against real rain. Plus every day [is a] struggle about simple equipment, such as [Page 12] plastic boxes [for sherds] (they have disappeared from [the IAA excavation equipment store at] Jerusalem! Stores are being transferred to Beth Shemesh and, according to Raad, that is the reason); cartons of all sizes; in my small car there is no place for all these (there is also excavation equipment – work tools); every day one needs to find someone to move the pottery to the Tel Aviv Office. The bringing of a pottery restorer to the field was not approved; they approved days for photography, but not the help of an archaeologist at the expense of vacation/learning [days] (problems of insurance? –it does not sound likely).[22]

Tomorrow – if God wills and we are not submerged by flood – we will open L14 enthusiastically and start to go down in order to reach the cult stands in the 'level' of stands.

Afternoon at Office; Uza Zevulun and Gabi Backi visited; no time was left for 1:1 drawings – will be done tomorrow.

12 NOVEMBER 2002 [TUESDAY]

Visited A. Feldstein, Dina A + [others] from the [Unit against] Robbery, North [District].

From the start of the day we began to excavate L14, after cutting out a ledge for safety above. The pit is round and there is already a clear contour. What there is left to excavate is the western edge – much less than a half (maybe about a third). We went down in brown debris and later in the south of L14 grey ash material [appeared], like in L13, but here it is much higher.

During the entire day [we found] many fragments of cult stands including [stands] with figures, parts of bodies/heads, etc. We also found a fairly large part of a shovel, in its center the holes are [located] in a circle [drawing] of six holes around a central one (B7278).

Two fairly complete cult stands came out: B7277 with all its figures fallen/worn off/mutilated! At the sides [there are] windows with pillars at center; rectangular; and a trapezoid cult stand B7209 with a T-like figure, complete, and probably a bull's head at the side. This cult stand crumbled when taken out, since it was much cracked (all was photographed films 8 = 400 ASA and 9).

The heavy rain – however rain never arrived – but strong wind made difficulties and our coupé-style hut with the nylon [cover] is being gradually dismantled.

[22] A colleague whose name escapes me now offered to join and help in the excavation by taking vacation/learning days, that is, not under regular salary.

Two fragments of cult stand/s came out, elliptical, with heads of animals. Another innovation [are] two decorations of a round vessel (chalice), they look like cream cookies or shells (from B7263).

13 NOVEMBER 2002 [WEDNESDAY]

In the morning [we photographed] film X – the pit L14 with the differences of brown-grey [layers]. [This is] evidence that at first, one filled in the grey fill with bowls and juglets (taken out as L13), which creates a sort of pile/cone; that is, those who filled the pit stood on the western side or southwestern side of its opening, from there dumping the ash, which created a pile and therefore, the grey [layer] descends towards the east. Later they dumped/rolled the more intact[23] cult stands, therefore these [stands] were piled mainly at the edges of the pit at the north and northeast. Later they broke all the chalices [found] at the center of the pit (in the brown debris). Finally they sealed with white lime material, which is seen only at the edge of the pit that was not damaged, on the western side [Page 13].

Locus 14, at its south, there is a complete shovel B7290 (cracked into two [parts]), upside down; photographed *in situ* = Film 10 photos 17-19; taken out.

Photos 20-25 = fragments of cult stands B7291, B7289 in the north of L14, not large but with fragments. They were taken out at 10:45.

Today visited P. Nahshoni, Nurit Feig, two from the Israel Museum, Amir Golani, and also for about an hour a team from the Governmental Photography Archive www.mof.gov.il.gpo [headed by] Avi Ohayon + assistant. I photographed them photographing us.[24] + Michal and Ruthy, the secretaries of Excavations and Survey [Department], Hava Katz and her husband.

All the workers of the excavation:

1. Marina Levi
2. Nechaeva Irena
3. Feldman Polina
4. Gurevich Gregory
5. Lisker Yakov

Except brown northern edges, we have reached the grey material in all L14. Starting tomorrow, we will replace and unify [the area] [into] a new L15, together with the stair left of L13. However, this is a technical, meaningless change.[25]

Already yesterday, but today more clearly, it was found that there is this scenario in the pit: first they dumped into the pit from a southern or southwestern direction the grey debris with a multitude of round bowls, juglets, also relatively small fragments of cult stands. [Added above the line:] and a few chalices (possible some mixture occurred and sherds went up or down). This debris created a sort of pile of cone, like a slope inside the pit. At the west the top of the grey debris [reaches] c. 37.41 m; above it is perhaps the closure or sealing of the pit – whitish material between 37.81m and 38.18 m (however, one should remember that the top of the pit did not – or almost did not – survive). Eastwards, the grey debris in the pit descends to 36.78-36.85 in the line between L13 and L13; while at the ~~west~~ [fixed to:] east of the pit the [top of the] grey [material] reaches between 36.74m-36.36m. The change from L12 to L13 was about 36.50m, slightly under the top of the grey [material]. Later, perhaps [after] only a minute or an hour, they dumped the debris of the brown/red earth inside, it included many cult stands, some of them pretty complete – those apparently fell onto the soft grey [ash] and rolled down the slope, therefore we found them concentrated mostly against the edge of the pit at the north and northeast [restore isomethrically for publication]. Together with/after them [these cult stands], they dumped all the chalices that were piled at the center and until the edges of the pit above the grey [material].

[Fig. 4:] Schematic drawing of the concentration of cult stands.

[Page 14] Indeed in the excavation today we found two more fragments of cult stands with figures in windows in the brown zone left at the north of L14; but only a few, small fragments [of cult stands] in the rest of L14, inside the grey material.

In the grey material were found complete juglets (3-4 today), separately registered. Of course, today too [we found] parts of heads/figures without relation [to complete/large parts of cult stands]. At the end of the day came

[23] Meaning those found more intact by us.

[24] The photographers did not hesitate to enter the pit and get their hands dirty for a closer look. So did most of the archaeologists who visited us (unless when the pit was too crowded with objects and workers, or when we were taking photographs).

[25] Meaning the unification of the former stair of L13 and L15; not the change between L14 and L15.

out a ring of a small rython, made like a jar handle, hollow, with holes for two animal heads (they did not survive). It is the first rython discovered in the pit.

14 NOVEMBER 2002 [THURSDAY]

We went down separately in the grey [material] = L15 and in the brown = L14. Of the brown [material] only a narrow band survived and in the line of contact there is mixture, so even in the baskets one cannot make a complete separation. In the grey, relatively soft material there are lots of bowls, also juglets (black, Cypro-Phoenician, etc.), and also fragments of cult stands, but relatively small ones. Of course [there are also] parts of heads/bodies, etc. We found another hollow handle of a shovel (from B7306, placed separately); a complete shovel lacking only the handle and cracked (B7333) and a few complete juglets (B7319).

Film 11: color [film], all the day, photos of the work and the workers "offering" [= making barbecue] during the break plus the shovel/juglet.

The stair left of L13 was united, and all is being excavated as L15; while the brown material at the northern edge continues [under] L14. Today is perhaps the first day in the last two weeks of excavation of relative calm, and I managed to draw most of the special finds in the field.

Visited students from Tel Aviv University with A. Yasur-Landau.

From 15:30 at office, after giving/taking films at "Orient". Looking again at stand B7277 [basket fixed from B7207], one sees that all the breakage [areas] are old – [they are] covered with encrustation. It is unlikely that all [the figures] have fallen off (in all the other fragments of cult stands figures have been left, if there were [in origin – since some cult stands did not have figures]). It seems that there is here [in B7277] a deliberate mutilation.

17 NOVEMBER 2002 [SUNDAY]

We went down today 15-20 cm in all the remaining pit = L15; grey material with a multitude of bowls, a few chalices, also juglets and many fragments of cult stands without any whole/half stand. There are many fragments of figures and parts of stands with figures. Worthy of note are a fabulous head with legs and horns B7362; female figures B7365; fragment of shell (?) B7361; a hollow fragment, maybe a *kernos*, but with a rider and an animal' head (lion?). The animal head is extremely broken, but it has a mane – B7346; a woman B7399 (from this basket); and also a fragment of a lion/lioness carrying a stand B7371.

Also came out: a fragment of a goat stand – the other side. [Page 15] In it there is a standing figure with hands along the body; left of it there is the edge of the behind of a goat and another edge above it; i.e., if it fits one cult stand, there were four goats and two [human] figures (if symmetric). We also found a special shovel-handle B7373 – with a strange animal head at the edge.

*Juglets, shovels, etc., were collected into separate baskets, as well as fragments of cult stands – four baskets [of cult stand fragments] today, and in total more than one layer of fragments. There is a chronic shortage of plastic and carton boxes – it is lucky that Peter brought us a few. In L15 we did not yet reach the bottom – hopefully tomorrow.

Yesterday and also today we collected several fragments of stone, including a few fairly small fragments of very soft limestone that seem worked. This recalls the statue from En Ḥaṣevah made of soft limestone with relief (soft limestone, because it was not worked with Iron tools?). Yet the fragments are too small to be restored – still everything will be collected.

Tomorrow is planned as the last day [of excavation]. We hope we will manage to finish [work].

*For about two hours [we had] a visit of RTV Television (Channel in Russian); Alexander + Igor.

18 NOVEMBER 2002 [MONDAY]

We did not manage to finish [excavating] the pit today for two reasons: First, it became slightly bell-shaped towards the south; and second, there is a further descent of c. 20 cm deep, so the part of the pit that we finished in L13 is higher and did not testify about the continuation [of the pit elsewhere].

All day we worked intensely and without any breaks. Under the ash, in a layer of c. 15-20 cm there is more packed, brown earth that has a multitude of broken cult stands pushed together, also bowls, etc. Many bowls also

came from cleaning the edges of the pit towards the south and north, including complete [bowls] and juglets (including some complete, also Cypro-Phoenician [juglets]).

We took out today seven boxes of cult stand fragments (plastic, 2-3 layers [of fragments placed] in each box), as well as two carton [slip for: wooden] plates, because we run out of [plastic] boxes. We also found the second half of the rython discovered earlier, a lot of figures and small parts from cult stands. The cult stands are all broken in this layer, the breaks are old (either [they were] broken and [then] disposed, or thrown and broken at the bottom of the pit).

Due to the pressure of the work I did not measure heights today; only towards 12AM we were given word that there will be approval for one more day of work.

19 NOVEMBER 2002 [TUESDAY]

I registered [a new Locus] L17 to a wall and measured its height – top is c. 38.62 m., it is [made] of soft, polished limestone; no floor is apparent; photographed in film 12:19-20. The height of the stones is c. 25 cm.

The beginning of L16 in the center of the pit = 36.32 m. It is a brown, hard layer under the ash of L13 and L15, with many fragments of cult stands (yesterday they were taken out as part of L15, and only today defined separately as L16).

[Page 16] Today we finished excavating the pit. All day [we worked in] L16 with continuation of the concentration of fragments of cult stands including a second lion that carries the stand, a second horse, etc. Many figurines/heads, etc. At the end of the day we cleaned the edges of the pit, [finding] a few bowls and juglets.

At the end of the work we filled the pit as best as we could and Raad closed it with a fence plus [we put on the fence] three signs ([one] at each side; the west is closed by the house with the private garden).

Photographs: end of film 12, the empty pit.

We also define the structure in L17, c. 5 [fixed to 10] m. north of the pit. There is a contour of two [should be: three] soft, polished limestone items, like this [small schematic figure]. However, we did not identify [any] floor/pottery. Maybe [it is the] remain of a tomb? The rest is destroyed towards the east, due to the garden that was made roughly a year ago.

Flight to Toronto[26] today, 19.11, c. 12 midnight (at start of 20.11).

[26] To participate in the annual ASOR conference; planned long before the excavation.

INDEX 1

PLACE NAMES

Raz Kletter

The index refers to the text (including notes), but not to catalogues, figures, captions to figures, tables and reference lists. Since chapters are written by different authors, there are some variations in the use of place names. For example, one author prefers using the name Anatolia, another Asia Minor. Cross references are given between related names. The spelling follows common English names (e.g., Ashkelon rather than Ašqelon).

INDEX 2

PERSONS AND DIVINITIES

Raz Kletter

The index refers to the text (including notes), but not to the catalogues, figures, figures captions, tables and reference lists. Ancient persons, whether historical or not, are marked by an asterix (*). Divinities and other supernatural figures are marked by italics.

INDEX 3

BIBLICAL REFERENCES

Raz Kletter

The index refers to the text (including notes), but not to catalogues, figures, captions to figures, tables and reference lists. The references are given in the format: chapter, verse/verses: page/pages in the present volume, e.g. [chapter] 27, [verses] 1-8: [page] 26, or [chapter] 10: [pages] 1, 224.

Plate 1

1. Fire pan B7318

2. Fire pans from the gray ash layer of L15 (B7333 left top; shown also are B7299 and B7311)

Plate 2

1. Fire pan B7290

2. Fire pan B7299/3

Plate 3

1. Shrine model CS47 (IAA 2006-1031)

2-3. Shrine model CS47

Plate 4

1. Nearly complete zoomorphic vessel (L14 B7286)

2.-3. Painted stand No. 1 (L15 B7315/4) during various stages of restoration

Plate 5

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Daphna Zuckerman making replicas of chalices in Jerusalem: 1.-2. Connecting the leg and the bowl; 3.-4. Forming the leg; 5. Shaping the edge of the base.

Plate 6

1. Chalice bowl L14 B7271/11 (top)

2. Chalice bowl L14 B7271 (right)

3. Decorated chalice base L12 B7219

4. Decorated chalice base L12 B7280

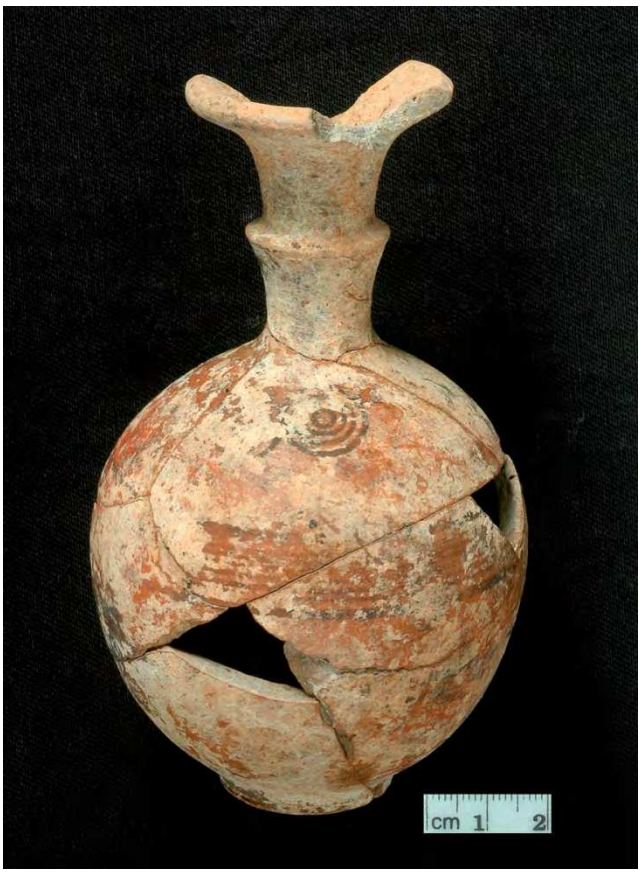
5. Decorated chalice base L15 B7445/3

6. Decorated chalice base L12 B7280.

Plate 7

1. Cypro-Phoenician juglet No. 9, B7440/3

2. Cypro-Phoenician juglet No. 10, B7476



3. Cypro-Phoenician juglet No. 12, L15 B3237/1

4. Inscription on bowl L15 B7326/1

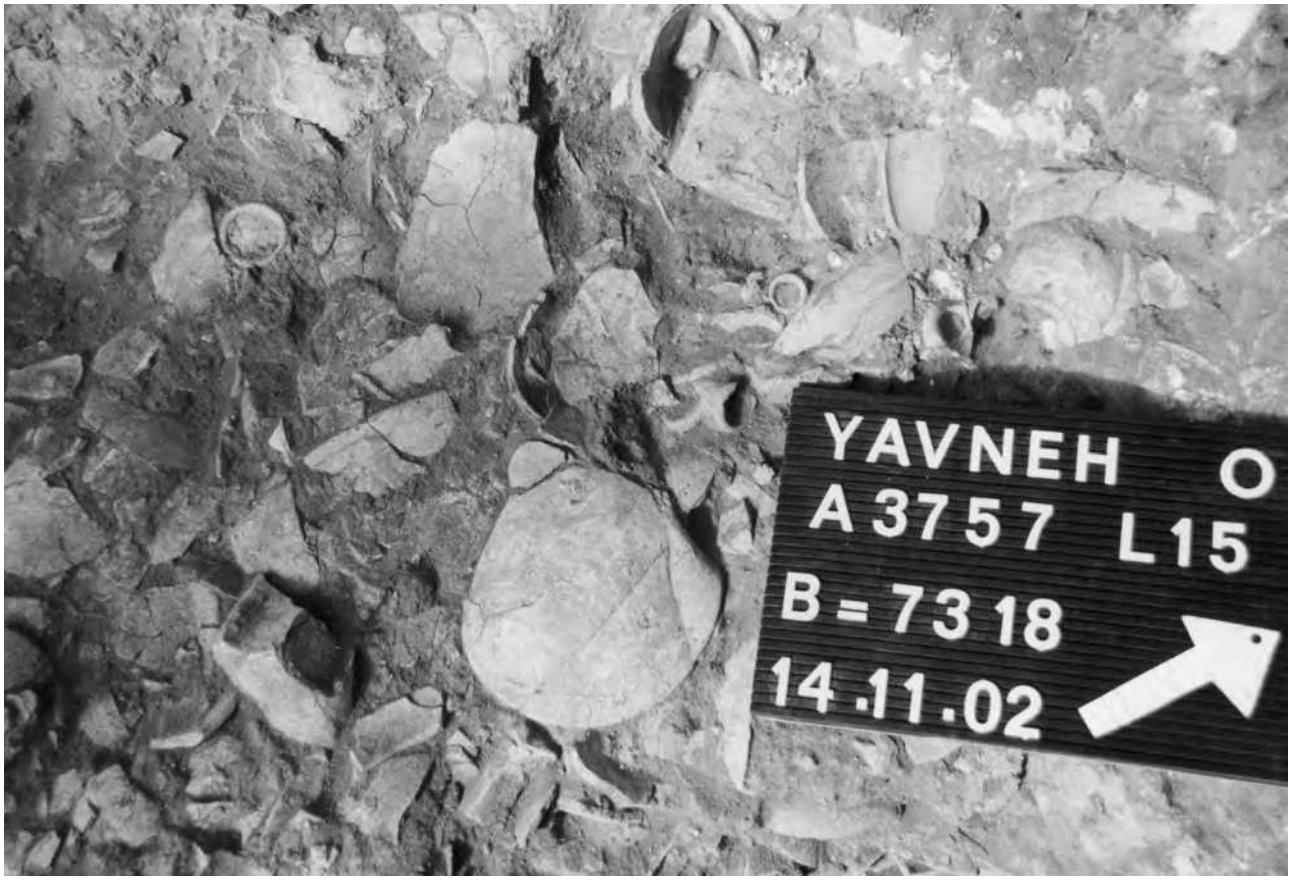
5. Inscription L15 B7326/1

Plate 8

1. L15 B7316: Bowl bases at center, bottoms up. Only a few show signs of burning (marked 2). At the top (3), a pile of randomly placed body sherds, mostly of bowls; many show signs of burning. At bottom, rims (4) mostly of bowls; some of chalices.

2. As above, with bowl bases resting on the base: many show burning inside the bowl (marked 2).

Plate 9

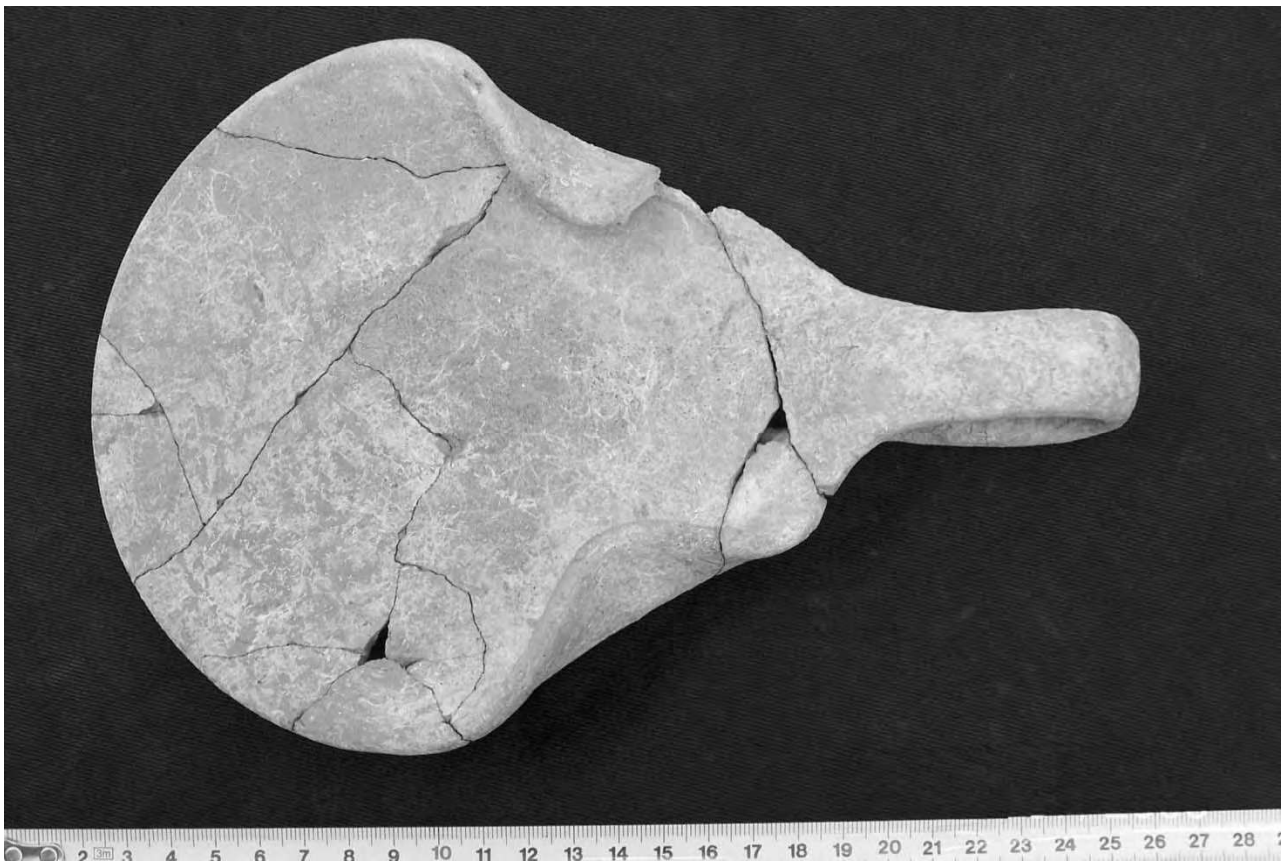


1. Fire pan B7318, found upside down in the pit

2. Fire pan B7333 (bottom); bowl B7334 (left of the sign)

Plate 10

1. Fragments of fire pans at the edge of the pit (L15)



2. Fire pan L15 B7318 view from top after restoration

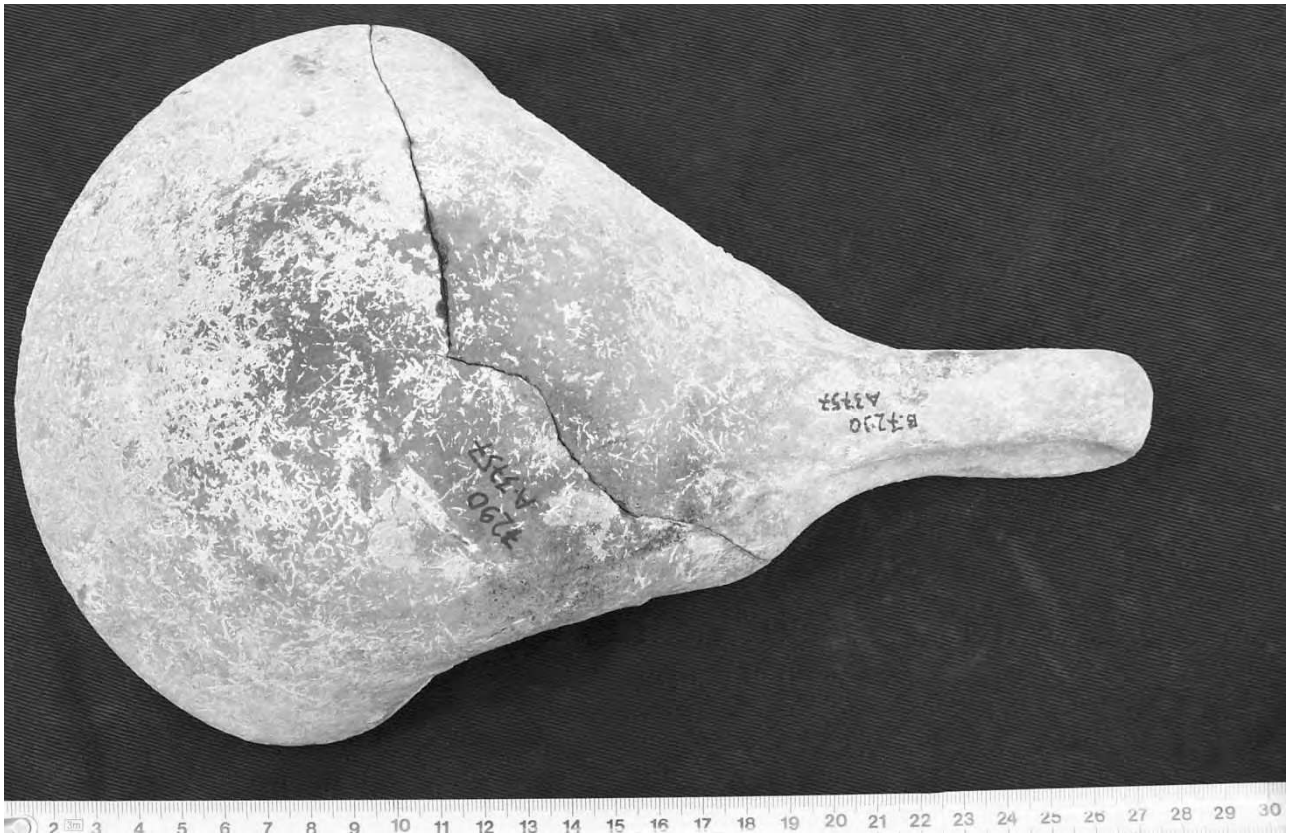
Plate 11

1. Fire pan L15 B7318

2. Fire pan L12 B7158

Plate 12

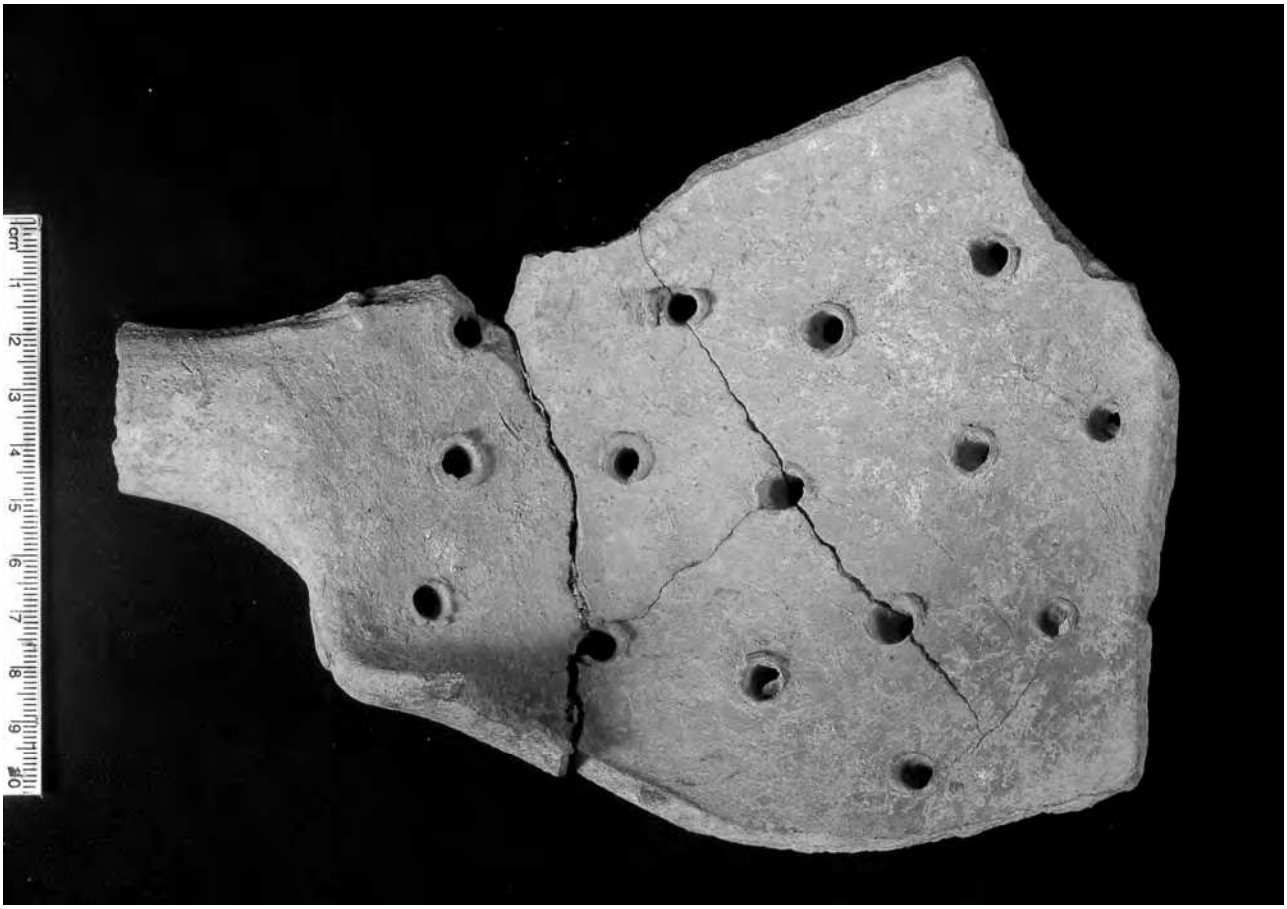
1. Fire pan B7290, top



2. Fire pan B7290, bottom

Plate 13

1. Fire pan B7200



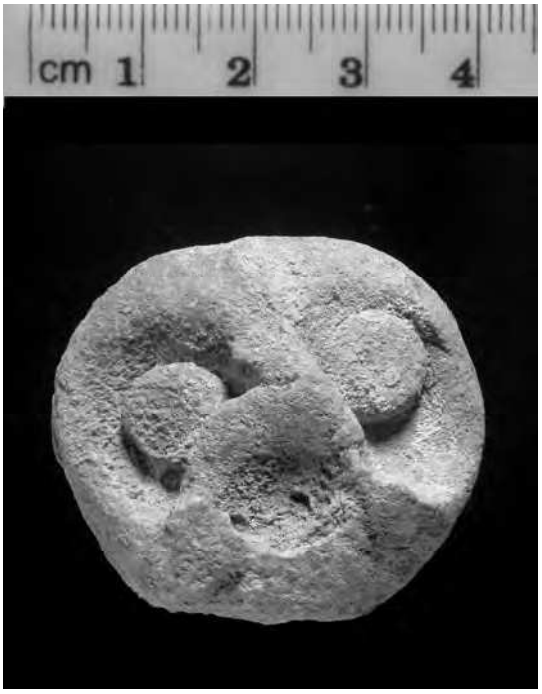
2. Fire pan L15 B7299

Plate 14

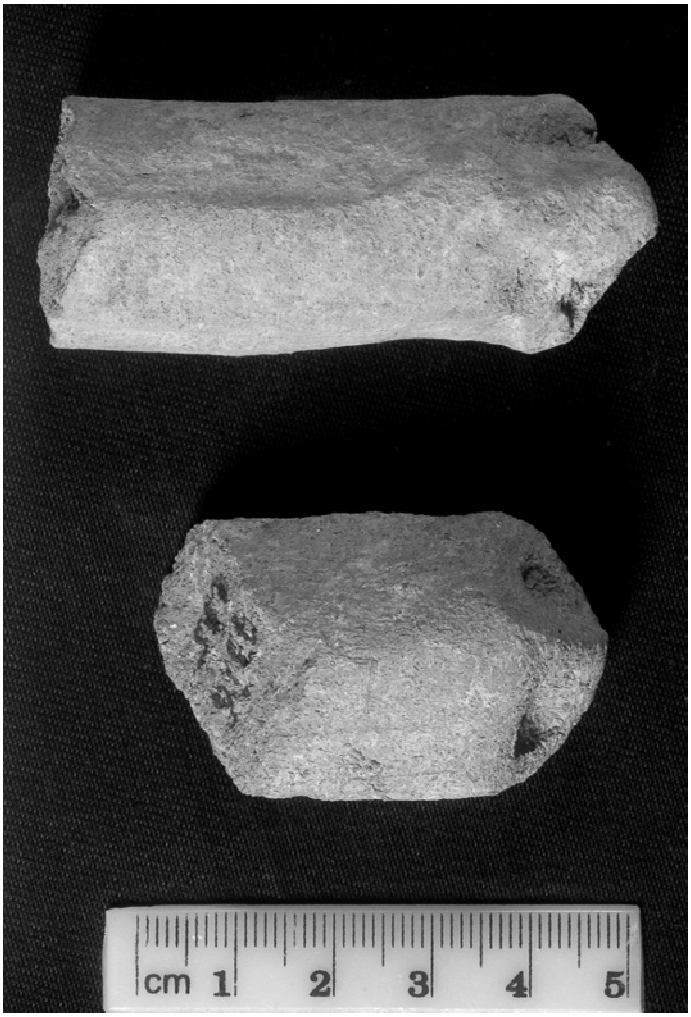
1. Fire pan L15 B7333

2. Fire pan L15 B7333 (bottom)

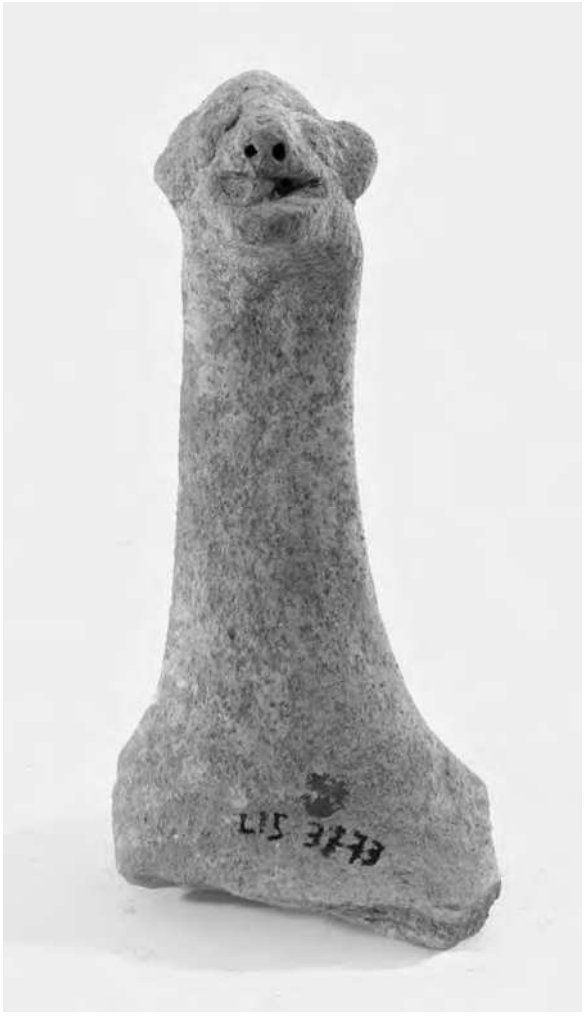
Plate 15



1. Solid handle of fire pan, L7 B7207 (‘face’ and side View)



2. Solid handles (B7336 at bottom)



3. Solid handle with animal finial B7373

Plate 16

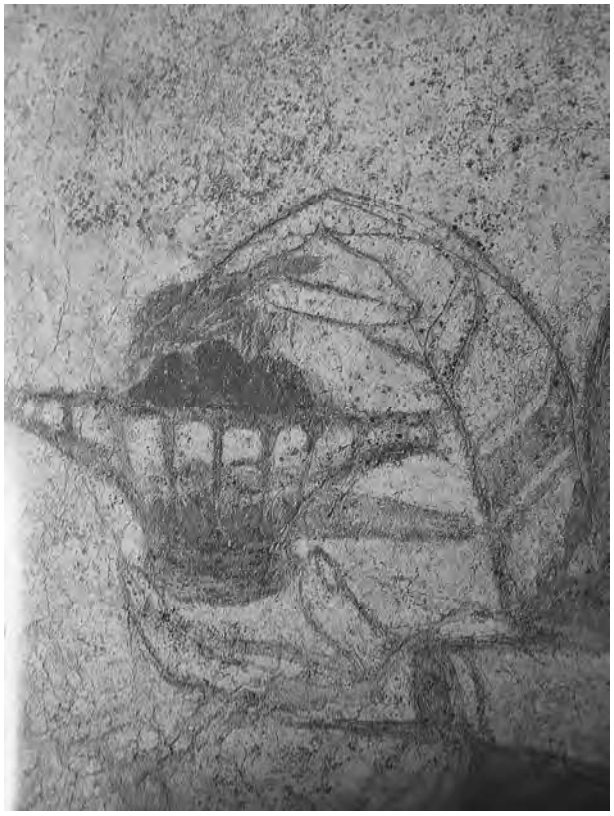
1. Hollow handle L14 13.11.02

2. Hollow handle L12 B7211

3. Hollow handle L14 B7306

4.-5. Two bowls with handles from En Hazevah (courtesy S. Ben Arieh and the IAA)

Plate 17



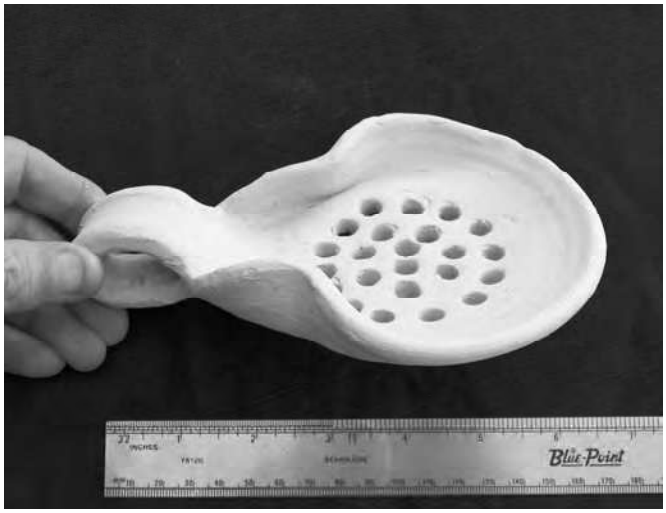
1.-2. The West House fresco from Thera (Doumas 1992: Pl. 24:5)

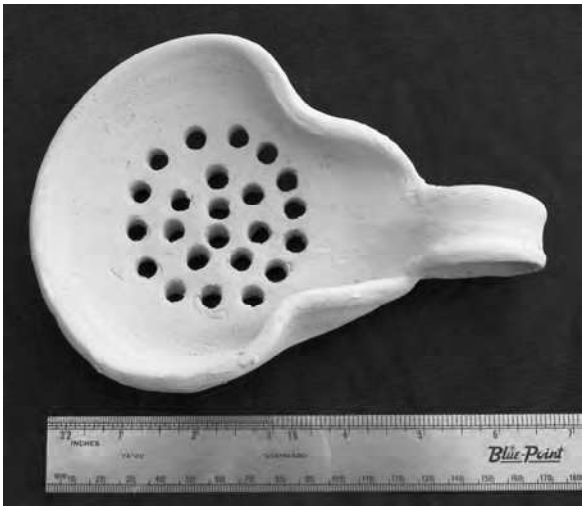
3. Fire pan from Zigouries, © Metropolitan Museum of Art

Plate 18

1. Modern fire pan, Zar ceremony, Egypt 2010

2. Replica of fire pan 1





3.-4. Replica of fire pan 2

5. Replica of fire pan 3

6. Replica of fire pan 4

Plate 19

1. Experiment with fire pans, initial stage

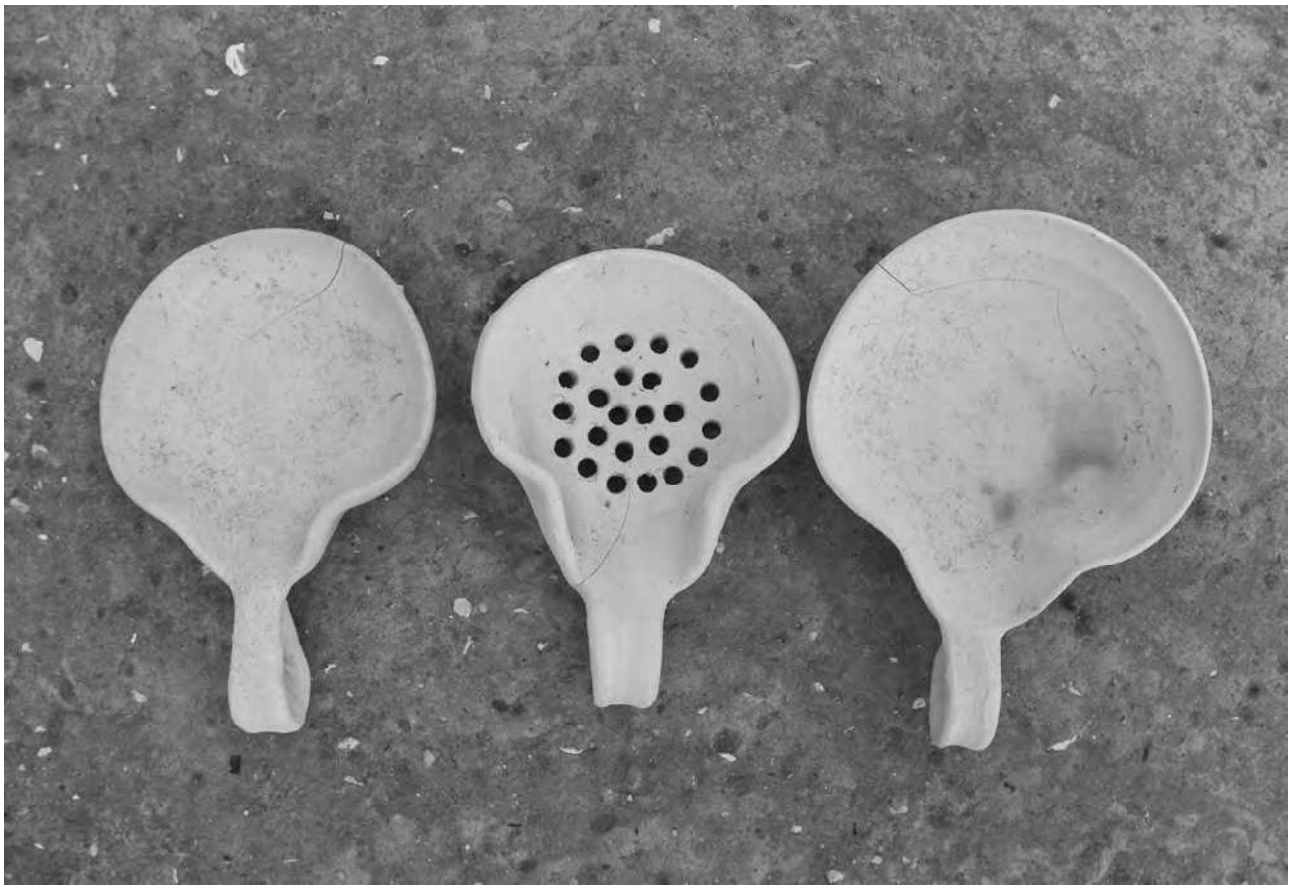
2. Experiment with fire pans, initial stage

3.

4.

5.

Plate 20



1. Modern replicas of fire pans after the experiment

2. Same, bottom side

Plate 21

1. Kernos B7303+B7443

2. Kernos B7303+B7444

Plate 22

1.-2. Shrine model CS47

3.-4. Shrine model CS47

Plate 23

1.

2.

3.-4.

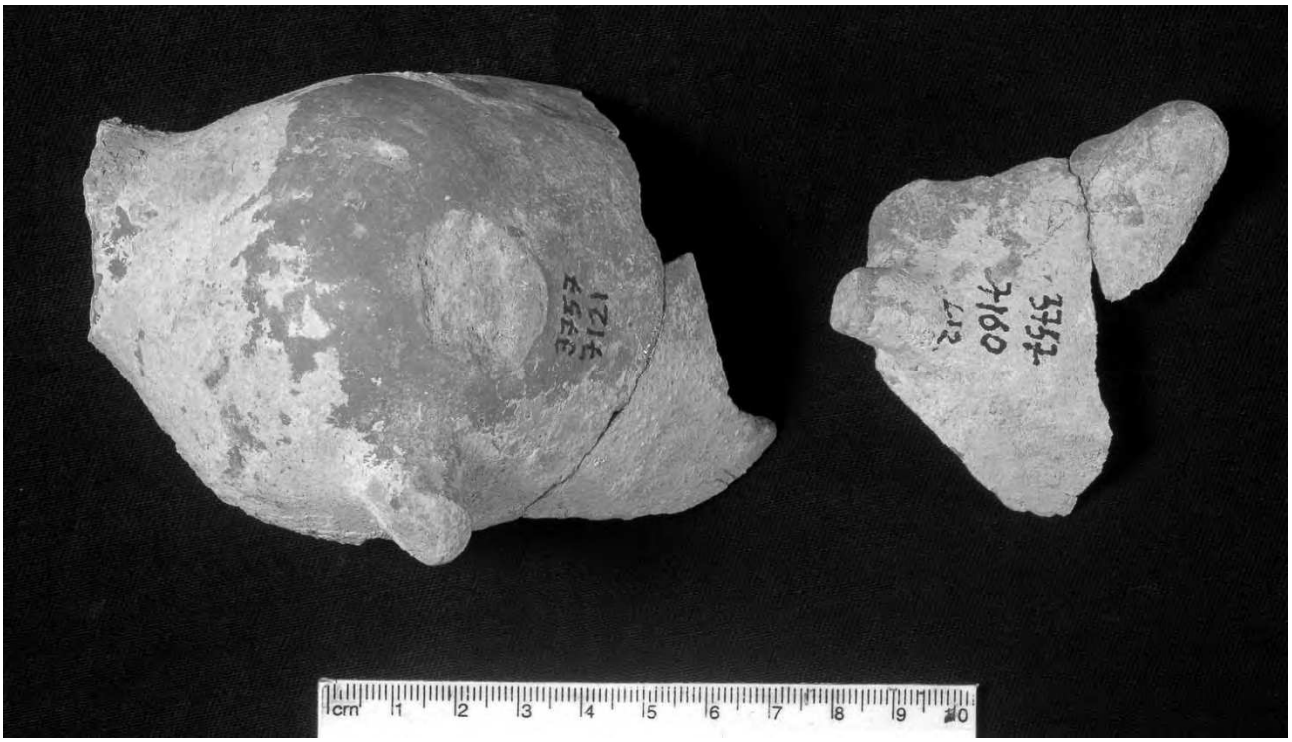
Three Chairs from Tutankhamen's Tomb
Photos Walter Segal

Courtesy of the Griffith Institute

5.-6.

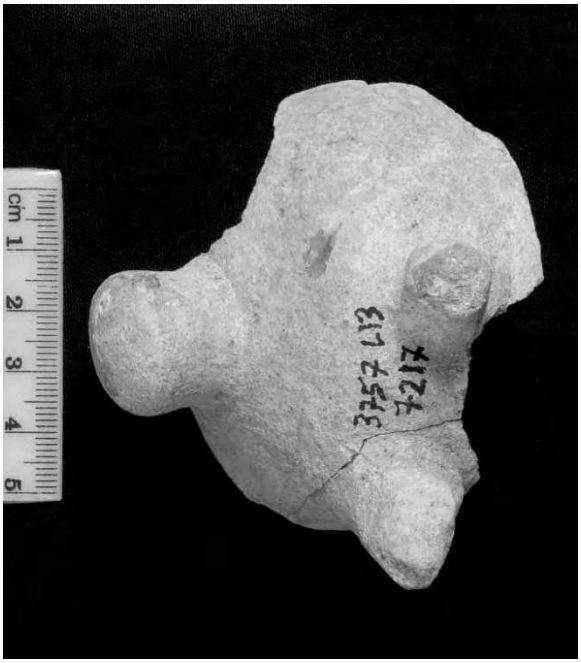
Plate 24

1. Zoomorphic vessel 1 (B7286)



2. Zoomorphic vessel 2 – fragments (B7121, B7160)

Plate 25



1. Zoomorphic vessel – rear part B7217

2. Painted stand 1

3. Painted stand 1

4. Painted stand 1

Plate 26

1. Painted stand 2

2. Painted stand 2

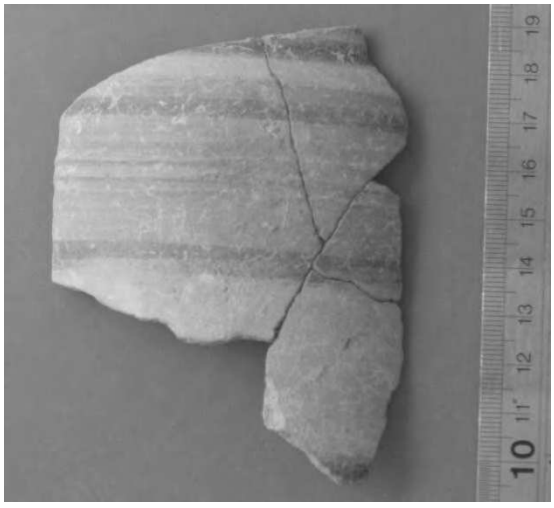
3. Painted stand 2

4. Painted stand 3

Plate 27

1. Painted stand 4

2. Painted stand 4



3. Painted stand 5

4. Painted stand 7

5. Painted stand 6

Plate 28

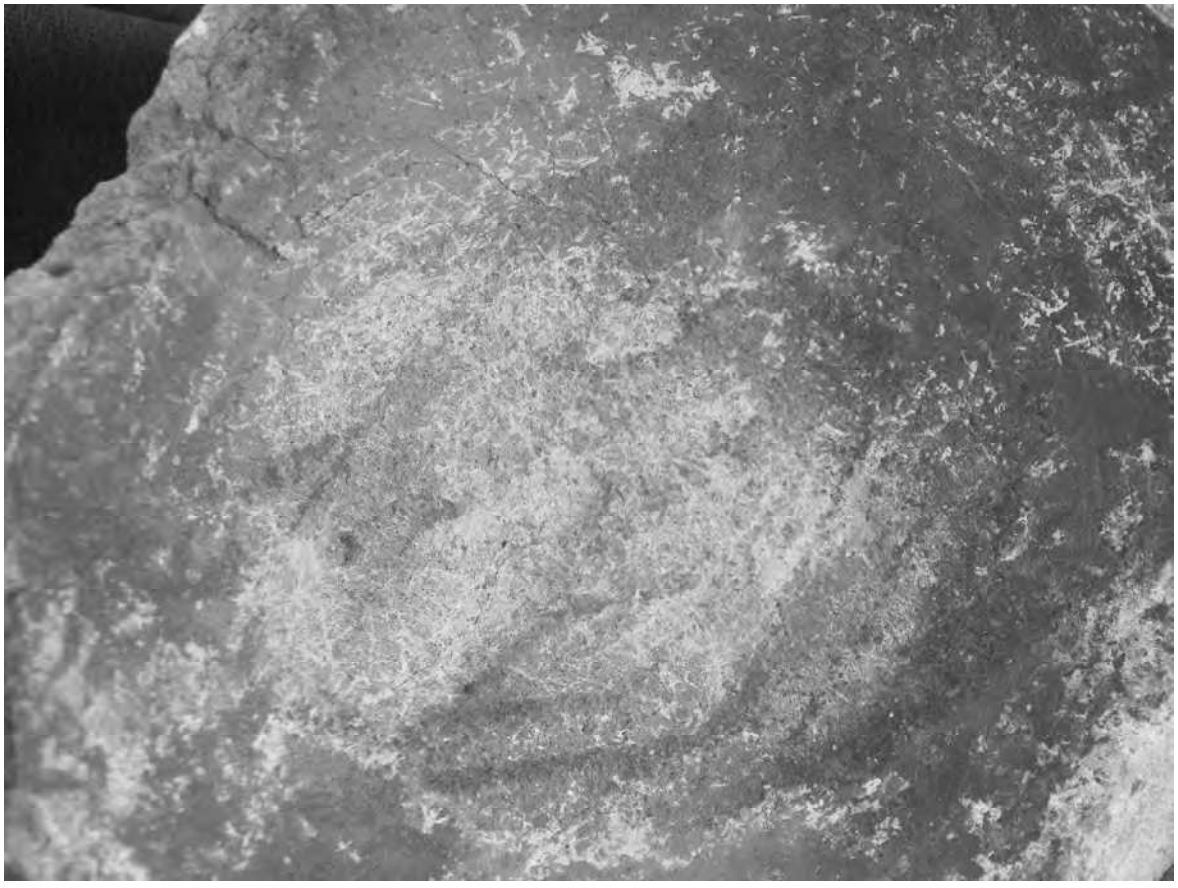
1. (Left): Foot with peg attachment, L12 B7173/6.
2. (Top): Close up; note extra clay added around join.
3. (Left middle): Chalice foot with solid peg 7190/8.
4. (Below): Close up, note remnants of clay at join of bowl. Peeled away surface where extra clay existed to reinforce the join.

6. Close up of No. 5

5. Join of bowl to foot peg, L12 B7156/57

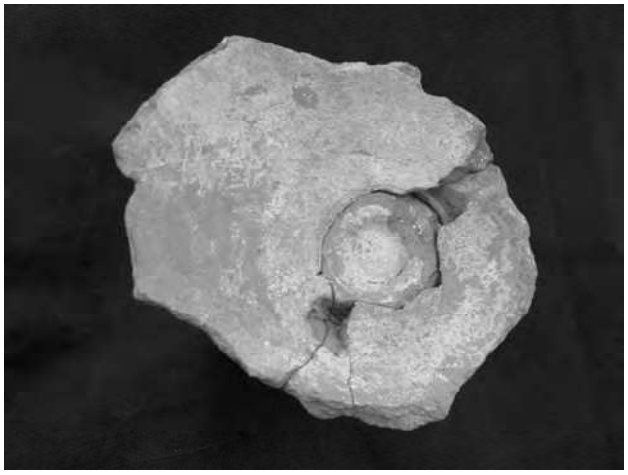
Plate 29

1. Layer of extra clay with smear marks; note burnt interior; L12 B7271/1

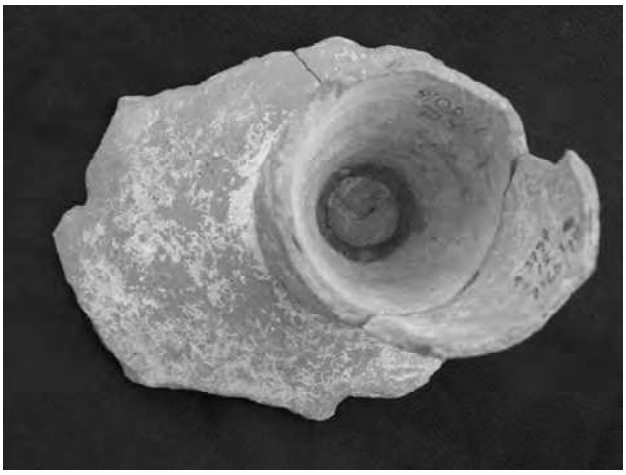


2. Close up of interior

Plate 30



1. Top of disk inserted between join of bowl and foot; view from inside bowl; B7160/28

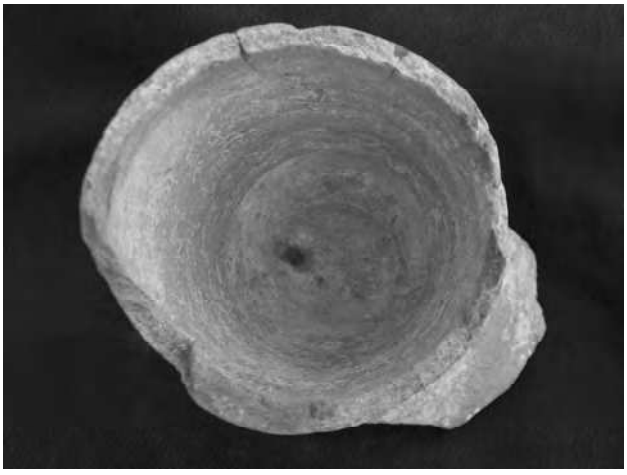


2. Same, bottom of disk, view from foot

3. Disc inserted into join of bowl to foot, B.7345/91

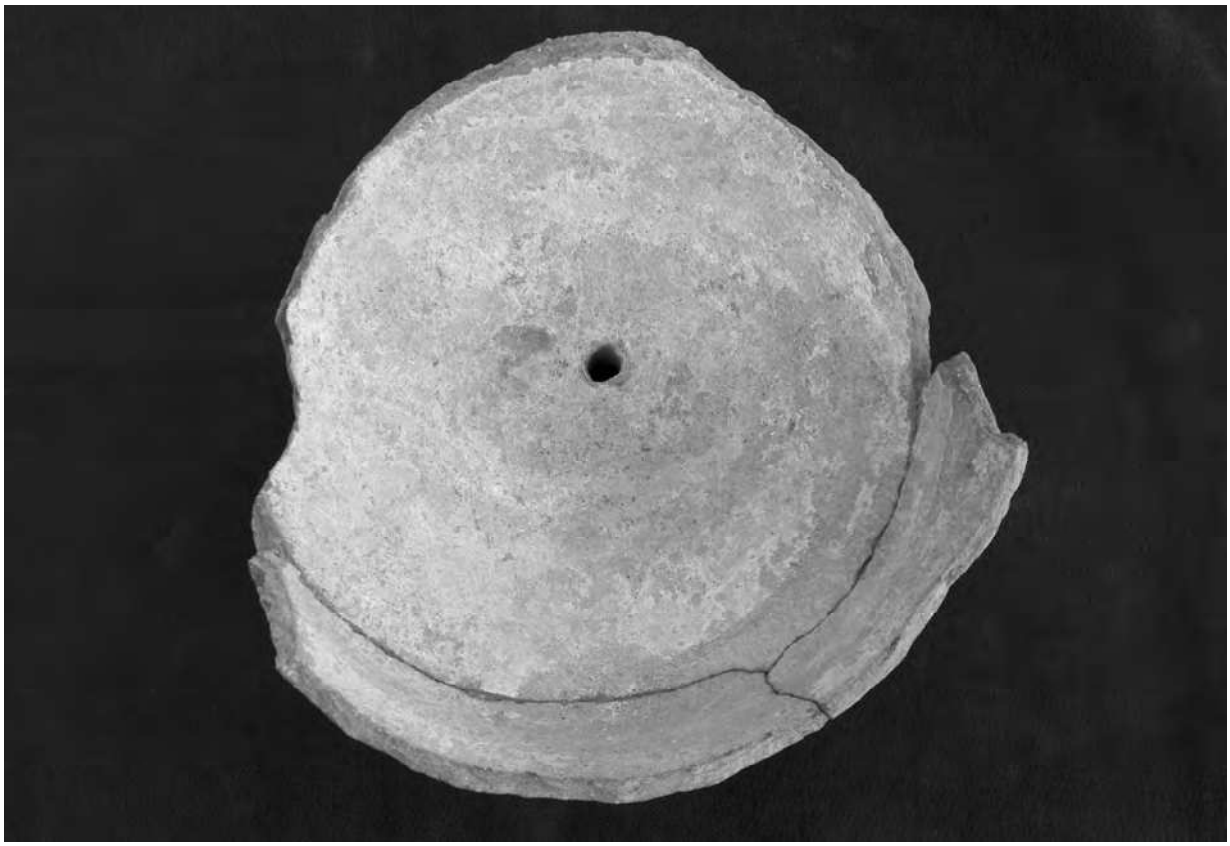
4. Disc inserted into join, view from foot, B7345/100

5. Small hole punched through bowl to foot; note smears of extra clay on bowl interior; B7136/6



6. Same item, view from foot

Plate 31



1. Small hole punched from bowl to foot, view from inside bowl; L12 B7171/2.

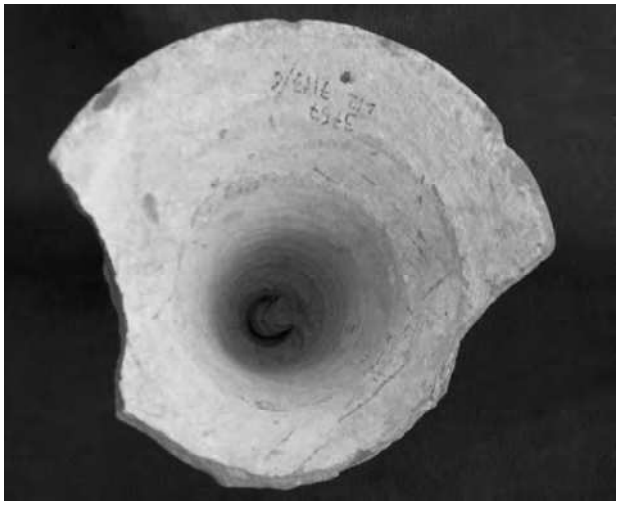
2. Same item, view of hole from the direction of the foot (the foot is missing)

Plate 32

1. Perforated hole; simple bowl attachment, B7345/4

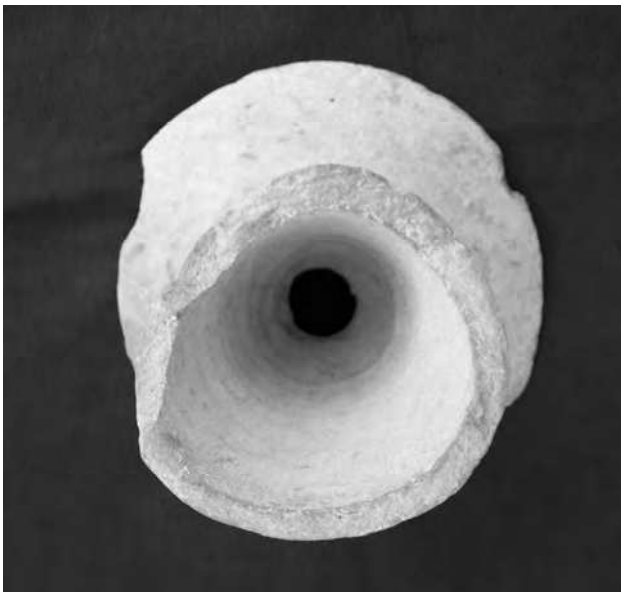
2. Same, view from foot

3. Small plug in hole, view from bowl, B7182/5



4. Small plug in hole, view from foot, B7173/6.

5. Wide hole, view from bowl, L12 B7190/3



6. Same, view from foot

Plate 33: Formation of the bowl

1. Centering the hump and starting to trim the base

2. Trimming the base

3. Removing the finished bowl from the wheel

4. View of the wheel-formed base

Plate 34: Formation of the foot with peg

1. Removing the hollow foot from the wheel

2. Comparison of untrimmed foot and Yavneh peg

3.

3.-4. Trimming the top of the foot to form a peg

Plate 35: Formation of the foot with peg (continued)

1. More trimming to form a peg

2. Comparing to a peg of a Yavneh chalice

3. Continuing to trim the top of the foot to make the peg

4. Continuing to trim the top of the foot

5. Narrower peg visible at the top

Plate 36: Formation of the foot without peg

1. Centering the hump of clay on the wheel

2. Drawing up and creating the hollow

3. Complete height of foot

4. Starting to form the flaring base

5. Flaring base formed

6. Comparison of replica and Yavneh chalice foot

Plate 37: Attachment of bowl to foot

1. Enhancing adhesion of join with etching & slip

2. Placing the bowl on the peg of the foot

3.-4. Lightly pressing the bowl onto the foot

5. Collapse of foot when bowl pressure was applied

Plate 38: Attachment of bowl to foot (continued)

1. Comparison of replica and Yavneh Chalice

2. Chalice sitting on its bowl, clay ring prepared

3. Application of ring at join of bowl and foot

4. Vertical smearing of clay ring

5. Smearing of clay ring

6. Clay ring smoothed

Plate 39: Perforation of narrow hole

1. Puncturing the bowl

2. Hole through the base, view from bowl

3. Hole through the base, view from foot

4. View of the hole; replica sectioned in the middle

Plate 40: Perforation of wide hole

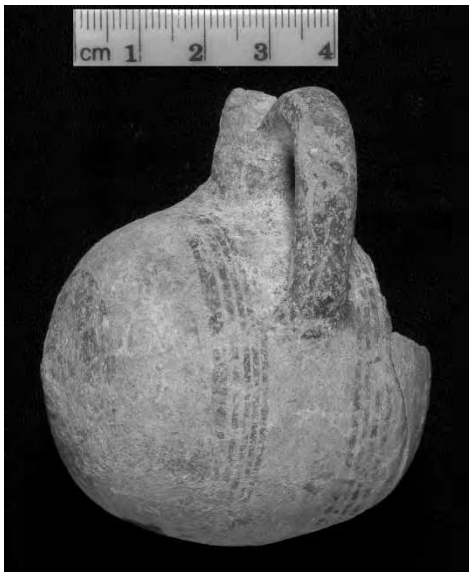
1. Perforation of wide hole from inside the bowl

2. Continuing to perforate the wide hole

3.-4. Comparison of replica with a Yavneh Chalice (Left – view from bowl; Right – view from foot)

Plate 41: Cypriot pottery

Item 1 (top) and 3



Item 2

Item 4

Item 5

Item 6 (top), 7

Item 9

Item 10

Item 12

Item 13

Item 11

Item 14

Item 15

Item 21

Plate 42: Dog Bones

1. Dog bones from Yavneh: 1. Caudal (tail) vertebra; 2. Fragment of the lateral process of a cervical vertebra; 3. Coronoid process of right lower jaw; 4. Left 2nd metacarpal; 5. Right 5th metatarsal; 6. Right 4th and 3rd metatarsals; 7. Proximal radius; 8. Proximal ulna

2. Articulated dog right 3rd, 4th, 5th metatarsals

3. Articulated dog left radius-ulna

Plate 43

1. Two carnivores (lions) on either side of cult stand CAT58. Note the small faces, rounded ears and incised lines showing the mane and paws.

2. Two carnivores (lions) on either side of cult stand CAT1. Note the eyes situated high up on the face, and the disproportionately large jaws, teeth and tongue.

Plate 44



1. (Left): Carnivore face, CAT78: short stumpy snout, large nostrils, open mouth with extended tongue.
2. (Center): Carnivore face, CAT44: short snout, eyes wide apart and high on the face, open mouth with extended tongue.
3. (Right): Carnivore CAT58 with incised mane and incised paws.

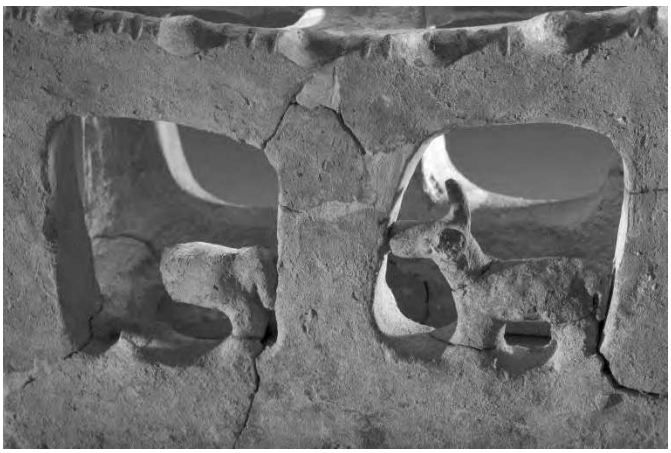
4. CAT58, side view.

5. CAT56, possibly lion (right) attacking a bovid (left).



6. (Left): Bovine protome, CAT98 right, slightly pointed face with ears in front of lyre-shaped horns.
7. (Center): Bovine protome, CAT98 left.
8. (Right): Bovine protome, CAT62 right.

Plate 45



1. CAT40, bovine in profile in the right opening.

2. Same, view from top.

3. Cow suckling a calf, CAT70.

4. Goats and tree, CAT90.

5. Goat, CAT92.

6. Nubian ibex (*Capra ibex nubiana*) ram – long, scimitar-shaped horns with salient ridges.

7. Domestic goat (*Capra hircus*) ram – short horns.

8. Fire-pan handle.

Plate 46: Inscription

1. Photo of Inscription L15 B7326/1 (Leonid Padrul).

2. Photo of Inscription (Clara Amit).

Plate 47: Inscription (detail and Fimo cast)

1. Close up of inscription (Clara Amit).

2. Fimo cast made of the inscription made by Jodef Buckenholtz (Photo Clara Amit).

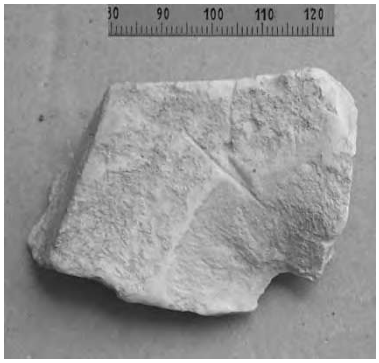
Plate 48

1. General view, B7500

2. Cat. 1, B7294

3. Cat. 2 B7384/600

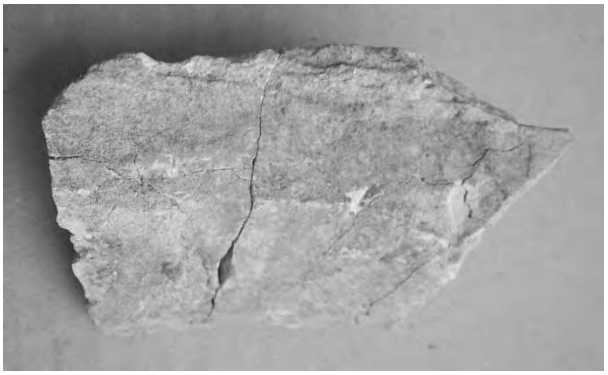
4. Cat. 3 B7384/601



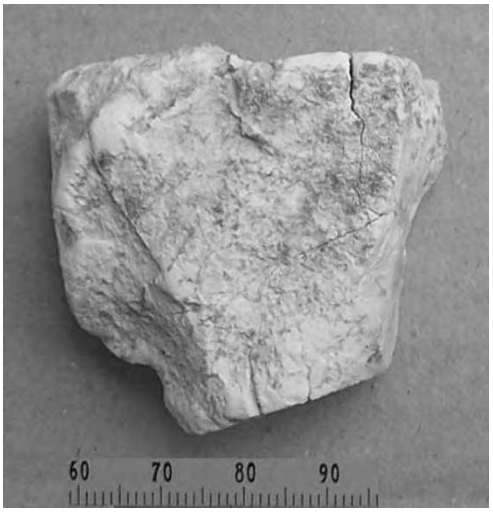
5. Cat. 4 B7439/602

Plate 49

1. Cat. 5, B7439/600

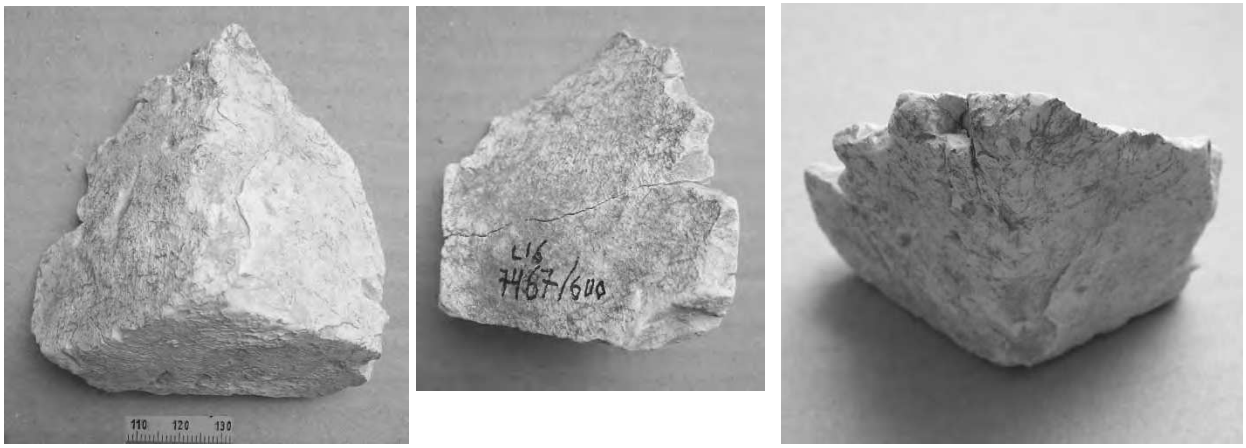


2. Cat. 6, B7439/601

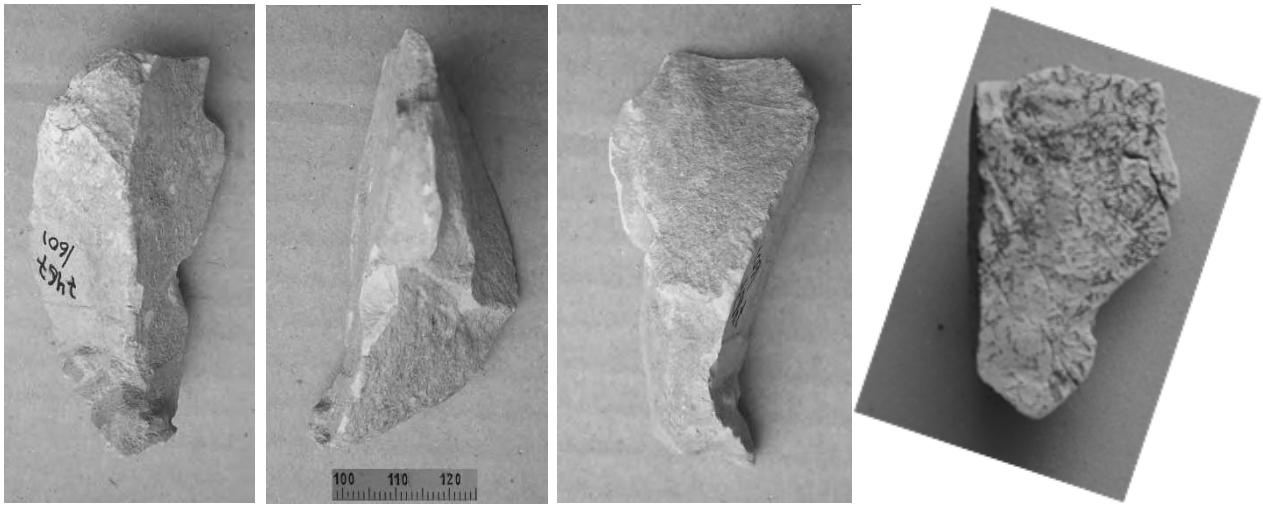


3. Cat. 7, B7439/603

Plate 50



1. Cat. 8, B7467/600



2.Cat. 9, B7467/601

3.Cat. 10, B7384

4. Cat. 11, B7384

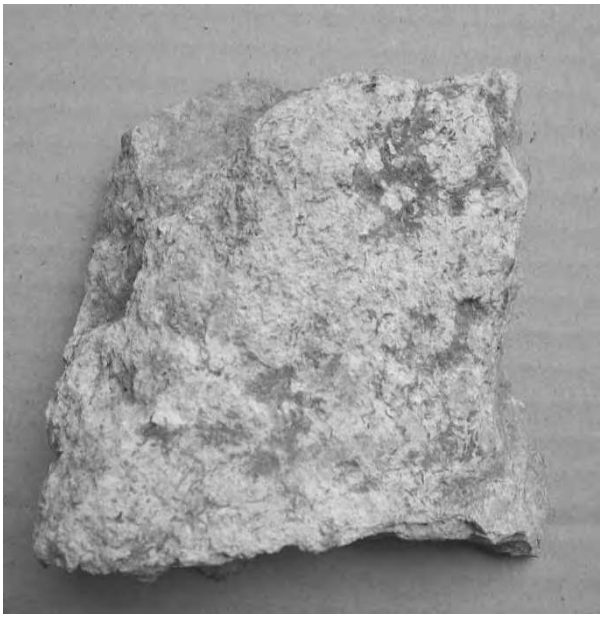
5. Cat. 12, B7435

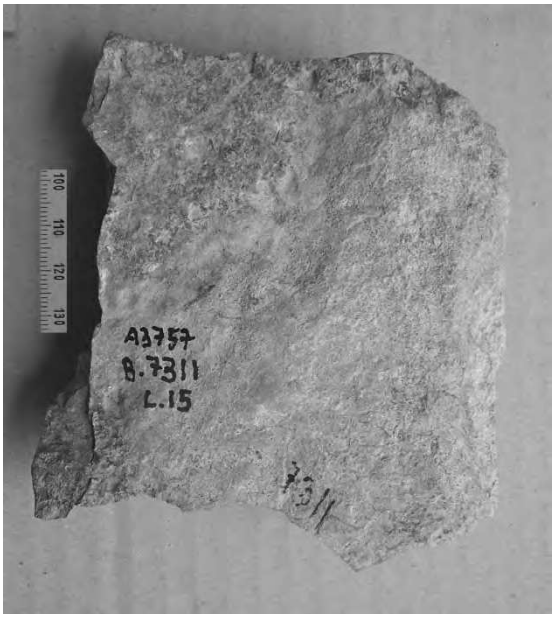
Plate 51

1. Cat. 13, B7035

2. Cat. 14, B7338

3. Cat. 15

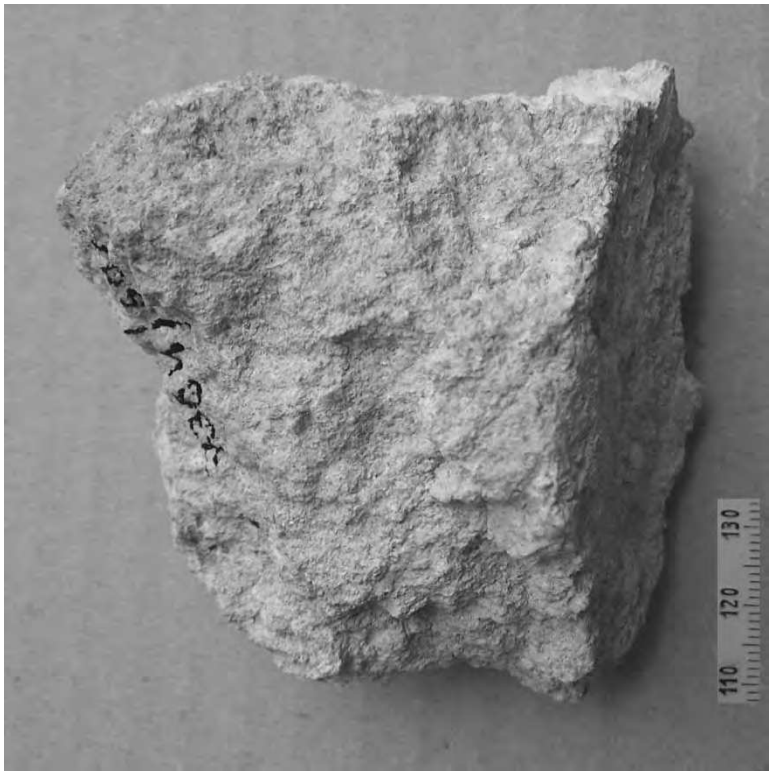




4. Cat. 16, B7311

5. Cat. 17, B7384/602

Plate 52



1.Cat. 18, B7384/603

2. Cat. 19

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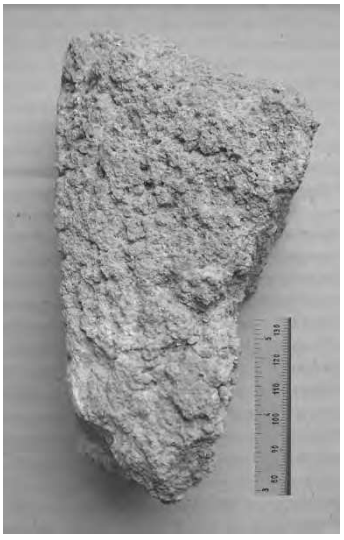

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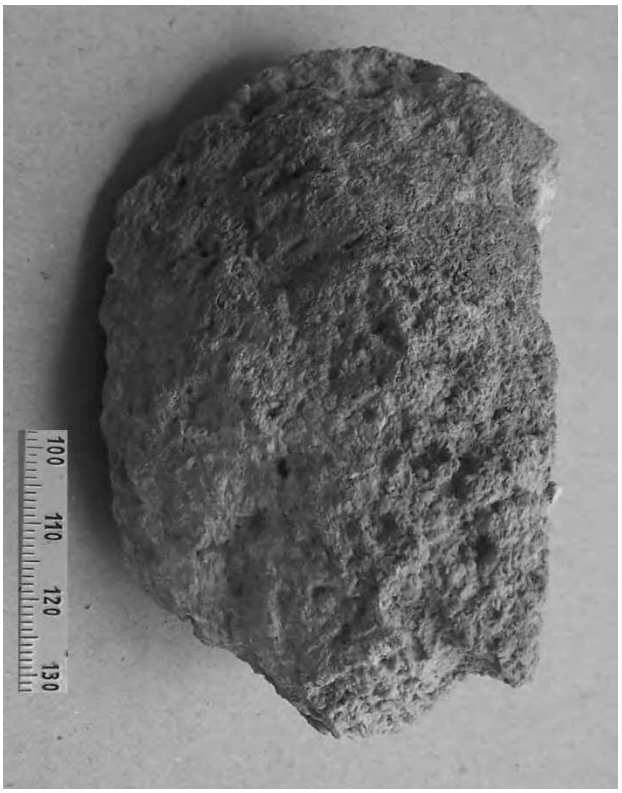
Plate 53



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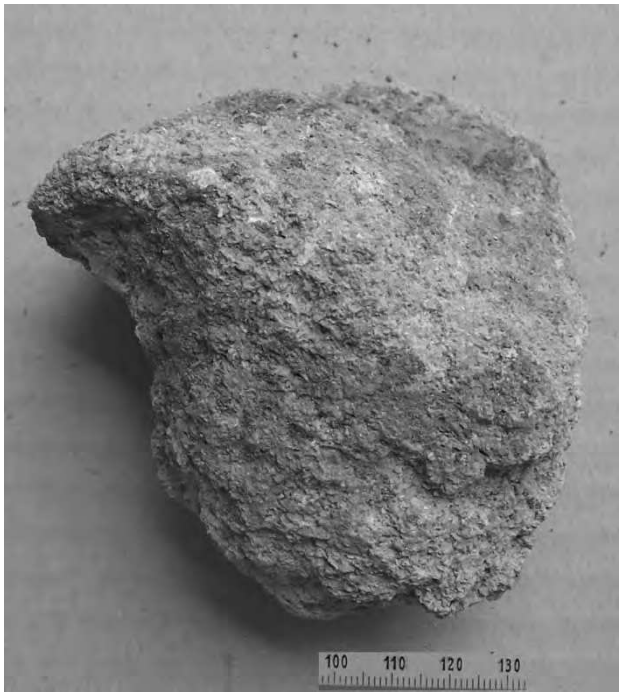

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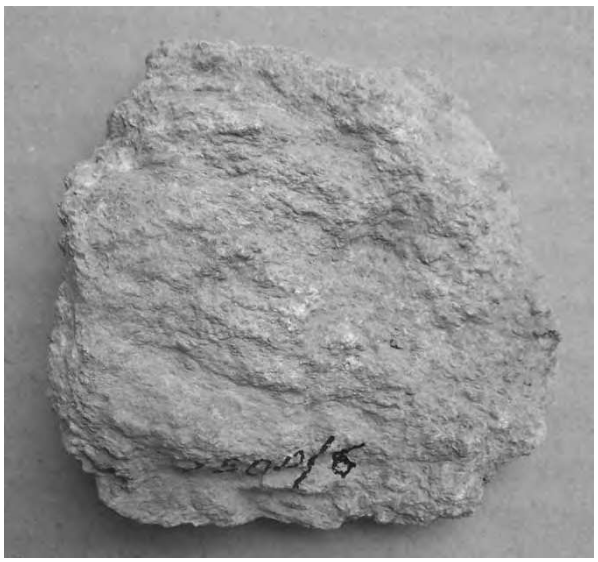

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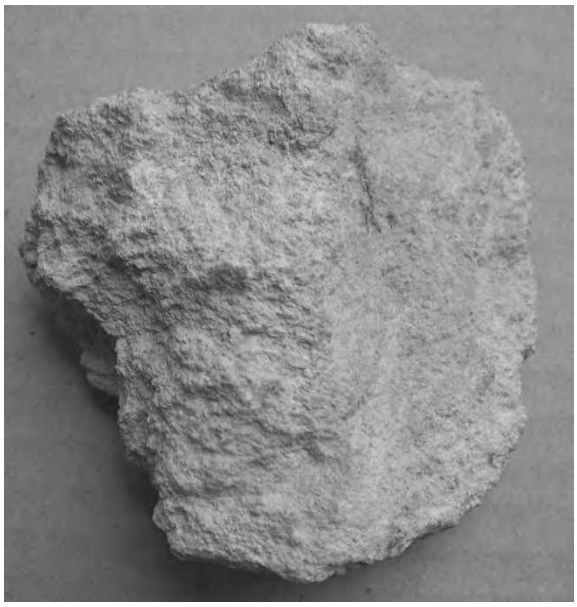

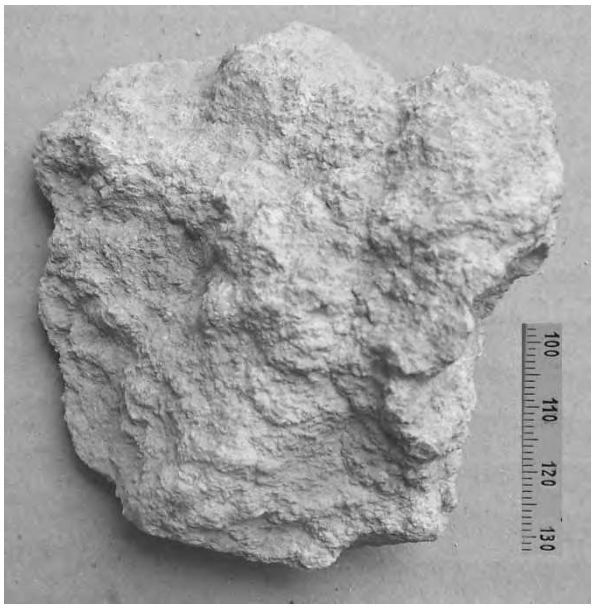

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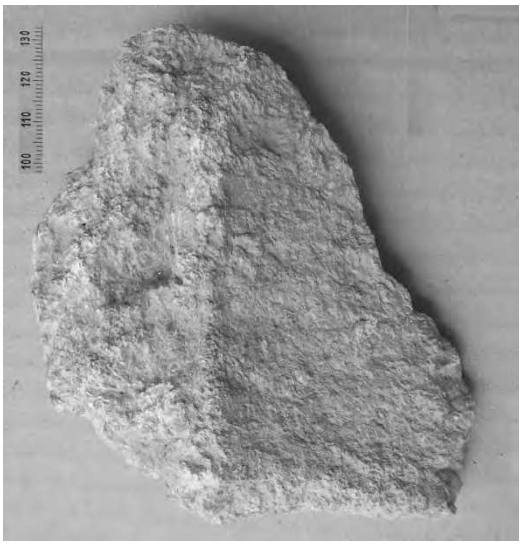

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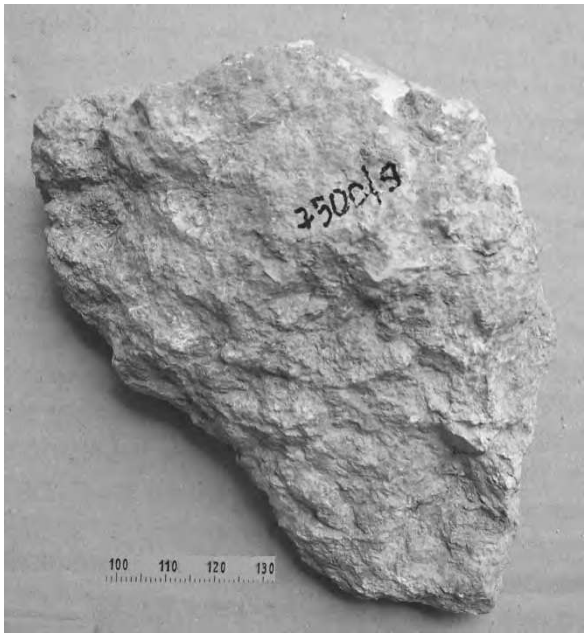

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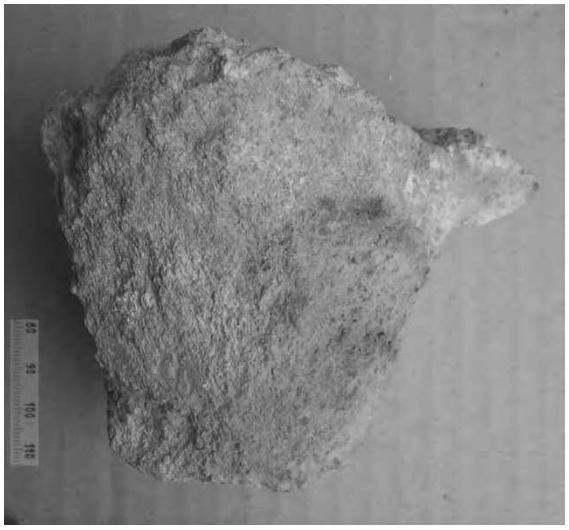

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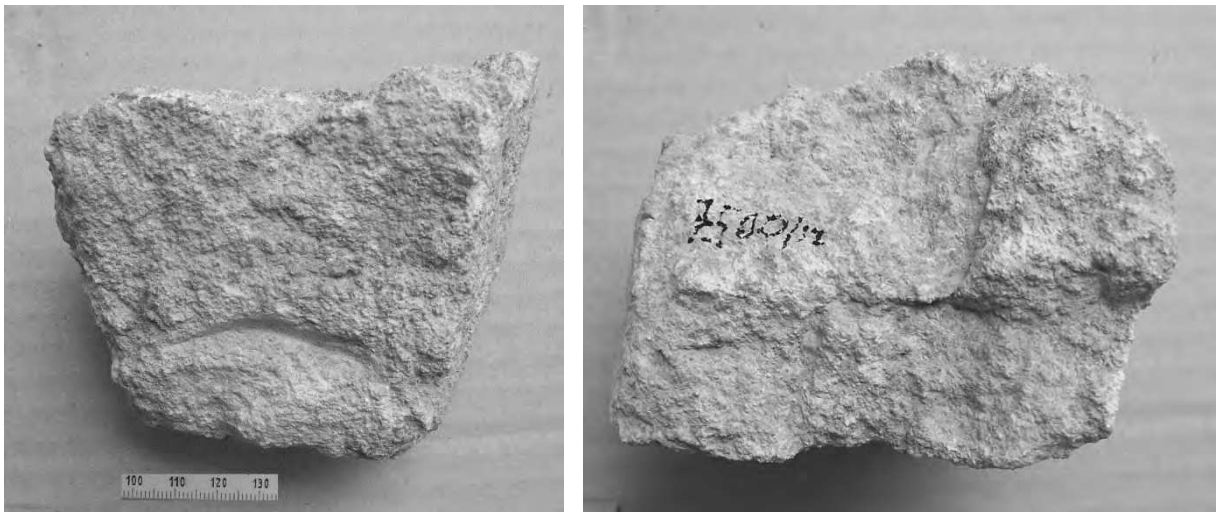
Plate 56



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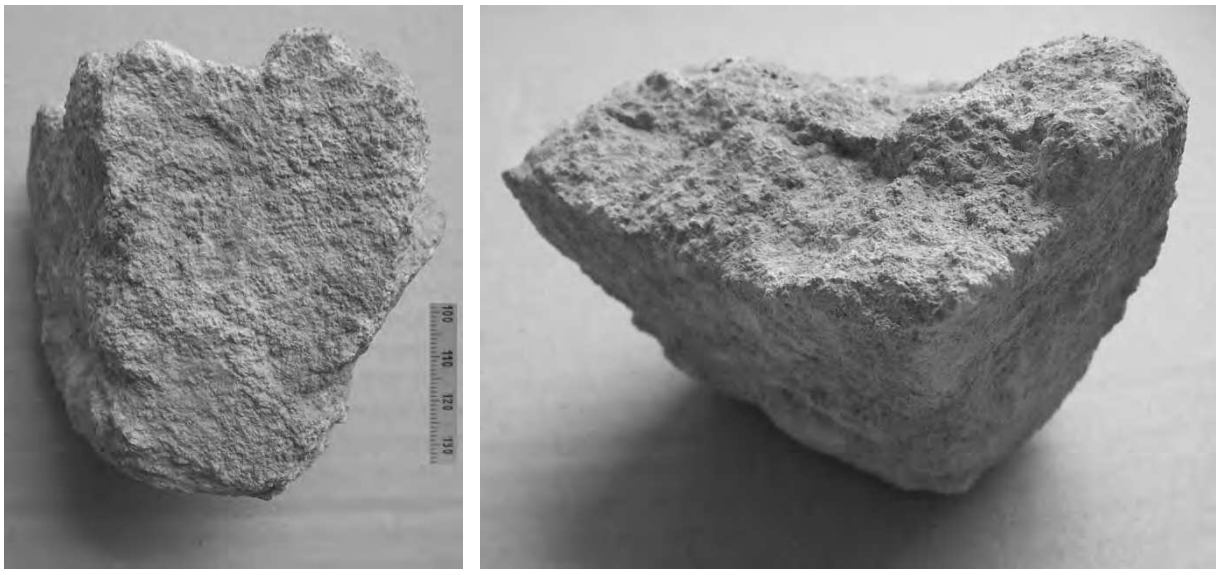

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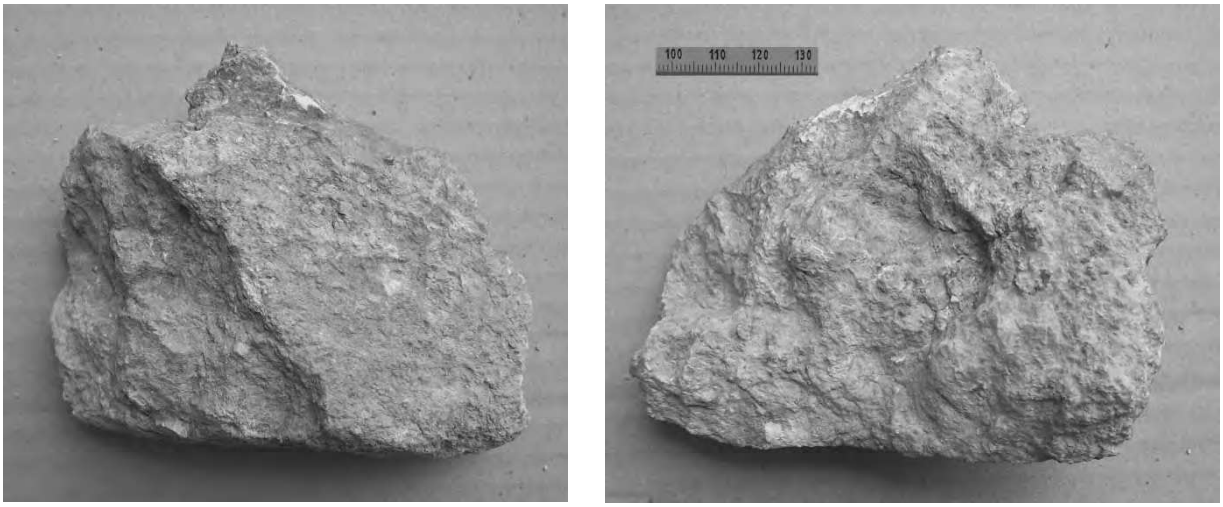
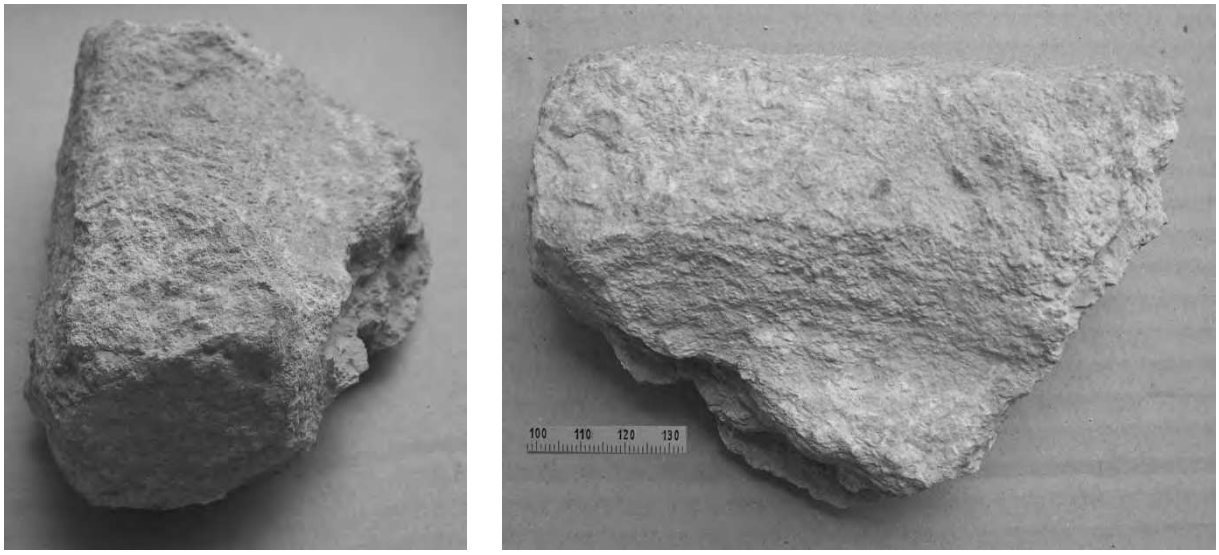


3. Cat. 32, B7500/13

Plate 57

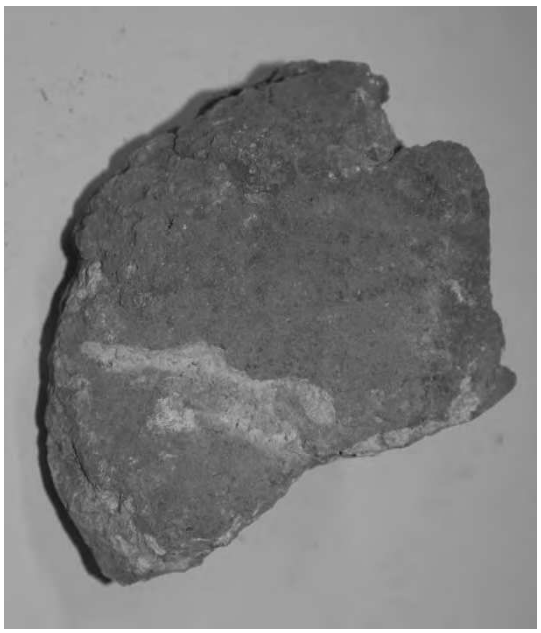


1. Cat. 33, B7500/14

2. Cat. 34, L8 B7059

Plate 58

1. Cat. 34, L8 B7059



2. Cat. 35, L8 B7063

3. Cat. 36, nine small fragments, B7227, L13

Plate 59

1. Cat. 37, sixteen small fragments

2. Cat. 38, twenty-four small fragments

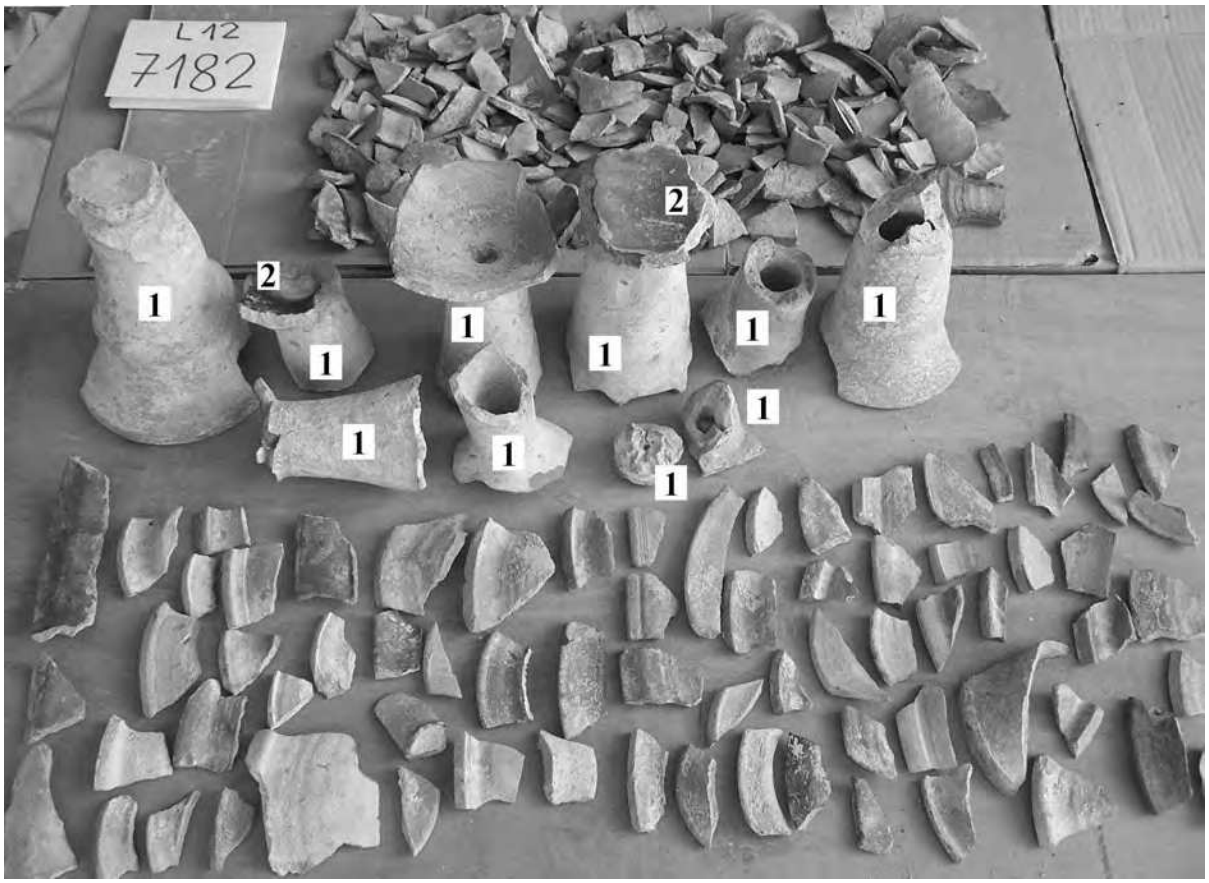
Plate 60

1. Stand from Nahal Patish, Photo Clara Amit, Courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority

Plate 61

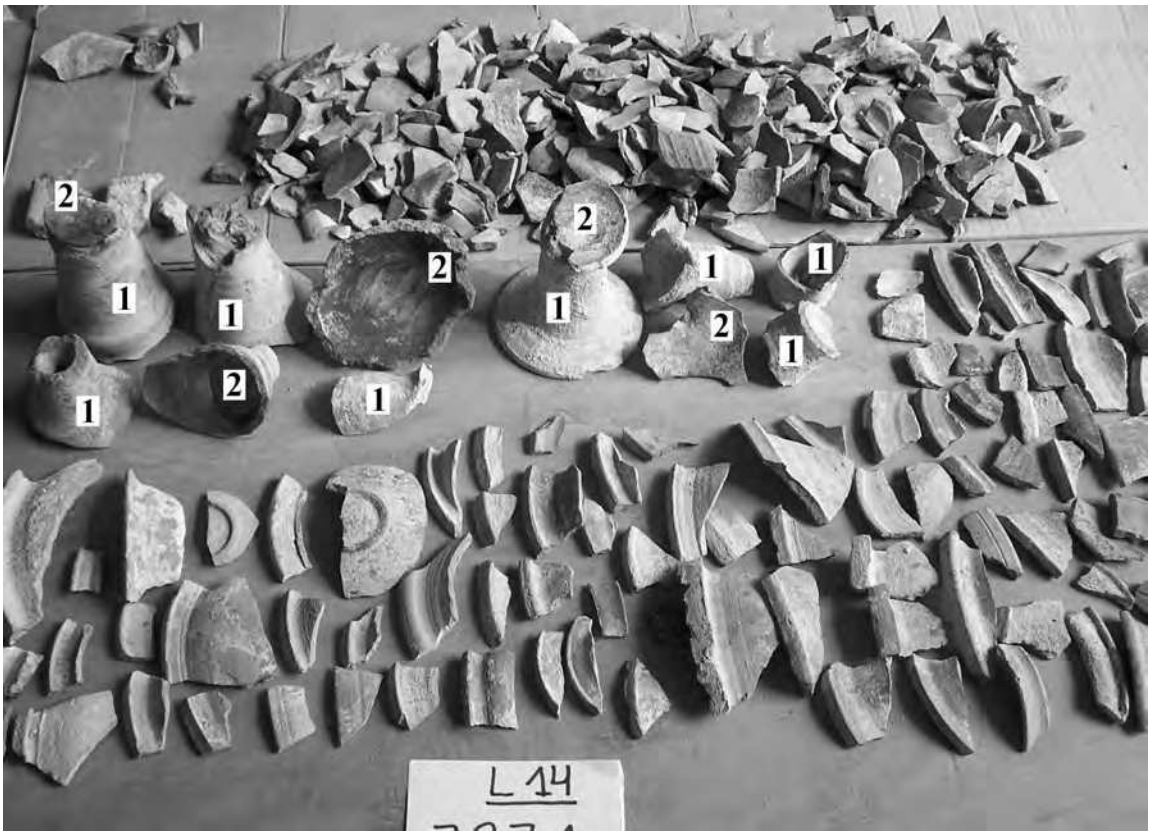
1. Pit area a couple of years after the excavation

2. L8 B7029 after washing



3. L12 B7182 after washing. Mostly chalices – at center, burning signs inside chalice bowls (marked 2), while chalice legs show no signs of burning (1). Body sherds (top) and rims (bottom).

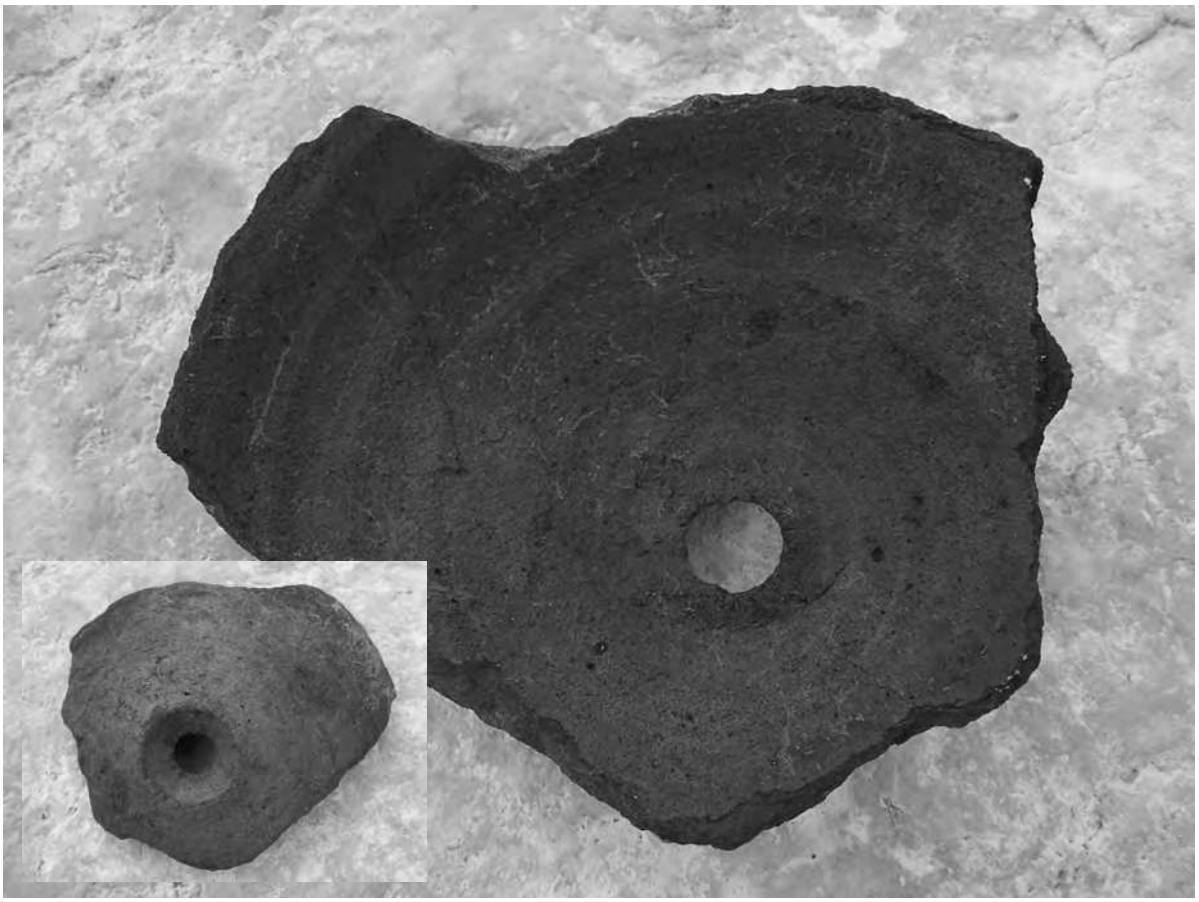
1. L12 B7198 after washing: chalice leg parts (1) show no signs of burning, as against chalice inner bowl parts (2).



2. L14 B7271 after washing: chalice legs have no marks of burnings (1), as opposed to the inside of chalice bowls (2).

Plate 63

1.-2. Perforated leg of chalice, L15 B7418/4



3. Perforated wheel-made vessel, L15 B7328

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Bd. 34 AMIR GOLANI: Jewelry from the Iron Age II Levant. XII-336 pages incl. 35 plates with numerous figures. 2013.

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Summary

Yavneh II is the second and last excavation report on the dramatic *favissa/genizah* pit full of Philistine votive objects, discovered by Raz Kletter in the city of Yavneh, Israel, near the Mediterranean coast (south of Tel Aviv). The first volume, Yavneh I (OBO.SA 30, 2010) included studies on the history and archaeological exploration of Yavneh, the excavation, the stratigraphy and the interpretation of the pit as a favissae of votive objects that originate from a public temple; but especially on the mysterious cult stands, which number more than a hundred and include many stands with zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures. In the present volume we publish many additional cultic finds, including fire pans or shovels that could be used for moving hot coals and for burning incense (comparable to the biblical *maḥtāh*); a rectangular shrine-model (*naos*) with detached pillars; zoomorphic vessels; a larger sample of pottery with statistical analysis; imported Cypriot pottery; dog bones (probably related to ritual); an inscription on a bowl; fragments of worked stones (perhaps from altars); and chemical residues from juglets and chalices, which seem to indicate presence of hallucinatory and incense materials. In addition, we offer an update on the iconography of the Yavneh cult stands and a study of the larger world of cult stands in the southern Levant; criteria for identifying *favissae* and their appearance from the Late Bronze Age to the Persian Period in Palestine; and a concluding discussion on Yavneh, incense, and Philistine ethnicity.